Plus ça change…: The Effects of Nationalism and Electoral Competition on Immigration and Integration Policy Proposals in Quebec, 1976-2014

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Abstract
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This work is a comprehensive study of immigration and integration policy proposals made by the Parti Libéral du Québec (PLQ) and the Parti Québécois (PQ) through the 11 elections that took place from 1976-2016. Where the PLQ is a federalist provincial party, the PQ is the PLQ's primary opponent and represents the province's sovereignist ambitions. However, this work posits that the PLQ and PQ propose similar immigration and integration policy proposals. Where one might expect to see a stark contrast between the parties' proposed ethnocultural diversity management policies, we see periods of significant convergence—both parties, in fact, propose similar policies as a whole. Furthermore, this work examines the impact that nationalism and electoral competition maintained over the parties' policy proposals. Simply put, this work argues that nationalism is incredibly important for both parties but both parties largely proposed inclusive and pluralist ethnocultural diversity management proposals. The theory of brokerage politics has been applied in order to explain this convergence, in effect demonstrating that the parties converge on this policy area in order to appeal to the greatest number of voters as possible by fundamentally limiting the ideological differences between the two parties.

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Introduction

Quebec presents itself as a fascinating case study in political science. As a society that has claimed distinct status and, indeed, nationhood, it has managed to change the lens through which it views itself. In a little less than a decade—through the shifts brought about by the Quiet Revolution—Quebecers went from originally conceiving their nation as *ethnic*, to viewing it in civic terms. No longer was the path to being accepted limited and blocked off to those who were not born in the province; instead Quebec's rapid social transformation in the 1960s allowed for the discourse surrounding both nationalism and ethnocultural diversity management to change—newcomers to Quebec were now accepted and encouraged to integrate and participate in Quebec society. With the election of the Parti Québécois (PQ) in 1976, a new two-party system in Quebec emerged between the sovereignist PQ and federalist Parti Libéral du Québec (PLQ). These two parties became the only ones to form government in the province from 1976 onwards and exemplified the sovereignist-federalist divide that has long characterized Quebec's political history.

While a considerable amount of academic research has been spent tracing the nationalistic origins, tendencies, and evolution of nationalism within Quebec, little attention has been focused on the relationship between nationalism, the desire for political independence, and its relationship with immigration and ethnocultural diversity management[1]. More specifically, there exists a lacuna in the literature concerning to what extent nationalism affects immigration and integration policy[2]. With the dominant two-party system and the sovereignist-federalist divide, one might expect that the two parties that have formed government in Quebec since 1976

[1] In line with Salée's work (2007; 2010) on 'ethnocultural diversity management', ethnocultural diversity management is defined as the combination of immigration and integration policies. Because immigration and integration policy proposals actively seek to 'manage' diversity and newcomers' integration into a new society, the combination of these measures into the singular form as 'ethnocultural diversity management' accounts for the aspect of this management regarding both immigration and integration.

[2] Where immigration and integration policy proposals combine to form 'ethnocultural diversity management', the two cannot be separated as, particularly in Quebec, immigration *and* integration policy play a particularly vital role in the debate surrounding accommodation, *who* is being accommodated, and the identification of the Other. Furthermore, both policy areas are often joined together in both the PQ and PLQ's electoral platforms. Where immigration policy largely concerns the selection of immigrants (where they come from, efforts to recruit more immigrants from different regions) and target numbers; integration policy is defined in this thesis as the proposed policies which seek to integrate newcomers into Quebec society, thus taking into account *how* they are integrated, whether through a commitment to ensuring the practice and mastering of the French language, signed societal integration contracts, or overt references within election platforms towards 'integrating' into 'Quebec society' and by determining whether these integrative measures are more open and pluralist—or whether they are offer restrictive proposals which seek to limit cultural differences among newcomers.

would propose strikingly different integration and immigration policies that are more in line with their respective ideologies. Thus, one could rightly assume that the pro-sovereignty PQ proposed policies that ultimately sought to advance the independence movement; while the PLQ in effect counteracted the PQ by proposing policies that were more favourable to Canadian integration.

Instead what emerges, and what is the central argument of this thesis, is a historical pattern of similar policy proposals by both governments that (i) are pluralist in nature, and (ii) does not necessarily seek to advance the independence project. These similar policy proposals are a result of Quebec's two-party system whereby the PLQ and PQ act as rational vote-maximizing agents seeking to capitalize on common public sentiment concerning strategies of ethnocultural diversity management. What is unclear, however, is whether these converging promises are affected by the political reality of Quebec nationalism. This work will examine two independent variables, (i) party competition/pragmatic vote maximization, and (ii) nationalism in order to determine which of these IVs has a greater influence on the dependent variable, immigration and integration policy proposals[3]. This work operationalizes 'policy proposals' as the proposed immigration and integration strategies, tools, and outputs made by the PLQ and PQ in their election platforms. It is this work's opinion that the first independent variable (party competition) is more influential in the converging of these policy proposals than is nationalism.

Although this work is interested in examining the relationship between nationalism and immigration and integration, it is not interested in policy change *per se*. Instead, it seeks to understand the evolutionary process of proposed policies by each political party over time and the concrete actions undertaken by each party once in government. Therefore, election programs will be used as the primary source of evidence in order to analyze the evolution of rhetoric and policy over time. This thesis is not concerned with policy change but is primarily concerned with policy promises.

The outline of the thesis is as follows. First, the introductory chapter discusses the research questions, the analytical puzzle, and the relevance of the work proposed here. Chapter One is a review of the relevant literature on party ideology, party competition, Quebec

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[3] Policy proposals are defined in this thesis as a combination of two important aspects of election programs. First, the outright promises and proposals within the document itself ("*s'engage*"). Second, the relevant parts of platform sections dealing with immigration and integration which are not specifically proposals; these include the introduction to the section, the language throughout, recognitions, and how the proposals are framed within the section. This allows for an analysis of immigration and integration within electoral platforms which encompass both concrete proposals and the document's section as a whole.

nationalism, and immigration and integration. Chapter Two discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis, notably Benedict Anderson's (2006) 'imagined community' and the notion of 'brokerage politics'. The proposed immigration and integration policies from 1976-2014 are discussed at length in Chapters Three (immigration) and Four (integration) respectively. The analysis proceeds along identified major themes over time. As the analysis points to the existence of convergence between the two parties, Chapter Five attempts to explain this unexpected outcome through brokerage politics. In essence, the nation affirming, protectionist, and pluralist classification seek to identify the influence of nationalism on the policy proposals while brokerage politics seeks answer why these two parties with different perspectives concerning the Canadian federation offer similar ethnocultural diversity management policies. The conclusion summarizes the findings, discusses some of the limitations of the work, and highlights areas for future research.

Research Question

The research questions stem from the relevant literature concerning both nationalism and party competition. While there has been considerable work done on theories of nationalism and Quebec nationalism, little has been done to examine the intersection of nationalism and public policy, specifically concerning how nationalism affects public policy. Béland and Lecours (2008) do an excellent job of discussing the nexus of nationalism and *social* policy but do not extend their analysis into the realm of immigration and integration policy. Indeed, the first research question has been tangentially extracted from their work: Does nationalism affect immigration and integration policies and if so, to what extent?

The second research question is based on the literature that concerns party competition. Simply put: Does electoral competition affect immigration and integration policy proposals (Downs 1957; Lever and Hunt 1992; Robertson 1976)? So it is possible that the similarities in immigration and integration policies between the PQ and PLQ have largely been shaped through the party competition model where each party has to appeal to the largest possible electorate through brokering diverse interests (Brodie and Jenson 1996; Carty and Cross 2010; Jenson 1995). Therefore, the relationship between parties and party competition raises questions concerning both nationalism and party competition, particularly if there is no significant difference between the policy proposals of the two parties.

Puzzle

Political ideology is an important factor for political parties. Indeed, parties manifest themselves through the mobilization of like-minded individuals in order to compete for political power. The competition for political power allows for parties to differentiate between themselves while making explicit their views to potential voters. Voters, then, have readily identifiable alternatives for whom they are to cast their votes. For individuals where transaction costs may be too high (e.g. not enough time read party platforms) but already know their own personal political ideology, political parties that divide themselves by ideology are cogent vehicles through which to identify which party they support (Downs 1957). Therefore, individuals can come to support a party based on ideology without acquiring full information about their party specifics. Because ideologies are public distinctions between competing parties, parties create and propose differing policies which are, in theory, congruent with their adopted ideology. Thus the delineation between social-democratic and conservative parties should be apparent in the policies they propose.

Quebec, however, is in a unique political circumstance. As a substate nation, Quebec has twice asked its population for political independence from Canada and has been governed by just two parties since 1976. These two parties have come to articulate the sovereignist-federalist divide that has defined Quebec's political reality since the Quiet Revolution. These two parties explicitly, and effectively, communicate their differing positions concerning Quebec's place within Canada. While the parties' respective ideologies concerning Quebec's political independence manifest themselves in their general policy predispositions, one could rightly expect that these ideologies will extend to ethnocultural diversity management. Quebec is a substate nation whose members are bound together through a shared common history and linked future. They constitute what Benedict Anderson (2006) has called an 'imagined community'. As such, they have been subject to considerable uncertainty concerning their future as a group.

Home to a linguistic minority within a large North American Anglophone hegemon, Quebec has sought to ensure the continued survival of both its national identity and the French language. Immigration has added to the province's uncertain situation by bringing newcomers to Quebec who may not have been familiar with the French language—the quintessential tenet of Quebec citizenship. With two parties promoting different political ideologies, however, their ideological difference concerning immigration ought to become apparent. On the one hand, one

could logically expect the pro-nationalist and pro-independence Parti Québécois to extend this ideology to ethnocultural diversity management practices by proposing policies which sought to defend the nation's uniqueness and force the imposition of this uniqueness onto newcomers. Because the PQ's *raison d'être* is the secession of Quebec from Canada, one logically expects the PQ to impact this desire for sovereignty through its immigration and integration policies, that is by effectively proposing policies which facilitated the immigration of those who are more sympathetic to the sovereignty project and by advancing integrative measures which aim to 'woo' newcomers to the sovereignist project in order to increase the likelihood of a successful referendum. Given the PQ's focus on the preservation of the Quebec national identity, one may also expect the Party to advocate a strict restriction of immigration in order to ensure that those who are immigrating to Quebec are not putting the imagined community at risk. On the other hand, the federalist PLQ could propose ethnocultural diversity management policies which counter act the PQ's by instilling integrative measures that stress the importance of pan-Canadian multicultural unity over the Quebecois nation, in effect ensuring integration into Canada at the expense of Quebec. As will be shown later, Quebec's two main political parties do not, in fact, propose ethnocultural diversity management policies that engage with their respective ideology. Instead the parties propose policies which effectively converge over time. Far from being distinct in their policy proposals, the two parties' proposed policies led to convergence (despite being punctuated by brief periods of divergence). Hence the puzzle, why do the PQ's predisposition to political independence and the PLQ's predisposition to the Canadian federal union not manifest themselves within their respective ethnocultural diversity management proposals?

Relevance

While it is possible to find research that examines the nexus of social policy and nationalism (Béland and Lecours 2008), immigration in liberal states (Freeman 1995; Good 2009; Joppke 2005; Koopmans *et al*. 2005), and immigration in stateless nations (Barker 2015; Bilodeau and Turgeon 2015; Helly 1996; Kymlicka 2001; Juteau 2002; Winter 2011), there is a lacuna in the literature on the link between nationalism, immigration, and immigrant integration policies. Although specialized literature explicitly recognizes that party ideology plays an important role in policy outputs (Castles and McKinlay 1979; Consterdine 2015; Hartmann 2014; Hinnfors *et al*. 2012), this thesis demonstrates that this is not the case in Quebec due to both (i) electoral

competition and (ii) the influence of nationalism in public discourse. In so doing, it will shed more light on the way nationalism impacts our understanding of public policy.

As the notion of brokerage politics has rarely been applied to provincial cases (Wesley 2009), its application to the Quebec case is a unique opportunity to apply a theoretical framework which will help better understand electoral competition and brokerage politics at the substate level. This thesis, then, takes its relevance on two fronts (i) the original contribution to better understanding the relationship between substate nationalism and policy proposals; and (ii) the unique application of brokerage politics to the provincial level in order to evaluate the results of electoral competition at the substate level through a lens which has traditionally been deployed as a tool to examine federal party electoral behaviour.

Chapter I: Literature Review

The literature on the various theories of nationalism is complex, nuanced, and voluminous. Because of the importance that nationalism maintains in the study of politics, particularly of sub-state nations, much work has been done specifically on Quebec nationalism and its manifestations throughout the province's history. Be that as it may, the relationship between nationalism and public policy has been little explored. More specifically, there exists a lacuna concerning the relationship between how nationalism affects immigration and integration policies. The literature on Quebec nationalism, which is interesting and influential, is large with considerable variation concerning what each author is trying to explain, and there remains an exciting opportunity to extend the study of Quebec nationalism to the policy choices made by the two political parties concerning immigration and integration. Identifying how Quebec's political parties conceptualize their ethnocultural diversity management policies will help elucidate the relationship between nationalism and immigration and integration policy.

Quebec Nationalism

Although primarily talking about immigrant integration and citizenship, Danielle Juteau (2002) briefly presents a historical outline of Quebec nationalism. She identifies three aspects of nationalism beginning with the concept of French-Canadians' *survivance,* the struggle to maintain the French language and the collectivity's culture (Juteau 2002, 442); the changing dynamic of the emerging national community during the Quiet Revolution until the 1980s (Juteau 2002, 443); and from 1980 through 1995, an era filled with constitutional drama and two referenda (Juteau 2002, 444). The identification of the historic trend of nationalism in Quebec is further expanded upon by Rocher (2002) who, like Juteau, identifies Quebec nationalism in three waves: the statist wave, or the "dynamism of state action"; the marked decline of nationalism in the 1980s due to the success of the Quiet Revolution and the middle class; and market nationalism and the growth of the private sector (Rocher 2002, 80). The first wave, statist nationalism, occurred during the Quiet Revolution, culminating in an ideological shift in the discourse of citizenship and integration under the Johnson government (Rocher 2002, 77). It was through the Johnson administration that the old definition of citizenship "essentially based on ethnicity [was now] based on territoriality" (Rocher 2002, 77). It was through the growth of the state and the modernization that occurred that allowed French-Canadians to primarily achieve

three things: the first was to take back control of the economy and institutions away from the then influential Anglophone minority, the second was to change dialogue away from highly ethnic and blood-based to a civic and territorial conception, and finally to replace the term *French-Canadian* which had two inherent ascribed characteristics associated with it to a more vague and open conception of *Quebecois*.

Seymour (2000) articulates the difference between the concepts of the ethnic nation and civic nation. Where ethnic nationalism is based upon the perception of "the biological superiority of one group over the others" (Seymour 2000, 232), the concept of the ethnic nation consists of "individuals who have the same ancestry or who *believe* that they have the same ancestry" (Seymour 2000, 232 emphasis in original), and the concept of the civic nation which equates the nation with the sovereign state (Seymour 2000, 233). By touching on the theoretical works of nationalism and differentiating between the nation and nationalism, he, like Rocher and Juteau, demonstrates that "Quebeckers used to represent themselves as members of a purely cultural French Canadian nation, and they now see themselves as part of the Quebec nation understood in the sociopolitical sense" (Seymour 2000, 239). This conception of the Quebec nation as a sociopolitical construct is expanded upon by Balthazar (2001) who builds on the construct and adds that "le nationalisme québécois […] est un phénomène plus large que l'aspiration à la souveraineté. On peut être nationaliste au Québec sans être souverainiste" (Balthazar 2001, 195). For Balthazar, the historical emancipation from the ethnic definition has created a nationalism that allows for the acceptance of pluralism, multiethnic diversity, and a collective identity culminating into the autonomist movement (Balthazar 2001, 202). In sum, his argument is that autonomist nationalism permits citizens to be nationalists but not necessarily sovereignists in order to protect the common culture, language, and collective identity (Balthazar 2001, 197).

Writing before the 1995 referendum and specifically asking "Will Quebec Secede?" Stéphane Dion (1991) argues that Quebec's secessionist movement "grows out of two antithetical feelings: fear and confidence" (Dion 1991, 14). These feelings are "rooted in its linguistic heritage and is longstanding" and is a "very real concern about losing its linguistic identity" (Dion 1991 14). Stasiulis (2013) identifies the root causes of this fear as the "protracted history of an anxious and fragile form of nationalism—that sees francophone Quebecers as historically 'conquered' by the British, their linguistic distinctiveness rendered precarious by its location in a predominantly Anglophone North America, and increasingly jeopardized by

immigrants essentialized as pre-modern, nonliteral and barbaric" (Stasiulis 2013, 187). Thus the fear of the loss of culture and common identity is of primordial importance for nationalists. But Dion, an ardent federalist, contends that Quebecers should take confidence in the fact that Quebec has become a "modern quasi state, with exclusive or joint responsibility with the federal government over education, health, welfare, energy, immigration, industry, language, communication, and so on" (Dion 1991, 18). Gagnon and Lachapelle (1996), on the contrary, argue that federal overreach in terms of taxation and spending powers have been at the cost of "frequent opposition to Québec's policy preferences" which has only further increased support for sovereignty (Gagnon and Lachapelle 1996, 181). The tenuous relationship (at the best of times) between Canada and Quebec is of great importance to the sovereignty movement. Gagnon argues that "asymmetrical federalism represents a unique institutional construction that gives considerable flexibility in governance" (Gagnon 2009, 266-267). By allowing Quebec unique control over policy domains that other provinces do not have, Canada will be recognizing the fact that Quebec is a unique province and should have unique privileges.

McRoberts (1993) argues that although the PQ is often seen as radical by English Canada, it was in effect quite cautious and restrained in its actions under René Lévesque—specifically seeking to garner support for sovereignty through an *étapiste* approach by "gradual, step-by-step change" and eschewing radical policy change (McRoberts 1993, 363). Murray and Murray (1979) argue that the Parti Québécois is a function of "two fundamental ideological groups with the party which we call the 'technocrats' and the 'participationists'" (Murray and Murray 1979, 243). For them, the PQ is at constant struggle between two foundational groups: those who want outright autonomy and those who want "the creation of a new style of participatory government" (Murray and Murray 1979, 253). Thus the PQ is performing "a delicate balance" given their realization that "they must follow a prudent and reassuring course in order to win these voters over" (Murray and Murray 1979, 253).

Quebec nationalism is ongoing and continuously evolving. It is contentious in that the identification of Quebec as a civic nation has been disputed; although the rapid shift that the province underwent from one that was primarily ethnic to civic is well articulated and argued (Karmis 2004; Juteau 2002; Rocher 2002). What is indisputable, however, is the significance that nationalism has on Quebec's political climate and culture. With two referenda on sovereignty, failed constitutional negotiations, and two parties which represent the sovereignist-federalist

divide, nationalism permeates the province's political reality. The relationship between nationalism and immigration and integration policy proposals deserves to be formally articulated in order to understand, in the Quebec case, to what extent nationalism affects said policy proposals. However, before making formal articulations about the extent to which nationalism, or party competition, affect policy proposals, one must first become acquainted with the literature on immigration, integration, and Quebec nationalism. From this literature emerges the gaps and research opportunities upon which thesis will build.

Immigration and Integration

Joppke (2005) looks at ethnic migration in liberal states. Although he contends that "liberal states no longer can explicitly and directly reproduce and reinvigorate particular nationhood through immigration policy", ethnic migration remains a tool in which states can selectively choose newcomers who may best fit the national mould (Joppke 2005, 2). Joppke identifies four forms of ethnic migration: discriminatory directions—the extension of positive derogations to applicant ethnic groups[4] (Joppke 2005, 22); justifications—"ethnic migration is justified in terms of its easier 'assimilability' to domestic society" (Joppke 2005, 23); selection mechanisms and legal infrastructures—selection criteria based on country of birth instead of "ethnicity proper" (Joppke 2005, 24); and pressures and types of conflict. Joppke's ethnic migration and their forms/justifications can be extended to the Quebec case when specifically looking at their policies. If Quebec governments wanted to protect the nation, surely ethnic migration policies would be implemented in order to select citizens that already speak French and are more likely to integrate into their host society. The protection of the culture and the nation is more likely to occur based on what the immigrant *is* instead of what it *does*.

Koopmans *et al*. (2005), like Joppke, look at immigration in terms of national identity. For the authors, immigration "creates pressures and opportunities for a redefinition and reinvention of the conceptions of citizenship and national identity of the receiving nation-state" which plays a crucial role in the determination of citizenship policy (Koopmans *et al*. 2005, 6). Citizenship can be divided three-fold: (i) ethnic or exclusive which "denies migrants and their descendants access to the political community" or makes access extremely hard; (ii) assimilationist or republican as exemplified in France and the United States which allows for

[4] Much like Right of Return laws seen in Israel and Germany.

easy citizenship but "gives little or no recognition to their cultural differences"; and (iii) multicultural or pluralistic which includes Canada and provides "for both easy formal access to citizenship and recognition of the right of ethnic minority groups to maintain their cultural differences" (Koopmans *et al*. 2005, 8). Indeed, this aspect of citizenship regarding how migrants are integrated into their host country has been subject to considerable study and debate. In fact, citizenship and integration policies have received limited treatment by Quebec academics. Yet this presents itself as an exciting lacuna within the literature that is certainly worthy of being filled.

Azzedine Marhraoui's (2004) doctoral thesis primarily looks at the intersection between nationalism and ethnocultural diversity management between 1990 and 2000. In his lengthy review, Marhraoui outlines one of the primary issues of Quebec immigration and integration: the protection of the French language to ensure that new arrivals to Quebec will adopt French over English and thus, hopefully, strengthen their ties to Quebec over Canada (Marhraoui 2004, 51). This is seen in the changes brought about in immigration policy which favoured "une immigration francophone en axant le recrutement à partir du bassin de la francophonie mondiale […]" (Marhraoui 2004, 62). Marhraoui, it must be said, painstakingly reviews the relevant policy documents which included the historical period as context prior to his start date of 1990. In fact, the aspects he discusses concerning the changes in rhetoric, dialogue, and policy are among the most in-depth analysis of Quebec immigration and integration policy identified.

Institutionally, Marhraoui discusses the changes that various ministries have undergone in Quebec. This has also been undertaken by Symons (2002) in her work observing the structural and discursive changes in Quebec immigration ministries from 1968 to 1996. These institutional changes highlight that Quebec's "ambivalence to immigration and diversity is reflected in and symbolized by the various transformations of its ministry responsible for immigration" (Symons 2002, 40). This ambivalence is observed by McAndrew (2004) in her review of immigration and education policies in Quebec. Quebec's primary objective, to protect French language and culture, was epitomized through Law[5] 101 (McAndrew 2004, 309). She characterized Quebec's immigration policy by three elements: (i) that Quebec receive 25 percent of total Canadian immigration to combat demographic decline; (ii) the "conciliation of various objectives"

[5] In line with the fact that the bill became law and French literature refers to it as *Loi 101*, Law 101 will be the chosen identification instead of Bill 101.

including the "recruitment of French-speaking immigrants, the contribution of immigration economic development, the support for family reunification and the commitment to international solidarity"; and (iii) permanent residency within the province (McAndrew 2004, 310). By outlining education and immigration policies, McAndrew has identified what appears to be an ethnic migratory tendency on the part of immigration policy but does not identify whether this is maintained across time and across the political parties.

Perhaps the most noteworthy work has been conducted by Bilodeau and Turgeon (2015), Lavoie and Serré (2002), and Turgeon and Bilodeau (2014) who quantify public perceptions of immigration. Turgeon and Bilodeau (2014) observe openness to immigration among Quebecois. They find that a "majority of Quebecers are thus open towards immigration and have become more so over the last twenty years" but that "Quebecers of French Canadian origin appear to be less positive towards immigration than other Quebecers, but only in their propensity to ask for 'more' immigrants" (Turgeon and Bilodeau 2014, 325). Furthermore, they note that the "proportion of Quebecers asking for 'fewer' immigrants is highest among strong supporters of Quebec sovereignty […] and declines among those who somewhat support […] and those who somewhat oppose it" (Turgeon and Bilodeau 2014, 326). The authors conclude that cultural insecurity is a significant factor in determining whether one wants more or less immigrants which leads them to note that "above and beyond linguistic insecurity, national identity and nationalism, Quebecers of French Canadian origin are less enthusiastic about immigration than other fellow Quebecers" (Turgeon and Bilodeau 2014, 328). They are careful, however, to conclude that the overall negative sentiments concerning immigrants has decreased in Quebec, a fact that is very much in line with the rest of Canada (Turgeon and Bilodeau 2014, 332). Building on their findings concerning cultural insecurity, Bilodeau and Turgeon (2015) observe the regional variations of Quebecois Francophones in relation to whether or not immigration is a perceived threat towards Quebecois culture. Interestingly, they find that it is not in the outskirts of Quebec where Francophones feel their culture is most threatened by immigrants. Instead the authors discover that there exists a 'halo' effect around the island of Montreal particularly in the north (Laval) and south sections surrounding the island which have a "sentiment de menace culturelle plus fort que celui des résidents de Montréal" (Bilodeau and Turgeon 2015, 294).

Building off Jacques Parizeau's infamous "*l'argent et des votes ethnique*" comment, Lavoie and Serré (2002) seek to analyze CIIRM's (*Citoyens issus de l'immigration de la région*

montréalaise) voting pattern—literally *the ethnic vote* concerning whether immigrant groups vote in bloc (together) or *sociale* ("un alignement du groupe minoritaire sur le vote du groupe majoritaire") (Lavoie and Serré 2002, 52). The authors find that CIIRMs are more likely to identify with Canada over Quebec—regardless of primary language, which has consequences for sovereignty support. Immigrants who primarily identify with Quebec over Canada increase their likelihood of supporting the PQ and the sovereignty project; the same trend is noted for immigrants with "forte intégration" compared to those with "faible intégration" in regard to knowledge and use of the French language (Lavoie and Serré 2002, 64).

By creating a triangular relationship between 'us', 'others', and 'them', Elke Winter (2011) creates a nexus in order to construct "pluralist alliances, rather than on identifying strategies of othering, which are inherent to binary us/them relations" (Winter 2011, 163). This nexus allows her to argue that "rendering the idea of the nation compatible with ethnic diversity is primarily achieved through the paradigm of pluralism, that is, an approach that encourages the recognition of ethnic diversity" (Winter 2011, 4). This pluralist perspective is the basis for her analysis of Quebec and the relationship between Quebec's sovereign ambitions and the relationship with Canada outside Quebec. However, Winter centres her discussion of nationalism and pluralism within a multicultural framework—a framework which was outright rejected by Quebec in favour of a unique intercultural approach.

Kymlicka (2007) discusses the intersection between diversity and multiculturalism. For Kymlicka, multicultural policy has resulted in two notable trends for substate nations: the creation of a "federal or quasi-federal subunit in which the minority group forms a local majority, and can thereby exercise meaningful forms of self-government" (Kymlicka 2007, 69); and "a shift from suppressing substate nationalisms to accommodating them through regional autonomy and official language rights" (Kymlicka 2007, 70). These two trends have occurred in Quebec since the Quiet Revolution due to Canada's multicultural policy. He further identifies three aspects of a multicultural state, the first of which can be easily applied to Quebec: "the repudiation of the older idea that the state is a possession of a single national group" (Kymlicka 2007, 65). This repudiation in Quebec is exemplified from the discursive shift from ethnic to civic nationalism and the more accepting and encompassing policies that followed. This shift led to a reconceptualization of what it meant to be a Quebecer.

Beauchemin (2004) identifies three Quebec subjects in determining "What does it mean to be a Quebecer?". For him, there existed the "monologic subject" based on "the figure of a colonized and alienated subject [which] is discernible in the French-Canadian destiny" (Beauchemin 2004, 23)—a figure that "became increasingly scarce as the new definition of the subject emerged" (Beauchemin 2004, 24). Beauchemin identifies two more subjects: the "ambivalent"—one who does not view the sovereignist project with "the same urgency, and constitutes but one emancipatory claim among many others" (Beauchemin 2004, 25); and the "dialogic subject", where the citizen would be "the image of a more fluid 'collective-we' that joins heritages and influences" and would be formed through a discursive and "dialogic process that would enable a future identity open to all possibilities to emerge" (Beauchemin 2004, 27). This identity, in face of multicultural Canada, seems to be open, pluralist, accepting, and based on dialogue between newcomers and the host society.

Regardless of ideological perspective concerning Quebec statehood, Karmis (2004) puts forth the conception of pluralism in regards to national identities as a tool of integration. For Karmis, three levels of inclusion exist: possible inclusion, the elimination of "race, social class, sex, and ethnicity" as means for inclusion "without eliminating totally criteria such as language and culture" (Karmis 2004, 72); symbolic inclusion, that national identity "should be inclusive in the sense that it reflects and asserts the practices, the institutions, and the memory of all the cultural communities that inhabit a space" (Karmis 2004, 72); and deep inclusion, that national identity and inclusion "must be compatible with the pluralist and complexity of citizens' identities" (Karmis 2004, 72-73). Integration and national identity, for Gagnon and Iacovino (2004), became "inextricably tied to the fate of the Québec nation" (Gagnon and Iacovino 2004, 374).

The delicate balance between immigration and preserving Quebec's national identity and the sovereignty movement is epitomized through the official policy of interculturalism, a policy that "strikes a balance between the requirements of unity […] and the recognition of minority cultures" and encourages the use of French as the common language as the "conduit through which the disagreements, contentions, and conflicts inherent in a culturally diverse society can be aired in a situation of normal politics" (Gagnon and Iacovino 2004, 384). Building on the determinants of national identity and integration in regards to the sovereignty movement, Juteau (2002), argues that from 1980 through 1995, "belongingness was redefined, at least in

governmental discourses and official documents" which led to Quebec embracing "pluralism and intercultural practices" but the changes in discourse and policy "did not induce immigrants and ethnic minorities to identify with Quebec to the extent of supporting independence" (Juteau 2002, 446). Once more, in wake of Premier Parizeau's infamous comments, Quebec realized a change that sought to replace the previous "categorisation of individuals and groups in terms of ethnicity or immigrant trajectory" with "the citizen, a status that transcends political, ethnic ideological belongings" (Juteau 2002, 451). This pushes aside the "subordinate ethnicity, a move that makes room for a 'universal' national *québécois* subject" for greater integration into the nation (Juteau 2002, 451, emphasis in original).

Ines Molinaro observes Quebec's intercultural policy and notes that it has two broad goals: "the integration of allophones into mainstream Quebec society and the promotion of openness within Quebec society towards members of cultural communities" (Molinaro 2011, 461). The relative success of the intercultural policy over time is apparent through Law 101: "in 1971, 90% of Allophone children were enrolled in English schools; by 1994-1995, 79% were enrolled in French language schools" (Molinaro 2011, 464). Salée (2011)[6], however, remains weary of the 'successes' of Quebec's integration strategies. For Salée, "sovereignists remain unable to bring Anglophone and allophone minorities on side" (Salée 2011, 472). The policies and strategies implemented by Quebec governments "regarding immigration and the integration of immigrants have also done little to dispel the impression held by the vast majority of non-Francophones and new Quebecers that they are strangers in their own house", these policies are non-negotiable for newcomers which creates a climate where newcomers "can be *in* the nation, if they wish; somehow, they will never really be *of* the nation"[7] (Salée 2011, 475).

Bilodeau *et al*. (2010) and White *et al*. (2015) attempt to quantify integration strategies and their effectiveness on immigrants. Where White *et al*. (2015) focus specifically on Canada in determining that "more than one third (35%) of recent immigrants feel 'fully accepted' by Canada" (White *et al*. 2015, 299) and that, in general, newcomers have a strong sentiment of support for their host country and that this sense of support is strengthened when immigrants

[6] Originally published in 1997.

[7] In the Canadian context, this sentiment is brilliantly echoed in Bannerji's highly personal essays, stating that: "We are part of its economy, subject to its laws, and members of its civil society. Yet we are not part of its self-definition as 'Canada' because we are not 'Canadian'"; and "[…] if we problematize the notion of 'Canada' through the introjection of the idea of belonging, we are left with the paradox of both belonging and non-belonging simultaneously" (Bannerji 2000, 65).

"feel more accepted by other Canadians" (White *et al*. 2015, 301). Bilodeau *et al*. (2010) quantify public perceptions of immigrants and determine that immigrants "from both traditional and non-traditional source countries express more federally oriented loyalties than the Canadian-born population of their respective province" (Bilodeau *et al*. 2010, 525-526). While it is, perhaps, not surprising that survey respondents in Quebec had more favourable provincial views than federal views when compared to the other provinces, this is not "transferred very efficiently to immigrants; only 16 per cent of immigrants from traditional and 24 per cent from non-traditional source countries respectively express a more positive feeling for Quebec than Canada" (Bilodeau *et al*. 2010, 526). Interestingly, the authors find that "immigrants who speak French at home exhibit political loyalties similar to those of the local population" but there "are no discernible differences in the orientations of French-speaking immigrants from traditional source countries and native-born population in Quebec" (Bilodeau *et al*. 2010, 531). Salée, then, comes closest to fully understand the realities that make-up Quebec integration policy: that there exists a real tenable and tangible reality that various sections of the population feel like they are outside the majority's society.

Taking Stock of the Literature

Triadafilopoulos (2012) presents an interesting framework for the study of Canadian immigration and membership policy. His look at policy reform in Canada and Germany is similar to Stasiulis' identification of nation states' continued engagement in "various revisions and iterations of national myth making and production of national identities through discursive and legal practices of inclusion and exclusion" (Stasiulis 2013, 183). Triadafilopoulos identifies three mechanisms "through which the changing normative context influenced Canada and Germany's immigration and citizenship policies: policy stretching, unravelling, and shifting" (Triadafilopoulos 2012, 11). 'Stretching' "aims to capture the dynamic tension that arises when entrenched policy regimes that reflect taken-for-granted ideas, terminology, and practices carry over into new normative contexts" and thus attempts to demonstrate that change "unfolds incrementally as policy makers seek to reconcile the unfamiliar demands of a newly emerging normative order with the deeply engrained, path-dependent logic of established policy frameworks" (Triadafilopoulos 2012, 11). Stretching is "a variant of incrementalism, albeit with an important twist: whereas standard incrementalist theories cast policy makers as modestly

groping towards some new end in a cost-averse manner, in the sense understood here, their actions are directed towards preserving the overarching goals of the established policy regime" (Triadafilopoulos 2012, 11). Triadafilopoulos' identification of 'policy stretching' is a unique way of looking at immigration and membership policy in Canada. In fact, his core argument is one which is similar to the one this thesis employs: that there exists past normative orders that have maintained their importance over time. His framework inspires the direction of this study. Although 'policy stretching' has not been adopted as a theoretical framework given some ambiguity in his meaning and application of the term, there exists considerable parallels between his book and the intents of the present thesis which advances Triadafilopoulos' work by adding the dimension of nationalism to the evaluation of immigration and membership policy within a substate nation.

The identified literature is well done, well researched, and fundamentally inspired the development of this thesis. However, three issues arise from the literature. First, the underlying relationship between nationalism and how it affects immigration policy are unclear. While authors have presented works that attempt to explain this relationship, many have studied Quebec as a single case study among many—traditionally as a tripartite study of Quebec, Scotland, and Spain; or Quebec, Scotland, and Belgium. While this greatly adds to our knowledge of Quebec within a comparative context, it nonetheless limits the time that can be spent discussing and examining Quebec. This somewhat limits the overall scope of the literature as authors constrain their analyses of Quebec in order to focus on other cases. While the observation of the interaction between nationalism and social policy, and comparisons between other substate nations, is an essential comparative project and helps situate Quebec within a global polity, the study of Quebec can benefit from a committed single-case study which accounts for history and nuance.

Second, studies of immigration and integration in Quebec have primarily been normatively and quantitatively based. Building off the works of Marhraoui and McAndrews presents the opportunity to extend the study of relevant documents and policy proposals—be it implemented Bills or election platforms. Studying election platforms allows for the recognition of how campaign promises differ across parties—thus this allows for recognizing how each party differs in their desired immigration policy.

Third, although there exists considerable work which studies Quebec nationalism ranging from immigration and integration to citizenship and history, the literature is has presented an exciting opportunity to further develop the nexus between immigration and integration, and substate nationalism. While work exists which seek to better understand immigration and integration into substate nations, little account for the influence of political ideology and nationalism on the policies proposed. These relationships deserve to be analyzed more by looking at the ethnocultural diversity management and nationalism nexus through applying said nexus to Quebec as a case study. Because Quebec is both a substate nation with a credible and veritable secessionist movement and has considerable policy power over immigration and integration, the relationship between the policies proposed by each party and their interpretation concerning Quebec's place within the federal compact will help in filling the lacuna that emerges from the literature.

This work adds to the literature on substate nations, substate nationalism, and the politics of immigration and integration through the unique study of this identified nexus. Filling this gap in the literature, however, requires both a theoretical framework and an applicable methodology in order to observe whether nationalism affects public policy proposals whatsoever. Borrowing from Benedict Anderson's (2006) notion of an 'imagined community', the employed theoretical frameworks account for both policy proposals which effectively seek to affirm or protect the idea of the nation, as well as policies which seek to make the nation more open and accessible to newcomers in effect extending citizenship to newcomers through pluralist integrative measures. The employed methodology in which to observe the influences of both nationalism and electoral competition will be document analysis. Together these frameworks and methodologies will combine in order to succinctly add to the literature on Quebec politics, substate nationalism, and ethnocultural diversity management in order to more fully understand the nexus between ethnocultural diversity management, substate nationalism, and electoral competition.

Chapter II: The Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Theoretical Framework: Benedict Anderson's 'Imagined Community' and Nation Affirming & Protecting Policy Proposals; and Pluralist Policies

Quebec's two major political parties, the PQ and PLQ, represent competing sides of the sovereignist-federalist divide that has come to define Quebec politics. Where the PQ champions the cause for an independent and sovereign Quebec, the PLQ argues for Quebec's continued place within the Canadian federation. As a result, the parties occupy two different places within the ideological spectrum concerning self-governance and self-determination. These policy differences largely manifest themselves in the parties' views concerning Canadian federalism. The analysis developed in this thesis rests on a theoretical framework designed to show that the two parties, in spite of their competing and different ideologies, in fact propose similar ethnocultural diversity management policies over time.

For Benedict Anderson (2006), a nation is an "imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 2006, 6). It is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their-fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 2006, 6). Anderson successfully manages to discuss the concept of the nation without engaging the debate surrounding civic and ethnic identifications, instead offering that his view of the imagined community is composed of three elements, that the nation is: limited, sovereign, and a community (Anderson 2006, 7). It is limited because "[n]o nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind"; sovereign because it rejects the dynastic realities of old; and communal because "the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 2006, 7). This conceptualization of the nation seems to be the most fluid, adaptable, and applicable. Obviously, nations have a certain connection between members, and a legitimate nation will need this connection to be strong and be felt across a large territory by people who will never meet. Indeed, the crux of nationalism is that people feel connected to each other and have the same desires—but a legitimate community they do not make given the practical difficulties in meeting every single citizen and interacting with fellow nationals. Thus, by not specifically engaging the theoretical ethnic-civic dialogue, Anderson creates a definition of 'nation' that is simple to understand and easily applicable as a theoretical framework to determine its relevance: a true nation, in Andersonian terms, would have to be an imagined community—if no connection exists between people across a large territory, then the nation itself

is not tenable, the connection is not strong enough and will possibly either disappear or become integrated into the majority culture.

Anderson's imagined community is in agreement with Gellner's (1974) recognition that "nationalism is basically a movement which conceives the natural object of human loyalty to be a fairly large anonymous unit defined by shared language or culture" (Gellner 1974, 149). Gellner identifies that citizens in a nation need an anonymous "positive link with each other, and that the subdivisions within the nation are not of importance comparable with the large unit" (Gellner 1974, 149). While membership is debatable, Anderson's offering that a nation is an *imagined community* remains the most convincing definition. The term implies both a sense of faith (*imagined*) and belonging (*community*) in order to underscore the importance that this connection needs to exist.

The recognition of the imagined community as a political reality in Quebec allows us to situate policy proposals within the context of the Québécois nation. Using the imagined community as a theoretical basis for what comprises the nation, the first theoretical framework aims to determine whether proposed policies ultimately seek to protect or affirm this nation. The first framework, then, is a combination of 'protectionist' and 'nation affirming' proposals. The protectionist policies observed, however, entail a caveat. These policies are not interested in economic protectionism and needs to be divorced from the notion of economics entirely. Protectionist ethnocultural diversity management proposals are policies which seek to protect the nation's French fact—these proposals are not proposed as pluralist integrative measures. Examples of protectionist policies are proposals which ensure that newcomers learn French not as a means to facilitate integration but in order to protect the French fact—that learning French consolidates the imagined community's shared language by reducing the appearance of non-French languages.

The second aspect, 'nation affirming' policies, are proposals which seek to account for, codify, and concretize the values which encapsulate the Quebec nation. Thus, the proposal of policies which seek to expand the nation through non-pluralist means through integration contracts, the codification of values and morals, and seek to limit citizenship to newcomers for the benefit of settled Quebecers fundamentally seek to affirm the nation. Simply put, policies which emphasize the limiting of cultural difference in favour of a common culture are nation

affirming and seek to account for the aspects of the imagined community which bind the nation together.

First, based off Benedict Anderson's (2006) 'imagined community', the protectionist and nation affirming approach will allow for the identification of policies which seek to protect the nation from the Other as well as make the nation more salient and attempt to codify common values that belong to the nation. Second, the identification of pluralist policies will allow for recognizing when parties are proposing open, inclusive, and expansionary policies. As a result, these two classifications allow for the differentiation between the parties' policies: those which are restrictive and those which are inclusive. By parcelling out the policies in such a way, comparisons can be made between them by determining to what extent each individual proposal fits the respective typology. This allows for the total recognition of whether the proposals are restrictive or inclusive and whether the parties are proposing similar policies over time. If, as this work posits, ideological differences between the two parties are essentially mitigated concerning ethnocultural diversity management policy proposals, then the division of policies into these frameworks is essential for demonstrating the similarities and differences of the proposals across time. To better explain why two parties with different ideologies concerning Quebec's status within Canada propose similar policies, brokerage politics will be applied. Simply put, brokerage politics argues that political parties mitigate the differences between them in order to appeal to the broadest electorate possible. Brokerage politics, however, is more fully expanded upon and is the subject of its own proper chapter later in the work.

The protectionist and nation affirming approach is comprised of three aspects: protectionist proposals, nationalist proposals, and proposals which seek to limit cultural differences. Protectionist policies either overtly (through the policies proposed within the platform) or implicitly (through the way in which the policies are framed) propose policies which aim to protect the French fact. Language policy can be classified as protectionist if francization measures are proposed as a means of protecting the French language and not facilitating integration. Language policies, then, can be categorized as either protectionist, nation affirming, or pluralist depending on their context and desired result. Immigration policies can be determined to be protectionist if they aim to prioritize Francophone immigration or limit the immigration of non-Francophones specifically as a tool to ensure the survival and promotion of the French language or nation as a whole.

Nationalist policies are ones which seek greater policy autonomy. While demands for policy autonomy are neither necessarily inclusive nor exclusive, the demands for increased power concerning immigration policy are often channelled through Quebec's distinct status. This distinct status allows Quebec to demand increased policy autonomy which will allow the province to develop immigration and integration policies which best suit Quebec's distinct language, culture, and specific needs, thus affirming the imagined community. These policy demands have been coded as nation affirming/protectionist and pluralist. Coding entails determining categories in which to sort data. It allows for the facilitation of categorizing qualitative data into organized observations (McNabb 2010, 258; Silverman 2010, 432). For this thesis, the notions of nation affirming, nation protecting, and pluralism were applied to each proposed immigration and integration policy throughout the PLQ and PQ's electoral programs. Each policy was determined to fit one of these classifications. Nation affirming and nation protecting occupied the same organizational space and pluralist policies occupied a separate space. The goal of this organization is to demonstrate observable differences between policies and to determine whether more protectionist or affirming measures were proposed than were pluralist measures[8].

The policies have been categorized as nation affirming or protectionist for two reasons. First, outright demands for greater policy autonomy based off cultural and linguistic uniqueness are nationalist in nature given that they take the nation into account and believe that the substate unit is better equipped to deal with their own needs than is the national unit. Second, policy demands can be categorized as protectionist if the demands seek policy autonomy as a means of protecting the nation through the eventual implementation of unique immigration and integration policies. Simply put, policies which demand greater autonomy and decision-making power over ethnocultural diversity management policies from the federal government are classified as protectionist given that these requests are determined through Quebec's distinct status and, as such, Quebec desires greater policy autonomy as a means of protecting and ensuring this distinct status. The third aspect of the protectionist and affirmationist approach are policies which seek to limit or reduce the cultural differences between the settling and the settled—either by proposing policies such as 'moral' or 'integration' contracts, banning certain religious practices in public,

[8] The coding scheme can be found in the attached Appendix B.

banning the wearing of religious symbols which asymmetrically targets one religious group over another, or through legislations which seek to codify Quebec's common values.

In contrast, pluralist ethnocultural diversity management policies are the fundamental opposite of affirmationist and protectionist policies. Pluralism has been defined through referring to the "fact that contemporary states are characterized by a growing diversity of collective identities and by a growing political expression of that diversity. In its normative sense, pluralism refers to an ideology (more precisely, a family of ideologies) claiming that definitions of citizenship should be sensitive to sociological pluralism" (Karmis 2004, 70). Looking at the relationship between multiculturalism and pluralism, Schiller (2015) contends that multiculturalism "bestows value on cultural pluralism and emphasizes the rights of migrants to hold on to their cultural belongings. The state is meant to ensure that cultural groups are recognized (Faist 2009, 1976). In local practice, this was often implemented by identifying 'target groups' that received specific attention or funds by state institutions" (Schiller 2015, 1127). Although Quebec does not subscribe to the 'multicultural approach', Schiller's identification of multicultural pluralism allows for the identification of pluralist ethnocultural diversity management proposals (Schiller 2015, 1127). These proposals seek to recognize different cultural groups, promote their traditions and cultures, and ensure their survival alongside the French majority culture and language. The Quebec model of interculturalism allows these cultures to exist coterminous with the nation on the expectation that the newcomer eventually integrates into the majority culture and language but the newcomer is still allowed the right to maintain their cultural traditions thus interculturalism is a non-assimilationist form of integration. These policies are more open and inclusive than are the nation affirming and protectionist policies. Language policy can be pluralist if the learning of French is formulated as a way of facilitating integration at large into the linguistic majority and not as a means of protecting the nation.

More concretely, a pluralist view is one where political parties outwardly recognize that languages other than French, and that religions and cultures which are not part of the mainstream, ward off cultural sterility and are a net benefit to Quebec. It aims to support and promote different cultures and traditions. Pluralist policies in Quebec generally try to balance the ability of the newcomer to maintain their already held unique culture and tradition while attempting to ensure that they integrate into the majority culture and language. Yet newcomers

are not expected to stop adhering to their language and culture. These can be practiced in parallel to the French culture and language, but pluralist policies do not seek to limit or restrict cultural differences between the settled and the newly established Quebecer. The protectionist and nation affirming approach can readily be contrasted to the pluralist approach as they differ in their policy intentions. One seeks to make the nation more identifiable and reduce difference between the newly established and the settled, while the other aims to promote cultural difference alongside the cultural and linguistic majority. These approaches, however, do not necessarily have anything to do with the respective political party. Indeed, it would be a common place value judgement for one to say that the PQ is more restrictive than is the PLQ. But when looking at the parties' ideological predisposition concerning Quebec's place within Canada, one can safely assume that the PQ will opt for more nation affirming and protectionist policies than would the PLQ. The desire to fortify the nation from an encroaching federal government and North American Anglophone hegemony impels the PQ to propose ethnocultural diversity management policies which seek to facilitate the sovereignty project and protect the nation, prioritize Francophone immigrants as a way of ensuring the survival of the French language, and instil integrative efforts to court newcomers to the sovereignty project. Regardless, the application of these approaches allows for the recognition of whether a party relied more on either nation affirming, protectionist, or pluralist policies. As a whole, these approaches both allow for the recognition of the preferred policies in a specific election by each party, as well as the identification of shifts over time—whether the parties continuously converged overtime by favouring pluralism or whether convergence occurred through a similar for protectionist and nation affirming policies.

In sum, policies which seek to protect the nation, give the nation more policy autonomy from the federal government, and limit or reduce cultural differences have been classified as protectionist or nation affirming. This typology accounts for the policy areas which take the nation into account—the policies which seek to make the nation more tangible and actively engages the common sense of unity and collectivity which binds the nation's members together, particularly in the face of the Other and perceived threats to the nation's continued survival. To apply this theoretical framework to the Quebec case, however, there must be something of which it is to be applied. The application of this framework relies heavily on the availability of electoral

platforms. Studying a large number of electoral platforms spanning a nearly 40-year period, however, is subject to a considerably rigorous methodological application.

The theoretical frameworks and the subsequent coding scheme requires a discussion of its overall validity. To this point, the coding scheme allows for the recognitions of pluralist, restrictive, and nation affirming policies. The identification of ethnocultural diversity management policy combined with historical context, electoral context, party ideology, policy intention, and conceptions of nationalism allows for the illumination of how these policies fundamentally aimed to either protect or promote the nation. From here, policies could be identified as pluralist or non-pluralist and then placed in within a framework which appropriately accounted for these distinctions. Non-pluralist proposals were coded as 'nation affirming' and 'nation protecting' while pluralist policies were coded as 'pluralist'. As a result, a coding scheme emerges which can then account for policy difference across elections and parties from 1976 onward. By looking at historical context, ideology, and conceptions of the nation, the coding scheme itself is subject to considerable validity. Because the interpretation of the nation—that is, defense or promotion—serve as the overarching reality under which these policies are studied, the theoretical frameworks and the coding scheme can be subject to replication by other researchers. By using, expanding, and further developing these frameworks, future researchers may be able to classify policies, or policy proposals, outside the area of ethnocultural diversity management and account for the nationalistic similarities and differences of the PLQ and PQ in different policy areas. In sum, the coding scheme accounts for ideological difference and competing conceptions of the nation. To that extent, policies can confidently be identified as either pluralist or non-pluralist by researchers and the coding scheme demonstrates reliability and validity in terms of the codification process, theoretical application, and possibility for future replication. A visual representation of the coding scheme is found in the attached Appendix A—what constitutes nation affirming, protecting, and pluralist policy proposals have been organized in a horizontal organizational chart. To that point, the policies are not organized by any type of hierarchy, all are weighed and coded equally without placing more value on any one type.

However, the coding scheme is subject to limitations. The binary composition of the scheme (pluralist or non-pluralist) does not account for multidimensional policies. A single policy proposal may contain rhetorical elements of both pluralism and *non*-pluralism and thus confuses the coding process. It is possible that a policy proposal may encompass more than just

immigration or integration. To this point, economic-immigration has been included in ethnocultural diversity management policy proposals without fundamentally engaging with the protection or promotion of the nation. Given that some of these policies cannot be classified as pluralist or non-pluralist, they could not be included in the coding scheme. Similarly, education and language policy were at times lumped into immigration and integration policies without directly engaging with the nation (either by protecting or promoting it) and these policies could not be adequately placed within the coding scheme. Thus the binary composition of the coding scheme does not account for all policies (economic, education, and language) but accounts for the vast majority of the proposed policies.

Furthermore, there are limits concerning the process of qualitative data coding, primarily that there is a "failure to generate mutually agreed-upon systems of coding through which diverse content could be investigated and compared across all types of content analysis projects" (Crano *et al*. 2015, 312). Because this project essentially aims to demonstrate a narrative across the studied electoral platforms (Prior 2011), the generalizability of narratives is not as generalizable as are quantitative-based findings (Pepper and Wildy 2009, 22). Thus, where qualitative-based generalizability may not be feasible across cases and countries; the notion of 'transferability' is applicable given that the identified narratives from this work can be applied to other substate nations (Pepper and Wily 2009, 22). Transferability is, in effect, the researcher's ability to demonstrate, through content and document analysis, the rhetorical and methodological validity of the findings in order to convince readers of the legitimacy of the work. Emergent narratives, however, must have explanatory power and appear to be authentic (Pepper and Wily 2009, 22). Thus, an associated problem with the identification of a narrative over time is the lack of methodological rigour in which to *demonstrate* the narrative—apart from the researcher's rhetorical ability.

Where narrative development may not have generalizability and instead relies of transferability (Pepper and Willy 2009, 22), the coding (or indexing) of identified data points within documents may serve to strengthen transferability and methodological validity. By developing a series of classificatory regimes through which the identification of whether a policy is protectionist, affirmationist, or pluralist, the coding scheme allows for an organisable means in which to classify and analyse ethnocultural diversity management policies. While the employed coding system does allow for policies to be parcelled out based on an applied theoretical

framework; the coding system in this work does not employ a formal hierarchy. To that point, Drisko and Maschi (2015) note that, when conducting *inductive* research, a hierarchy of indices primarily allows researchers to determine which codes serve as the guiding basis for a subsidiary of codes. Thus, hierarchies add rigour and reliability to the coding process given that a subsidiary of codes can be further classified among the hierarchy. Simply put, the inductive hierarchy manipulates the coding plan so as to make sure that codes are not randomly assigned to certain categories—that there exists a hierarchy guiding the division of non-classified codes. This ensures, then, that the coding schema has a methodological rigour behind it and allows the researcher to then analyse the finished coding application for common themes, narratives, similarities, and differences.

While hierarchies have significant benefit for inductive qualitative data coding (ensuring sense of direction), this work relies on a *deductive* coding application where a pre-identified theoretical framework is employed to derive classificatory categories (Drisko and Marschi 2015, 106). Thus, the initial theory of Benedict Anderson's *imagined community* serves as the basis in which the polices are situated—from here, then, the concepts of nation protecting, affirming, and pluralist policies are derived and applied to the election platforms. Although the coding scheme does not employ a formal hierarchy in the *inductive* sense, the *deductive* method allows for Anderson's theory to develop the coding and classificatory rules concerning the policy proposals. So where inductive coding allows for the hierarchy as the overarching umbrella, deductive coding ensures that pre-existing theory serves as the motivation for the coding process. In sum, from the *imagined community* comes the notion of nation protecting, affirming, and pluralist policy proposals. The policy proposals found within electoral platforms are then categorized based on those three frameworks. Although this work does not employ a formal hierarchy, that does not mean that there is no guide. One of the strengths of the theory-driven inductive model is that it allows for consistency across time periods. By holding the classificatory schemes constant over time, the organized codes are then ready for critical analysis by the researcher. The researcher can then identify narratives or themes within the data over time specifically in relation to the organized data (Drisko and Marschi 2015, 107). A further strength of the inductive method is that it allows for replication. The theoretical frameworks which are applied to the data can further be applied, altered, or expanded upon by future researchers both to different cases or the same cases.

The replication of the coding scheme, however, speaks to a limitation of the work—notably that it is devoid of inter-coder reliability. In most projects involving qualitative data coding, the researcher ought to develop the coding schema, code a base amount, and then rely on the participation of a colleague to code the *same data* in relation to the given theory or hierarchy. From there, the third-party researcher's coding can then be compared with the primary researcher's in order to determine areas of agreement, disagreement, and ambiguity. The participation of other researchers engaging in qualitative data coding strengthens the primary researcher's framework due to inter-coder reliability. This reliability ensures greater reproducibility, validity, and reliability (Drisko and Marschi 2015, 107). This thesis, however, primarily due to time constraints, does not employ a method of ensuring inter-coder reliability. As a result, the coding scheme and indexing of policy proposals has only been deemed reliable and valid by the researcher and are subject to valid criticisms of researcher bias (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1283; Trumbell 2005, 121). The non-reproduced, subjective scoring "is subject to much criticism" and "[e]xtreme care must be executed by the researcher in collecting data" (Trumbell 2005, 121).

Where classic content analysis resulting in the enumeration of qualitative data often excludes the document's context, this work's documentary analysis seeks to limit the bias within the coding and classification process by taking into account the context of the document—as a result, the identification and explanation of the context should reduce the inherent bias association with this type of study (McNabb 2010, 320). Furthermore, the way in which pre-existing theory guides the coding process and the justification of its use, as well as the division of theoretical frameworks (see Appendix A) demonstrate *what* constitutes a certain policy. To that extent, other researchers can apply these justification and theoretical guidance in order to determine whether the employed coding scheme in, indeed, justifiable, valid, and reproducible.

Methodology

In order to determine the nature of the policy proposals the analysis will proceed by reviewing the election platforms and policy documents of the PLQ and PQ between 1976 and 2014. It will critically examine the discursive and rhetorical elements of appropriate documents and compare and contrast them with their preceding documents as well as the proposed and implemented policies of their political rival.

Bowen (2009) defines document analysis as a "systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic […] material. […] document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge" (Bowen 2009, 27). Document analysis is a "procedure [which] entails selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesising data contained in documents" and "yields data—excerpts, quotations, or entire passages—that are then organised into major themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis" (Bowen 2009, 28). Documents are "'social facts', in that they are produced, shared and used in socially organised ways. They are not, however, transparent representations of organisational routines, decision-making processes, or professional practices. Documents construct particular kinds of representations using literary conventions" (Atkinson and Coffey 2011, 79). Yet one has to treat documents carefully and "approach documents for what they are and what they are used to accomplish. [One] should examine their place in organisational settings, the cultural values attached to them, their distinctive types and forms" (Atkinson and Coffey 2011, 79). Document analysis has considerable benefits (Bowen 2009, 31), notably easy access, cost-effectiveness, exactness, stability, and their ability to "endure and thus give historical insight" (Hodder 1994, 393). In the case at hand, all election platforms have been made publicly available thanks to the non-partisan *PolText* project undertaken by Université Laval.

Particularly because platforms serve as "repositories for ideologies" (Hartmann 2014, 30), and that Schmitter (2001) demonstrates that "party platforms provide the best possible means for aggregating diverse interests […] into a coherent, system-wide mix of public policies" (Schmitter 2001, 67), the study of electoral platforms allows for observing the extent that each party's inherent ideology affects their immigration policies. One could expect that the sovereignist PQ proposed immigration policies which sought to facilitate the sovereignty project while the federalist PLQ proposed immigration policies which added to the pan-Canadian multicultural mosaic and stressed Canadian unity instead of a policy which gave primacy to the Quebec nation. In addition to electoral platforms, inaugural addresses will be studied in order to determine the extent to which premiers gave importance to issues of immigration—thus determining whether the measures proposed in their electoral platforms were echoed on the floor of the National Assembly when speaking to a new legislative session.

Document analysis has been employed by Budge (1987) in his review of post-war election programs in 19 democracies[9]. He argues that "election programmes are interesting not only for their bearing on government action, but also for their contribution to the electoral success of the party, to the formation of like-minded coalitions, and to the study of policy-spaces constraining the choices the choices rational actors will make" (Budge 1987, 15). Because Budge's intention was to "trace the broad development of party appeals over the post-war period", he chose to "focus on a set of key central statements of party position through which we could map the movements of parties over time" including "party manifestos or platforms, or, in their absence, the nearest equivalent, ranging from the especially authoritative and comprehensive statements made by party leaders" (Budge 1987, 17-18). Budge recognizes that election manifestos are an essential tool for understanding the development of party appeals over time.

Similarly, Rose (1988) identifies election platforms as "a piece of political journalism; its purpose is to persuade, and to do so by evoking partisan slogans and symbols" (Rose 1984, 61). Schmitter argues that "party platforms provide the best possible means for aggregating diverse interests and passions into a coherent [and] system-wide mix of public policies" (Schmitter 2001, 67) while Hartmann identifies platforms as "repositories for ideologies" which "possess a certain continuity from one election to another […] and their policy mixes 'satisfy the general demands of their constituents'" (Hartmann 2014, 30). For Hartmann, platforms represent ideology through the enunciation of policy—yet he understands that "it is unclear whether party ideology as expressed in these documents really influences policy-making or whether there is a gap between the advertised policies and this is implemented when in office" (Hartmann 2014, 30). Where Hartmann identifies the ideological reality of platforms, Robertson (1976) identifies platforms as "required to be sensitive to the popularity and success of policies […], and to reflect majority interest even when that is to be unnecessarily competitive" (Robertson 1976, 18). Election platforms are thus an essential tool in determining the evolution of political parties' policy proposals. It is through comprehensive documentary analysis of election platforms and policy statements that the similarity and difference of each party's policy proposals can be analyzed. Election platforms present themselves as a vehicle in which to observe the evolution of

[9] For the influence of election platforms in Canada, see Rallings (1987).

nationalist sentiment in Quebec and to what extent this is mirrored, or not, in each party's proposed policies.

Dealing with the content of a document, such as an electoral program, can seem like an intimidating task. Abbot *et al*. (2004) contend that, specifically when looking at prospective documents, one method of analyzing said documents is to "simply extract basic descriptive information about the documents" (Abbot *et al*. 2004, 261). Analyzing their contents may lead to the identification of 'policy narrative', or a continuing theme or pattern that appears throughout similar documents (Prior 2011). More concretely, Prior (2011) identifies a policy narrative through the analysis of health documents: "Virtually all health documents in all countries contain policy narratives and although such documents can relate to vastly different areas of activity, then tend to contain a similar storyline" (Prior 2011, 98). In sum, analyzing documents over time may allow for the recognition of the emergence of a policy narrative—the realization that a certain policy area may create a somewhat path-dependent structure where a 'story' is told that either reinforces the past decisions made or continuously presents a policy area that is contested between competing parties.

Documentary analysis itself, according to Bowen, has five main academic benefits: (i) "documents provide data on the context within which research participants operate […]. […] documents may provide background information as well as historical insight"; (ii) documents allow for the recognition of additional research questions; (iii) "documents provide supplementary research data"; (iv) documents provide a means of tracking change and development. Where various drafts of a particular document are accessible, the researcher can compare them to identify the changes. Even subtle changes in a draft can reflect substantive developments in a project"; and (v) documents can be analyzed as a means "to verify findings or corroborate evidence from other sources" (Bowen 2009; 29; 30). The actual analysis itself involves "skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation. This iterative process combines elements of content analysis and thematic analysis"; content analysis is defined as the "process of organising information into categories related to the central questions of research" (Bowen 2009, 32). Bowen (2009, 33-34) succinctly synthesizes his analysis of document analysis as follows:

> Document analysis, then, is not a matter of lining up a series of excerpts from printed material to convey whatever idea comes to the researcher's mind. Rather, it is a process of evaluating documents in such a way that

> empirical knowledge is produced and understanding is developed. In the process, the researcher should strive for objectivity and sensitivity, and maintain balance between both.

Rapley (2007) contends that exploring a text is more than solely observing the words of the document in a non-contextual way, indeed there is a significant amount of rhetorical strategy that needs to be interpreted and analyzed: "When studying texts you are also interested in the *rhetorical work of the text*, how the specific issues it raises are structured and organized and chiefly *how it seeks to persuade you* about the authority of its understanding of the issue" (Rapley 2007, 113 emphasis in original).

Document analysis is an important and large analytical tool. Where Rapley (2007, 113) recognizes that analyzing documents requires accounting for rhetoric, organization, and the ability to persuade; content analysis is an aspect of document analysis which seeks to do just that. As a result, content analysis falls under the overarching umbrella of document analysis but seeks to refine it as an analytic tool. Content analysis has been variously defined as "the process of identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns in the data" (Patton 1990, 381); "any techniques for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti (1969) in Benoit 2011, 269); and "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts […] to the contexts of their use. This definition is important for stressing the context of content analysis" (Krippendorf (2004) in Benoit 2011, 269). White and Marsh (2006) and Elo and Kyngäs (2008) present definitions which are easiest to apply to the documentary analysis of election platforms. First, White and Marsh (2006) argue that content analysis is flexible which takes the document's context into account in order to "move from text to the answers to the research questions" (White and Marsh 2006, 27). Second, Elo and Kyngäs (2008) argue that "[c]ontent analysis is a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action (Krippendorff 1980). The aim is to attain a condensed and broad description of the phenomenon, and the outcome of the analysis is concepts or categories describing the phenomenon" (Elo and Kyngäs 2008, 108). Content analysis, then, is a part of document analysis but with a greater importance on the context and inferences that emerge from the document being studied. Analysing these documents needs an organizational approach in order to make sense of what can be a large amount of data. Implicit in content analysis is qualitative data coding.

The timeline of nearly 40 years of Quebec history from 1976-2014 results in a total of ten campaigns for a total of 20 platforms. In order to make analyses concerning the policy proposals over time, the findings from each platform needs to be *coded* or *categorized* so as to facilitate the contrasting and comparison of the data over time. Coding has been defined as "putting data into theoretically defined categories in order to analyse them" (Silverman 2010, 432); "the process of applying some conceptually meaningful set of identifiers to the concepts, categories, and characteristics" (McNabb 2010, 258); and "[c]ommunications—oral, written, or other—are coded or classified according to some conceptual framework. Thus, for example, newspaper editorials may be coded as liberal or conservative" (Babbie 1998, 313). More generally, coding requires parceling out the differences in the documents that one is analyzing. Determining how to code the aspects of a document is dependent upon the type of coding one does. This work employs *qualitative data coding*—that is "the researcher's initial foci are not a priori codes but the initial foreshadowing questions he aims to answer through his research" (White and Marsh 2006, 37). The coding undertaken seeks to answer the previously discussed research questions. This work first and foremost argues that the PLQ and PQ put forth converging pluralist immigration and integration policies. As a result, the proposed immigration policies by each party are to be coded as either *nation affirming*, *protectionist* or *pluralist*. This is indicative of deductive qualitative coding where a set of pre-determined codes, or categories, have been identified from the theoretical literature (Benoit 2011, 271).

In order to apply the nation affirming, protectionist, and pluralist typologies, the content analysis and coding scheme employed can be defined as a "directed approach" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). The directed approach uses prior theory in order to guide the classification process resulting in a strategy which begins with immediately coding the data with predetermined codes (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1282). Data which cannot be coded as either nation affirming, protectionist, or pluralist are "identified and analyzed later to determine if they represent a new category or a subcategory of an existing code. The choice of which of these approaches to use depends on the data and the researcher's goal" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1282). The content analysis and coding scheme employed differ from the traditional intended results of content analysis which has the ultimate goal of enumerating the findings, resulting in observing the "presence or absence of a given category [which] can be measured or the 'frequency with which the category appears,' or the 'amount of space allotted to the category,' or

the ‘strength or intensity with which the category is represented’” (Buttolph *et al*. 2008, 284). Instead, this coding scheme engages with hermeneutics as a tool of “deciphering the meaning of the text (1) through the eyes and intent of the writer or creator of the text or artifact, (2) according to the time frame existing at the time of writing, and (3) considering the political and cultural environmental influences existing at the time of the creation of the text or artifact” (McNabb 2010, 315). McNabb defines hermeneutic research as extrapolating the *meaning* of a text, thus “meaning cannot be deciphered without understanding the context as well as the text or phenomenon” (McNabb 2010, 316). Therefore, the coding process favoured here is not simply about identifying and counting how many times a certain word or phrase was mentioned; instead each specific proposal will be analyzed in the contextual reality in which it is situated.

Chapter III: Immigration

Not only are immigration and integration policies conflated within the academic literature, but both the PLQ and PQ often mould these two policy areas together within their electoral programs. For the parties, immigration is part-and-parcel of integration policy. This chapter, however, distinguishes between immigration and integration. Simply put, immigration policy proposals deal with getting newcomers to Quebec and integration proposals attempt to determine what needs to be done once the newcomer has arrived.

The recruitment and selection of newcomers over time in Quebec has been subject to considerable evolution, both reflected in the discursive change undertaken by various Quebec ministries (Juteau 2002; Symons 2002) and through the PLQ and PQ's conceptualizations of immigration over time, shifting from prioritizing in-Canada immigration to prioritizing immigration from Francophone countries, and going from being driven by Quebec's demographic realities to being motivated by economic considerations. Throughout, though, concern over the protection of language policy autonomy from the federal government played a constant role in these changing conceptualizations. Overall, the immigration policies put forth by the PQ which sought to protect the French language were not reflective of the party's larger sovereignty ambitions. Instead, the policies aimed to solely protect the French language and did not seek to increase the likelihood of achieving political independence through the creation of immigration policies which were more sympathetic to the sovereignist project.

This chapter explores the ways in which the parties formulated their immigration policies over time and demonstrates that five themes emerge. The first one is the protection of Quebec's French fact. The second theme is the acquisition of policy autonomy. The third concerns the demographic challenges that the province faced. Fourth is economic challenges. And the fifth and final theme is the importance of language.

Theme I: Protection of the French Fact

With Quebec's historical shift away from the *Grande Noirceur* of the Duplessis era into the province's coming-of-age as a boisterous defender of the Quebecois people during the Quiet Revolution, reflected in changing ideologies concerning the nation's citizenship (Beauchemin 2004; Gagnon and Iacovino 2004; Karmis 2004; Rocher 2002; Salée 2011), and culminating in the election of the province's first sovereignist government in 1976, the province was now set on a new political path—one in which political competition was to be contested between two

political parties representing a clear difference in ideology concerning Quebec's place within Canada. Within a substate nation such as Quebec, a nation which is both a majority and a minority within a large North American Anglophone hegemon, immigration poses itself as a sensitive issue. The nation first must determine whether immigration is desirable given perceived exogenous threats to the nation's language and cultural uniqueness—welcoming newcomers may create an endogenous threat where newcomers may possess values which threaten the imagined community.

The 1976 campaign saw the PQ propose only a single policy concerning immigration. This proposal was to "take the necessary measures to prioritize the immigration of already established francophone families and individuals"[10] (PQ 1976, 305). The notion of minority recruitment through immigration is extended to Canadian minorities thus there is an attempt to protect the nation through prioritizing the immigration of those who have the ability to easily integrate into their new host society by explicitly prioritizing those who are already familiar with French instead of those who are not. This proposal is an explicit preference for domestic immigration instead of international immigration. This prioritization of intra-Canada immigration, specifically intra-Canada Francophone immigration, came to partly define the PQ's immigration policy for the next three elections (PQ 1981, 49; PQ 1985, 31; PQ 1989, 85). These early efforts to recruit and select French-speaking immigrants from within Canada, even during their later reconceptualization of immigration as a tool to address Quebec's demographic decline, were offered as means in which to reinforce Quebec's French culture and language (PQ 1976, 305; 1981, 49; 1985, 31; 1989, 77, 85). Although this early prioritization of intra-Canada immigration served as a protectionist measure, the PQ proposed pluralist immigration policies in 1981 (PQ 1981, 9) and 1985 (PQ 1985, 13).

While the PQ first prioritized immigration as a protectionist tool during the 1976, 1981, 1985, and 1989 elections, the party also proposed two pluralist immigration policies in conjunction with this conceptualization. The 1985 platform proposed an immigration policy which encouraged the expression of different cultural communities (PQ 1985, 13) and was a pluralist recognition that the province needed to remain accommodating to non-Canadian immigration. By remaining open to non-Canadian immigration, this policy was an implicit acceptance that the protection of the French fact did not need to be achieved solely through intra-

[10] All translations are the author's own.

Canadian immigration. The 1981 platform proposed the pluralist creation of a ministry specifically dealing with immigration—a resulting 'super ministry' which would simultaneously deal with work and the workforce, social wellbeing and family, health, youth, and immigration would all be under the Ministry of Social Affairs (PQ 1981, 9). While the new ministry was to be responsible for a host of obligations, this proposal has been categorized as pluralist because it is an acceptance of immigration and attempts to extend the state's role into the sphere of immigration. Indeed, the creation of a ministry to deal with immigration was proposed in 1976 by the PLQ in their proposal for a Ministry of Population and Immigration with two principal tasks. The first task concerned immigration: "determining Quebec's demographic policy objectives: volume, growth rate, geographical distribution, and a demo-linguistic balance", and to provide advice to the Minister in regards to immigration policy and demographic problems; while the second task concerns integration: "to formulate immigration policies concerning immigrants' needs upon arrival and for their integration into life in Quebec" (PLQ 1976, 55).

Although the PQ proposed immigration policies which favoured in-Canada Francophone immigration, and later Francophone immigration as a whole, in 1976, the PLQ did not echo this sentiment. So while this prioritization of French speaking immigrants is in line with the PQ's nationalist ideology, particularly concerning the importance of the preservation of the Quebecois nation, the PLQ framed their immigration policies in 1976 in terms of policy autonomy. How the parties framed their immigration policies were not similar but ultimately still sought to address the same ends: protecting the French fact. From 1976-1985, the PQ thought this could best be done by ensuring that immigrants understood French upon arrival. This would make integration easier and would ensure that the French language, a primordial element of the nation, would remain intact. The PLQ, however, committed themselves to the protection of the nation through vociferous demands for more provincial power over immigrant selection and recruitment. Although the first two decades of immigration policy proposals were framed differently, a dissimilarity between the two parties emerged, one where they fundamentally agreed on the ends (the survival of the nation) but disagreed on the means.

Theme II: Policy autonomy, 1976-1994

As noted by Seidle (2010), "[i]n virtually all federations, subnational governments have no say in the selection of immigrants. Canada is an exception" (Seidle 2010, 49). Although Quebec's autonomy concerning immigration is best exemplified in the Canada-Quebec Accord (Béchard

2011; Government of Canada 1991; Seidle 2010), the province long had a history of incrementally increasing its power concerning immigration since 1971. After winning the 1970 provincial election, Robert Bourassa's PLQ signed the Lang-Cloutier Agreement, a "modest" agreement which "authorized the province to post an immigration counsellor in designated countries" (Seidle 2010, 50). Following the Lang-Cloutier Agreement and the PLQ's successful re-election in 1973, Bourassa's government signed the Andras-Bienvenue Agreement in 1975 which gave Quebec a "role in immigrant selection and was enhanced in 1978" through the Cullen-Couture Agreement (Seidle 2010, 50). The 1971, 1975, and 1978 agreements were, in effect, incremental transfers of powers away from the federal government to the province of Quebec concerning immigration. In fact, two of these three agreements, 1971 and 1975, were signed by Liberal governments—indicating that even the federalist party demanded increased policy autonomy from the federal government in this area. And yet, the constitutional devolution of immigration policy towards the provincial level effectively allowed the province to become increasingly more vociferous in their demands for more powers in this policy area. The biggest increase in immigration policy autonomy the province received, however, was a direct result of the Meech Lake Accord's failure (Béchard 2011, 1) which typified the ongoing demands for increased policy autonomy espoused by both the PQ and PLQ since 1976 onwards. This convergence is particularly significant given the language in which the parties' demand for policy autonomy were couched were essentially the same: that Quebec needed unique powers of the selection, recruitment, and integration of newcomers as a way of ensuring their demographic survival and the continuance of the French fact. Both the sovereignist PQ and federalist PLQ equally agreed that increased powers over immigration were essential to the survival of the Quebec nation—and by extension the imagined community—and these demands further came to frame immigration policy proposals until the signing of the Canada-Quebec Accord in 1991.

From 1976-1994, the PLQ primarily framed their immigration policies through demands for increased policy autonomy concerning immigration. Based off the considerable and incremental transfer of powers to Quebec from the 1971 and 1975 agreements, the PLQ's 1976 platform called for a recognition that "immigration is a shared constitutional jurisdiction between the federal government and the provincial government, [but] Quebec's recruitment policy must have defined shared criteria with the federal government which are oriented towards Quebec's specific needs" (PLQ 1976, 55-56).

Although the platform recognized the shared nature of immigration policy as set forth by the British North America Act, 1867, there was still the demand for a policy "oriented towards Quebec's specific needs" in respect to this shared jurisdiction, thus demonstrating that the shared jurisdiction must have a unique composition which recognized Quebec's sociodemographic and sociolinguistic uniqueness (PLQ 1976, 55-56). In essence, the 1976 platform's proposal was a way of arguing that the federal immigration policy could not be one-size-fits-all and it must take Quebec's unique needs into account; the federal immigration policy had to be tailored to Quebec. Although the PLQ did not mention policy autonomy in their 1981 platform, the PQ identified, in 1981, that the tailoring of immigration policy to best fit Quebec's needs could be done through sole control over immigration policy, this allowed the PQ to explicitly promise to "exercise exclusive jurisdiction in matters of immigration" (PQ 1981, 49). This demand by the PQ is not altogether surprising given that the party's *raison d'être* is the creation of an independent Quebec, demands for policy transfer from the national to subnational level are a logical extension of the sovereignty project. The constitutional transfer of this shared jurisdiction to the provincial level, for the PQ, is a recognition by the party that the federal policy is not best suited for Quebec and that Quebec is well equipped to be responsible for its own unique selection and recruitment policies.

The PLQ, however, continued to demand increased policy autonomy from 1985 onwards. Found in the "*La carte du Canada et de la Francophonie*" section, the 1985 platform first outlines the PLQ's constitutional demands from the federal government with a promise that a "PLQ government, which understands the necessity of recognizing Quebec as a distinct society and to give this society the required instruments for its social and economic development, will continue its pragmatic efforts to end the constitutional reforms brought about by the Party, notably concerning the Supreme Court, the Senate, and the *sharing of powers*" (PLQ 1985, 11, emphasis added). Couched by the Lévesque government's refusal to sign the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1981, the PLQ proposed a policy to "end the constitutional reforms" (PLQ 1985, 11) and to address the sharing of powers, an area under which immigration falls. Although constitutional reforms came to dominate Quebec's political climate with the Mulroney government's Meech Lake Accord beginning in 1987, the PLQ included full powers over immigration as a pre-requisite for its signature on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1985. Indeed, the reference to the "sharing of powers" can be extended to the area of immigration—

one of the few constitutional areas in which powers are shared between the state and substate unit. The second proposal concerning immigration in the 1985 platform is found under the "Conditions for Accepting the New Constitution" section. This proposal is an elaboration on the previous statement which referenced the shared jurisdiction of powers, and promised that a PLQ government would "reclaim the constitutional recognition of Quebec's right to determine with the federal government the number and selection of immigrants coming to Quebec, these new guaranties will serve as instruments for the development of Quebec's policy concerning population and immigration" (PLQ 1985, 13). This reclamation of the constitutional right to conjointly determine the recruitment and selection of newcomers to Quebec are precursors to what the Bourassa government demanded in the Meech Lake Accord's negotiations—outright independent control over immigration policy from the federal government.

Quebec's refusal to sign the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 proved to be an issue worth rectifying with the election of the federal Mulroney government in 1984. Mulroney twice attempted to receive Quebec's signature on the Charter through the Meech Lake Accord in 1987 and the Charlottetown Accord in 1992. As a result, the Meech Lake Accord and Charlottetown Accord came to define the political climate of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Included in these constitutional discussions were demands from the PLQ for increased autonomy concerning immigration policy from the federal government—ultimately leading to this increased autonomy in 1991 (Paquet 2016, 63; Simeon 1988, s9). The PLQ's continued formulation of immigration policy through an administrative and constitutional struggle for greater policy autonomy largely came to a head with the Meech Lake Accord. The Meech Lake Accord has been subject to study concerning its impacts on federalism (Simeon 1998) and its failure (Cairns 1988), and so too has the Charlottetown Accord (Johnston 1993; LeDuc and Pammett 1995), but little has been done which examines the relationship between immigration, integration, and these constitutional projects. With the Meech Lake Accord beginning in 1987, and with the 1985 platform demanding increased policy autonomy for Quebec, the PLQ's 1989[11] platform included an immigration proposal, in the 'Reception and Insertion into Quebec' section, which demanded that "federal immigration policy has to take into account the unique and additional powers Quebec has concerning immigration policy" (PLQ 1989*a*, 56). This continued

[11] Although beginning in 1987, the Meech Lake Accord had a three year period for it to receive approval from the provincial legislatures.

the Party's non-negotiable demand that one of the requirements for receiving Quebec's signature on the Charter at the 1987 Meech Lake Accord, and the Charter by extension, was a legal devolution of immigration policy to the province.

Where both the Meech Lake Accord and Charlottetown Accord failed, the Meech Lake Accord's demise proved to be beneficial for the PLQ's long-standing desire for the constitutional transfer of immigration policy from being shared to unique to Quebec. The Canada-Quebec Accord was, in terms of scale, the largest and most significant transfer of powers to the substate level. The Accord codified the demands that both the PQ and PLQ had been making, including granting Quebec the "selection of persons who wish to reside permanently or temporarily in Québec, their admission into Canada, their integration into Québec society, and the determination of levels of immigration to Québec" (Government of Canada 1991). The stated objective of the Accord was the "preservation of Québec's demographic importance within Canada and the integration of immigrants to that province in a manner that respects the distinct identity of Québec" (Government of Canada 1991). As an outcome of the Meech Lake Accord, the Canada-Quebec Accord incorporated "the Meech Lake Accord's commitment that Quebec should receive the same percentage of the total number of immigrants admitted to Canada as is its percentage of the Canadian population, with the right to exceed this figure by 5%, for demographic reasons" (Béchard 2011, 2). Not only was the federal government to withdraw from the selection, recruitment, and integration of newcomers into Quebec, but they were now to provide Quebec with financial compensation with "[e]ach year's payment […] calculated according to an 'escalation factor'. The grant has grown from $76 million in 1991/92 to $254 for 2010/11" (Seidle 2010, 50).

Although the PQ did not propose policies which sought to increase the powers the province had over immigration policy apart from the 1981 platform, this is not altogether surprising. With the PQ's ultimate political goal being the secession of Quebec from Canada, increased policy autonomy over virtually every area of policy is assumed. The Party's silence within its platforms does not mean that it did not want the transfer of powers. The PLQ, however, proposed policies which sought greater autonomy in the 1976, 1985, and 1989 elections. The 1976 and 1985 platforms formulated these demands through a more stringent application of the shared jurisdiction in order for it to account for Quebec's cultural uniqueness but the 1989 platform was set against the backdrop of the Meech Lake Accord and the Bourassa

Liberals' demand for outright autonomy of the selection, recruitment, and integration of newcomers into Quebec. Even in the post-Meech Lake Accord environment, and with the signing of the Canada-Quebec Accord in 1991, the PLQ remained committed to seeking increased policy autonomy from the federal government as indicated by two passages in their 1994 platform.

Found in the 'Liberal Vision of Quebec's Identity' section (PLQ 1994*a*, 55), the first proposal is an effort by the party to obtain "a greater autonomy for Quebec, founded on the principle of subsidiarity, concerning [the policies] which have been entrusted to the federal government given their sole jurisdiction as they are best qualified to deliver services effectively, and on the affirmation of Quebec society's distinct character"; the second proposal states that allowing Quebec to have more powers over economic, social, and cultural institutions would increase Canada's political stability by recognizing Quebec's rightful place within the "national compact" (PLQ 1994*a*, 55). Like the PLQ, policy autonomy over immigration continued to be emphasized by the PQ in the post- Canada-Quebec Accord climate. In 2008 (PQ 2008, 25), the party promised to "fight to recuperate all the powers that Quebecers consider essential to preserve their identity, continue to defend their interests, and ensure their future: […] immigration […]".

Evidently, the PLQ demanded policy autonomy from the federal government in areas not relating to immigration which allowed the Party to espouse nationalist proposals which sought to differentiate themselves from their federalist banner. This, in essence, allowed the PLQ to be both federalist and nationalist by promoting a strong and more autonomous Quebec within Canada. Where the PQ is committed to sovereignty and policy autonomy, three of the four immigration accords signed between the federal government and Quebec were signed by the PLQ—in fact all of which were signed by Premier Bourassa—with the exception being the 1979 Cullen-Couture Agreement. No party has been more instrumental at successfully increasing Quebec's immigration autonomy than has the PLQ, particularly when one considers the scope and reach that the Canada-Quebec Accord had specifically as a result of the demands the Bourassa government brought to the Meech Lake negotiations.

Although the parties may not have framed their immigration policies in a similar fashion from 1976-1985, they nevertheless did eventually converge. The 1989 election saw both the PQ and PLQ identify a demographic crisis and, as a result, immigration was to be a considerable

factor in reversing this crisis. The parties subsequently proposed policies which, on the one hand, sought to address the crisis by remaining open to immigration while, on the other hand, ensuring that immigration did not contribute to Quebec's precarious situation as a French speaking nation within Anglophone North America.

Theme III: Demographic Challenges, 1989 and 2003

For the PQ, the 1985 election demonstrated a significant change in their proposed immigration policies. Where the PLQ addressed immigration policy only through a policy-autonomy lens, the 1985 election continued the PQ's preference for in-Canada immigration but also proposed that immigration policy must take Quebec's French character into account by encouraging both the immigration of already established Canadian Francophones and of foreign Francophones, all the while maintaining a welcoming attitude towards non-francophone immigrants (PQ 1985, 31). From 1985 onwards, the PQ began to promote with insistence the recruitment and selection of Francophone immigrants as a tool to reinforce and protect Quebec's cultural uniqueness. Indeed, the PQ's shift towards international Francophone immigration was eventually echoed by the PLQ in 1989 (PQ 1989, 55-56) through its proposal to actively recruit immigrants from francophone countries given that "francophone immigrants integrate more easily into Quebec society" (PLQ 1989a, 55-56). However, while the PQ and PLQ both effectively proposed international efforts to recruit Francophones to Quebec, the 1989 election's immigration policies were influenced by the province's low birthrate, which in turn created a perceived demographic crisis. This demographic crisis was recognized by both parties who offered solutions with which to address the crisis (PQ 1989, 77, 84, 85; PLQ*a* 1989, 48, 55-56).

Under the umbrella of this demographic crisis, four immigration proposals by the PQ were identified; two of which were found in the 'Population and Immigration' section and two were found in the 'Immigration and Cultural Communities' section. The first proposal is a recognition that Quebec was going through a "major demographic crisis which risks to alter the force and fibre of our society" and that if said crisis is not reversed, Quebec risks losing its influence within North America (PQ 1989, 77). Concretely, concerning immigration, the party stated that "immigration has to contribute to the cultural reinforcement and consolidation of Quebec's French character as well as its demography" (PQ 1989, 77). Even in the face of a considerable demographic challenge, where the PQ had again committed itself to the reception and recruitment of immigrants as a means to reduce or overturn demographic decline, the

proposed policies are still to take the imagined community and Quebec's unique culture and language into account—thus the crisis needed to be rectified while still minimizing exogenous threats to the community. This rectification strategy was mirrored by the PLQ who both proposed a policy which aimed to maintain pluralist and open integration strategies (PLQ 1989*a*, 48) but was simultaneously committed to increasing the number of French speaking immigrants (PLQ 1989*a*, 55-56) as a means of both addressing the crisis and protecting Quebec's French fact. Both the PQ and PLQ converge on this question: the crisis needed to be addressed but not at the expense of the French language. The remaining PQ immigration proposals explicitly sought to (i) give priority to Francophone immigrants and (ii) to increase the points allotted to the knowledge of French within the selection criteria while increasing Quebec's representation within targeted immigration countries (PQ 1989, 84).

As winners of the 1989 election, the Liberals committed themselves to reversing demographic decline through immigration in Premier Bourassa's inaugural address to the 34th legislature's first sitting (PLQ 1989*b*). The province, however, was in the midst of the Meech Lake Accord and this gave Bourassa ample opportunity to argue that the rectification of the demographic crisis would be made easier with increased powers from the federal government:

> Compte tenu du contexte démographique qui prévaut présentement au Québec et compte tenu des difficultés que représente l'intégration des immigrants à la société québécoise, la ratification de l'accord du lac Meech revêt également une grande importance parce qu'il permet, en matière d'immigration, de sécuriser les pouvoirs que le Québec détient en vertu de l'entente Cullen-Couture. Il ne sera plus possible, si l'accord du lac Meech est ratifié, de subordonner ces pouvoirs au bon vouloir d'un gouvernement. Il y aura donc une sécurité absolue pour l'avenir de la francophonie québécoise. Toujours dans le même contexte, cet accord est également important parce qu'il confère au Québec des pouvoirs additionnels qui permettent un contrôle et une planification de l'immigration compatibles avec ses besoins (PLQ 1989*b*).

For the Bourassa government, then, the success of the Meech Lake Accord was an essential means in which to combat both the demographic crisis and the "difficulties of integrating immigrants into Quebec society" (PLQ 1989*b*). Bourassa couched this belief within nationalist terms which argued that the Accord would allow for Quebec to have sole and unique powers over immigration which could not be subordinated by the federal government, and, furthermore, that the Accord was essential for Quebec to "receive additional powers that allows Quebec to plan an immigration policy which is compatible with the province's needs" (PLQ 1989*b*).

While the PQ and PLQ demonstrated considerable convergence during the 1989 election, this was not to be the sole election in which the demographic crisis would be a factor. In 2003, the PQ conceived its immigration policy proposals through a different demographic crisis. Instead of demographic decline, the PQ proposed three immigration policies, all found in the 'Rejuvenate Quebec' section (PQ 2003, 35-37), which were attempts to address Quebec's rapidly aging society. In order to address this crisis, the PQ first recognized that "immigration is an enrichment for Quebec" and promised to welcome 50,000 immigrants by 2005 (PQ 2003, 35). The platform then proposed to "better promote Quebec as a destination for potential immigrants" and to "enrich Quebec through immigration" (PQ 2003, 37). The 2003 demographic crisis demonstrates two significant changes from 1989. First, the PQ offered to address the demographic issue without specifically ensuring that immigrants were Francophone—nor did they mention recruitment efforts in Francophone countries. Two subsequent things can be extended from this. First, the province's integrative measures may be strong enough to effectively ensure the integration of newcomers into the Francophone majority thus reducing the necessity for Francophone immigrant recruitment. Second, the proposition of 50,000 immigrants over a two-year period may have led to the imposition of a target that could not have been filled solely though Francophone immigration. Finally, the second change during the 2003 election is that the PLQ did not, in fact, recognize this demographic challenge in their platform—instead opting to focus on immigration as an economic issue. Economics became the lens through which immigration proposals would be viewed through over the proceeding election cycles and ultimately continued through Jean Charest's tenure as Premier of Quebec.

Theme IV: Economic changes, 2003, 2007, and 2012

With Jean Charest's selection as leader of the PLQ in 1998, the party underwent a significant change. Altering its previous positions issued under Bourassa, the PLQ began to frame immigration in terms of economics. Yet prior to Charest, Daniel Johnson Jr., addressing the Third session of the 32nd legislature, briefly casted immigration through an economic lens by hoping that "des politiques d'ouverture et d'intégration calme, sereine, d'immigrants, faire [*sic*] en sorte que la croissance démographique ne soit pas un rêve, mais une réalité qui, là aussi, permettra la relance de la consommation" (PLQ 1994*b*). This "relance de consommation" would spur economic growth as new consumers would buy more goods and the successful integration

of immigrants would be an economic net-benefit for the province as a whole. Concrete change in immigration proposals within electoral platforms would take place in 2003 under Charest's leadership.

After nine years out of office, the 2003 election saw the PLQ shift from the traditional tactic of deploying a single policy platform and instead propose seven different individually focused platforms. These micro-platforms included a document concerning integration: *Pour une intégration harmonieuse* (PLQ 2003*a*). The 2003 micro-platform proposed four immigration policies, included was a recognition that by selecting people who "*may fit more easily in employment*, we are evidently increasing the chances of a quick and successful integration" (PLQ 2003*a*, 13, emphasis added). The micro-platform further included recognition that the province needed Francophone immigrants, but warned against Francophone immigration targets becoming "exclusive quotas which lead us to refuse someone who could fill a job in which there is a shortage in Quebec and, because they are not French, has the desire to learn the French language" (PLQ 2003*a*, 13). Concretely, the PLQ proposed that the *Organismes communautaires d'accueil et d'intégration* (OCAI) become involved with the search for immigrants. It argued that they can, "with their contacts in their homeland, and in collaboration with the chambers of commerce and community professional associations, help the government identity the type of person which would best adapt to Quebec" and increase the recognition of foreign diplomas within Quebec (PLQ 2003*a*, 13; 14). While the 2003 platform's economic emphasis becomes more apparent when looking at the integrative measures, the link between immigration and economics cannot be denied. For the PLQ, beginning in 2003, immigration was to be tied with economic integration—but this economic integration would be facilitated through the recruitment and selection of immigrants with the highest economic potential which led to de-emphasizing the onus on the selected immigrant to already be familiar with the French language.

Similarly to the 2003 platform, the 2007 election saw the PLQ offer both a general electoral platform, *S'unir pour réussi le Québec de demain* (PLQ 2007*a*), and six targeted platforms including *Unis pour réussir la diversité* (PLQ 2007*b*) which concerned immigration and integration. The 2007 election continued the Party's commitment to economic immigration through the proposal of two immigration policies. Found in *Unis pour réussir la diversité*, the proposals included increasing the number of immigrants in order to support Quebec's economic development, and to continue to select immigrants based on the grid-system but to put in place a

review of this system which will allow for the recruitment of immigrants who are the best candidates available for the Quebec job market (PLQ 2007*b*, 2). These proposals are further bolstered by a host of integration policies which sought to facilitate integration, rapprochement, and economic integration both in the general election platform (PLQ 2007*a*, 69) and the policy-specific platform (PLQ 2007*b*, 2). The 2007 election resulted in a PLQ minority government—the first minority government since 1878—and would ultimately fall, triggering an election in 2008. The preceding 2008 election would not see the PLQ propose a single immigration nor integration policy apart from two immigration policies, which were similar to the PQ, concerning the recruitment of foreign university students.

Viewing immigration through an economic lens is continued in the 2012 election. In what would ultimately be Jean Charest's last election as leader of the PLQ, the 2012 platform proposed three pluralist immigration policies. The immigration policies are found under the "Facilitating the Integration of Newcomers into the Labour Market" section (PLQ 2012, 8). These policies included proposals to revise the selection grid so that more points could be awarded to immigrants who have already received a job offer while awarding more points for those which job offers outside of Montreal; to intensify discussions with the federal government in order to facilitate awarding student visas to those who have enrolled in trade schools; and to "increase the number of foreign recruitment missions […] and will diversify the destinations" (PLQ 2012, 8). Within this economic reality, then, the proposed policies are pluralist in nature in that they primarily sought to both increase immigration by not being restrictive nor exclusive, and sought to increase the likely chances of settlement by awarding visas for students training for jobs that were much needed within Quebec.

The Liberals effectively changed how they conceptualized immigration policy while under the leadership of Jean Charest. Gone were overt concerns for the protection of the imagined community through immigration policy. They were replaced instead with economic considerations—that selection and recruitment efforts should reflect the province's economic needs. But the economic imperative that the Charest Liberals identified was not echoed throughout the electoral cycles by the PQ who had a new leader in 2007 and finished with the third most seats in the National Assembly while Mario Dumont's *Action Démocratique du Québec* became Official Opposition. The 2008 election saw Pauline Marois head the party for her first election. Yet with these leadership changes, and with a period of consistency under

Marois through three elections, the PQ did not conceptualize immigration as an economic necessity until the 2014 election through a brief, and vague, promise to create a modern immigration system which sought to "review the [immigration] process in order to ensure their francization, their integration and *professional insertion*, as well as to better respond to Quebec's needs" (PQ 2014, 22, emphasis added). Ultimately, the PLQ was able to promote economic well-being as necessity—particularly in a decade long electoral cycle which was often framed through economic recession and post-recession recovery. Regardless, even throughout periods of economic recession and recovery, neither the PQ nor PLQ proposed policies which sought to restrict immigration. To the contrary, the PLQ actively encouraged immigration as a means to relaunch the economy—in essence echoing the words of Daniel Johnson Jr.—while the PQ remained mute on the issue throughout the 2000s.

Curiously, while both parties mirror each other early on in recruitment efforts for Francophone immigrants, they both conceptualize immigration differently over different periods of time. The PQ first committed itself to intra-Canada immigration and the recruitment and selection of Francophone immigrants while the PLQ was committed to demanding policy autonomy before subsequently focusing their proposed recruitment efforts on Francophones. For both parties, essential elements of immigration were to get more powers for the province and to protect the nation by ensuring that immigrants will contribute to Quebec's French character. As the PLQ began to identify immigration as an economic necessity, the PQ showed little concern for the issue. However, neither the PQ nor PLQ ever proposed to curb the total number of immigrants, to *only* target Francophone immigrants, or enforce restrictive immigration policies. In effect, both the PQ and PLQ prefer policies which encourage immigration but through different lenses. The overarching similarity, however, is the necessity of the survival of both the French language and culture—and that immigrants were assuredly going to contribute to this linguistic survival even if the PLQ de-emphasized the importance of Francophone recruitment under Charest's leadership.

Theme V: The Importance of Language

Over the course of the studied elections, the PQ and PLQ had little overlap in how they formulated their immigration policies. Where the PQ initially determined immigration policy through the prioritization of intra-Canada Francophone immigration; the PLQ determined their policies through demands for increased policy autonomy. The two parties did, however, both

offer policies within the same situational framework in the 1989 election concerning the province's demographic crisis. Yet the PQ's later identification of another demographic crisis was not mirrored by the PLQ who instead opted to shift its focus towards economic necessity. What has yet to be explored, however, is the role played by the French language during the 11 elections studied.

Given that the French language is one of the most obvious areas which binds the Quebecois imagined community, and given that Quebec remains a linguistic majority while being a minority within Canada and North America, one may assume that protecting the French language would be of the utmost importance to both parties. Although the protection of the language may be achieved through a host of non-ethnocultural diversity management policies, one could expect both parties to extend protectionist measures into immigration policy either by prioritizing the selection and recruitment of Francophone immigrants or by placing barriers on non-Francophones—essentially making Francophone immigration easier at the expense of non-Francophones. What emerged from 1976 onwards, however, is that the PQ largely proposed immigration policies which engaged with protecting Quebec's French fact while the PLQ, instead, did not employ immigration policy proposals which sought to promote Francophone immigration with the exception of 1989, instead the Party focused their immigration policies on constitutional and economic matters.

The importance of the preservation and protection of the French language was made apparent in the PQ's earliest formulation of immigration policy. For the PQ, efforts to prioritize Canadian Francophone immigration was eventually met with expanding this to North America and rest of the world (PQ 1985, 31; PQ 1989, 85). But the link between the prioritization of Francophone immigration, specifically within Canada, is made explicit in the 1985 platform: that immigration policy must take "Quebec's French character into account. With this in mind, immigration policy will encourage Canadian Francophones from the rest of world to immigrate to Quebec all the while maintaining a welcoming attitude towards all other immigrants" (PQ 1985, 31). In the face of the 1989 demographic crisis, the PQ's continued insistence that immigration policy has to "contribute to the cultural reinforcement and consolidation of Quebec's French character as well as its demography" (PQ 1989, 77) indicates that the rectification of this demographic crisis must be done through an approach which seeks to ensure that the French language is not sacrificed in the name of immigration—even while actively

looking for newcomers to immigrate to Quebec. The PQ actively proposed policies which either sought to recruit, increase, or target Francophone immigrants in 1976, 1981, 1985, 1989, 1994, and 1998. As previously discussed, the 1976, 1981, and 1985 platforms proposed policies which promoted the immigration of Canadian Francophones.

The 1989 platform proposed a significant policy change for the PQ. Where the Party previously promoted Francophone immigration, the 1989 platform now concretized this by proposing to "increase points awarded to those who know French" and to "increase Quebec's representation within targeted countries" (PQ 1989, 85). In a similar vein, the 1994 platform proposed an immigration policy which sought a "better integration into Quebec society by prioritizing, on the one hand, immigrants who already know French and, on the other hand, family reunification" (PQ 1994, 68-69). This sentiment is echoed in the 1998 election through an immigration policy which intended to "increase the proportion of immigrants who understand French" (PQ 1998, 63). For the PQ, targeting, recruiting, and selecting Francophone immigrants was an essential part of immigration policy from 1976 through 1998. This prioritization of Francophone immigrants is essentially the solidification of their 1989 declaration that immigration must "contribute to the cultural reinforcement and consolidation of Quebec's French character as well as its democracy" (PQ 1989, 77). The protection, growth, reinforcement, and fortification of the French language was not separated from immigration by the PQ and would, in fact, be a significant factor in determining what specifically immigration was to accomplish.

Where the PLQ framed their immigration proposals through the demand for increased policy autonomy and through economics, the Party came to concretely propose policies which sought to recruit Francophone immigrants in 1989 (PLQ 1989, 55-56). The 1989 platform proposed to dynamically recruit immigrants from francophone countries given that "francophone immigrants integrate more easily into Quebec society" (PLQ 1989*a*, 55-56). As a whole, however, the PLQ was quiet concerning efforts to recruit Francophone immigrants into the province aside from the 1989 electoral platform instead largely focusing their efforts to protect Quebec's distinct cultural and linguistic uniqueness through integrative measures[12].

What emerges are immigration proposals from two different political parties which fundamentally sought to achieve different things concerning language. The PQ actively

[12] As will be made more apparent in the proceeding chapter.

promoted immigration policies which prioritized the selection and recruitment of Francophones, but the PLQ instead opted to ensure the francization of immigrants through integrative measures which de-emphasized the need for Francophone immigrants. The Liberals provided measures such as language training and the facilitation of employment. These measures allowed integration into the cultural and linguistic majority which led to the consolidation and protection of the French language from within.

Concerning language, what emerges is a series of divergent policy proposals concerning the ways in which to protect the imagined community. Although the PQ was committed to protecting the imagined community through seeking immigrants who are familiar with the French language, they did not propose policies which restricted non-Francophone immigration nor restricted immigration in general as a means to protect Quebec from perceived exogenous threats. Indeed, the PQ recognized that immigration was essential for addressing two demographic crises but proposed different means that be employed to address the respective crises. The 1989 sociodemographic decline needed to be met with Francophone immigration—that rectifying this decline should not come at the expense of the French language, a sentiment which was mirrored by the PLQ in 1989 as well—but the 2003 demographic crisis would be addressed through immigration as a whole and the PQ did not prioritize, nor emphasize, Francophone immigration as the primary way to combat the crisis.

In sum, policy divergence concerning the importance that language had on immigration is exemplified concerning where the parties focus their recruitment efforts. Essentially, the PQ proposed policies which explicitly prioritized Francophone immigration from 1976-1998 where the PLQ instead couched their immigration policies within demands for greater autonomy and economics while explicitly proposing to recruit newcomers from Francophone countries as a means of facilitating integration in 1989. Language, then, permeated immigration policy for the PQ more so than it did for the PLQ. However, as will be made evident later, language proved to be an extremely important issue in the parties' framing of ethnocultural diversity management proposals. But the PLQ took a more activist role in the francization of immigrants through their integrative measures.

The link between ethnocultural diversity management and language is made more tenable through the integration policies that each party proposed over time—and indeed these policies have significant overlap and convergence. The PQ effectively proposed policies which sought to

protect the nation through immigration where the PLQ did not. However, the protectionist measures were not met with policies which sought to select those who were sympathetic to the sovereignty project. From 1998 onward, the PQ and PLQ effectively converged concerning their recruitment strategies by either refusing to put forward proposals with recruitment targets by land of origin or by proposing policies which sought to increase the total number of immigrants regardless of their linguistic background (PQ 2003, 35-37; PLQ 2003, 13). As a result, the PQ mirrored the PLQ's prioritization of making francization part-and-parcel of their integrative measures.

On the Other Hand…: Openness and the Desire to Protect

At their core, the proposed immigration policies fundamentally sought to protect the Quebec nation's imagined community. Be it through intra-Canada or Francophone immigration, or demands for policy autonomy, these immigration efforts were made in order to protect Quebec's French fact. The prioritization of the immigration of Francophone Canadian, and eventually international Francophones, was an explicit attempt to ensure that newcomers coming to Quebec were already familiar with the French language—a non-negotiable aspect of Quebec citizenship of which newcomers are expected to participate. Although the link between language and the newcomer becomes more apparent when looking at the parties' proposed integrative measures, language's relevance concerning immigration cannot be denied. And yet in an opposite direction, the PLQ's changing approaches towards an immigration policy based primarily on economic necessity divorces the importance of language from immigration, instead proposing policies which sought to facilitate immigrant job placement and curbing possible economic disadvantages immigrants face such as skills recognition and foreign diploma recognition. The changing approaches to immigration implies that, on the one hand, the parties were systematically seeking to protect the Quebecois nation's cultural and linguistic uniqueness while, on the other hand, they refrained from proposing restrictive policies which sought to limit total immigration numbers or only allow for a certain type of immigrant.

Over the 11 elections studied, the PQ proposed 12 nation affirming and nation protecting immigration policies and six pluralist policies whereas the PLQ proposed seven nation affirming and nation protecting immigration policies and 13 pluralist policies. The employed nation affirming and protecting approaches are formulated from Benedict Anderson's (2006) argument that a nation is formed by a community which is linked through a common collectivity with a

communal sense of attachment to their territory and this attachment is maintained even though the nation is too large for all members to have interacted with each other. Although not all members of the Quebecois nation are sovereignist, they are still members of the same collective nation, or imagined community, forged together through a common history and a language which has come to define Quebec since Champlain settled Quebec City in 1608. These approaches are comprised of three aspects: protectionist proposals, nationalist proposals, and proposals which seek to limit cultural differences.

Of the 12 affirmationist and protectionist policies proposed by the PQ, those which sought to prioritize the immigration of Canadian Francophones and international Francophones have been identified as affirmationist or protectionist due to their inherent attempt to protect the French language by ensuring an easier immigration effort was made to select and recruit those who did not need language training and would not threaten the French language by adding to its precarious situation as an endogenous threat. These measures were found in the 1976, 1981, 1985, 1994, and 1998 elections representing seven of the 12 total policies. Two proposals sought greater policy autonomy (1981 and 2008) and have been identified as protectionist. The remaining three policies are found in the 1989 platform. One such proposal was a recognition that Quebec's demographic crisis put the province at risk of a demo-linguistic crisis—efforts needed to be made to ensure that Quebec's linguistic reality was able to survive well into the future and immigration acted as a means to ensure this, thus protecting the nation's French fact (PQ 1989, 77). The second policy is one which proposed that immigration had to account for cultural reinforcement—a recognition that an end result of immigration was the continued survival of the French fact (PQ 1989, 77). The final proposal was a nationalist recognition that addressing the 1989 demographic crisis would be more easily addressed by an independent Quebec which would have full control over the levers of immigration policy given that this would lead to "incontestably affirming our nation's personality" (PQ 1989, 84).

On the contrary, the proposed pluralist immigration policies were to create a ministry to deal with immigration in 1981, but five proposals were explicitly pluralist in their intents, in fact promoting immigration, increasing the number of immigrants, and building an immigration policy based on diversity, openness, facilitating integration, and included a recognition to "enrich Quebec through immigration" (PQ 2003, 37). The PQ was capable of attempting to both protect

the nation while maintaining a delicate balance of remaining open to pluralist immigration policies.

Of the PLQ's seven proposed affirmationist and protectionist policies, six proposed increased policy autonomy and have as such been identified as protectionist (PLQ 1976, 55-56; PLQ 1985, 11, 13; PLQ 1989, 56; PLQ 1994, 55); one of which proposed the prioritization of Francophone immigrants (PLQ 1989, 55-56). Much like the PQ's immigration efforts, the policies proposed are not restrictive efforts to protect the nation, instead offering to protect the imagined community through policy autonomy given that they argued that the province had a better understanding of the province's policy needs than did the federal government. In effect, the PQ and PLQ's demands for increased policy autonomy mirror each other in intent but with different means. The PLQ committed itself to either maintaining the conjoint agreement with the federal government while seeking to ensure that Quebec's needs were better represented, or through incremental change resulting from agreements with the federal government. The PQ, instead, opted for policy autonomy through independence. The remaining protectionist policy was a 1989 proposal to prioritize the immigration of Francophones given that they more easily integrate into society (PLQ 1989, 55-56). Framed through a demographic crisis, this was an attempt to ensure that the crisis was addressed but not at the expense of the French language—indeed the same logic employed the PQ. Thus, convergence occurs when one compares the affirmationist and protectionist immigration policies that the parties propose. Both sought increased autonomy, both sought to prioritize Francophone immigration, and fundamentally both sought to ensure that immigration policy did not lead to place the French language under any more threat than it was already.

Of the PLQ's 13 proposed pluralist policies, two involved the creation of a ministry which was to deal with immigration (PLQ 1976, 55), two were explicitly pluralist in nature or promoted the openness of the citizens thus promoting immigration as a whole (PLQ 1989, 48; PLQ 1998)[13], and nine concerned economic immigration. The ministerial proposal, much like the one put forth by the PQ in 1981, is an institutional recognition that immigration was to become both a political and policy reality for the province—thus the creation of a ministry which was to help in the management of immigration was a pluralist recognition that immigration was not going to be discouraged in the future. The 1989 and 1998 platforms see the PLQ propose policies

[13] The PLQ's 1998 platform does not have page numbers.

which facilitate the integration of newcomers due to the openness of the Quebecois people and, more explicitly, promise to remain committed to its "tradition of openness" (PLQ 1998). The remaining economic policies have been identified as pluralist because they actively promote the selection and recruitment of economic immigrants instead of attempting to protect the nation from perceived threats of the Other who may incite nativist fears of 'stealing' employment from members born into the Quebec nation. What emerges from the Charest era are hosts of economic immigration policies which seek to facilitate economic integration through the recruitment of skilled individuals while consciously distancing the proposals from the notion of prioritizing Francophone immigrants. Simply put, the economic proposals seek to make Quebec's economy stronger through immigration regardless of the immigrant's origin.

By looking at the coding process—the parcelling out of proposed policies into two different typologies—one could determine that the PQ proposes more policies which seek to affirm or protect the nation more so than does the PLQ. While this is technically correct given the identified totals, this does not reflect the complex and nuanced reality of the policies proposed by both parties.

Although a divergence is evident in their proposed policies due to the coding process, there still exists similarities. First, both the PQ and PLQ promoted the importance of Francophone immigration. Although the PQ were more vocal in their support for prioritizing the immigration of Francophone Canadians, and international Francophones, from 1976-1998; the PLQ proposed to prioritize Francophone immigration in 1989 alongside the PQ. Second, both parties sought to address the 1989 demographic crisis through immigration—but through an immigration policy that both rectified the crisis while ensuring that immigration did not threaten the French fact within Quebec.

Third, both parties fundamentally agreed that the province should be responsible for its own immigration policy concerning the selection and recruitment of newcomers and both couched these demands within the greater context of preserving the French language and Quebec's demographic weight—indeed, the "preservation of Quebec's demographic importance" is explicitly mentioned in the Canada-Quebec Accord (Government of Canada 1991). Fourth, both parties effectively promoted immigration and did not actively try to limit immigration nor propose restrictive immigration policies. Both parties, by extension, agreed that immigration was a necessity for the survival and continuance of the Quebecois nation and did

not offer nativist policies which could have played to the fears of the Quebecois nation by seeking to limit immigration as means to protect said nation from within. While significant difference exists in terms of the identified affirmationist, protectionist, and pluralist typologies, there also exists areas of similarity which show that both parties accepted and promoted immigration, sought increased policy autonomy, and were both committed to protecting Quebec's precarious situation within both Canada and North America.

With the study of the changing themes and the amount of affirmationist, protectionist, and pluralist policies proposed over 11 elections spanning nearly 40 years, the first research question can effectively be answered (Does nationalism affect immigration and integration policy proposals and if so, to what extent?). Aspects of nationalism are evident in the proposals put forth by both parties given that they both promote, over time, policies which take the Quebec nation into account and it is clear that nationalism does indeed affect immigration policy proposals. The parties both espouse immigration policies which interact with the idea of the nation, that immigration policies can be proposed which seek to protect and fortify the nation. These fortification efforts include the prioritization of Francophone immigrants, whether through proposals to increase their numbers through selection efforts in targeted countries or through awarding more points to Francophones thus making the likelihood of being accepted for immigration easier, or through demands for increased policy autonomy as a means to increase the policy powers that the province maintains over a certain jurisdiction. These policies are nationalistic policies which seek to make the nation stronger either through protecting the nation or through increasing its legislative ability to control its own demographic weight.

Simply put, nationalism does affect immigration policy proposals and to a significant extent as evidenced by proposals which actively seek to either protect the nation or allow the nation to receive greater political autonomy from the federal government. This, however, is not nationalism in a restrictive sense, it does not create a binary distinction between favourable immigrants and non-favourable immigrants; both parties remain committed to all forms of immigrants thus allowing them to prioritize Francophone immigrants while not rejecting the idea of immigration altogether. As a whole, however, the link between nationalism and ethnocultural diversity management is more apparent when looking at the proposed integrative strategy particularly given that the integration strategies seek to address how to integrate a newcomer once the newcomer arrives in his new homeland. Integration proposals more actively engage

with nationalism and citizenship given that these policies are ultimately responsible for either extending or reducing citizenship to the newcomer, either being pluralist or exclusive, either extending the borders of the Quebec nation to newcomers or instead turning inwards and valuing membership only among those with linguistic and ancestral ties to the foundation of the nation in the early 17th century.

The policies proposed by both parties in their platforms over the 11 elections from 1976-2014 represent varying degrees of divergence and convergence. At their core, however, both parties agreed that immigration was a necessity and did not seek to restrict immigration. Nor did the parties propose policies that played to the possibly existing latent nativist fears that may have existed among members of the nation whom may have feared for their imagined community. What is evident is that the parties differed in how they framed their immigration policies over time, rarely offering overlapping proposals which sought to address a common end with the exception of rectifying the 1989 demographic decline. Over time, however, the areas of similarity become apparent.

With the similarities an obvious question arises: What explains these similarities? Simply put, brokerage politics acts as an effective tool to explain why there exists similarities concerning immigration policy between a federalist party and a sovereignist party. The parties, as will become apparent in a later chapter, look to limit the differences between themselves by presenting similar policy proposals to the voting public in hopes of obfuscating the differences between them in order to try and maximize the total number of available votes. Under the brokerage theory, then, this allows the PQ to propose non-nativist, centrist, and pluralist policies of which the voting population may be in favour. These policies include protectionist measures including prioritizing Francophone immigration and simultaneously being open to immigration. This allowed the PQ to account for the protection of the imagined community—and pluralist, thus providing them a large voting block of nationalists and possible newcomers. In a similar fashion, the PLQ proposed policies which were similar to the PQ in order to protect the nation through demands for policy autonomy while simultaneously remaining open to immigration as a means of being both nationalist and pluralist in order to acquiesce to soft-nationalists, maintain their federalist support, and maintain the support of immigrant voters at large who may feel more sympathetic to Canada than Quebec and thus may reject the notion of Quebec sovereignty as well as the PQ.

Given that Quebec is a substate nation with a sizeable portion of the population desiring political sovereignty, the similarities between the sovereignist PQ and federalist PLQ are striking. The similarities and differences outlined in this chapter, however, are limited to the policies proposed which dealt with the selection and recruitment of immigrants over time. Where immigration policy seeks to determine whether immigrants are wanted, integration policy seeks to determine what is to be done once the immigrant arrives. In terms of the differing political ideologies espoused by the PQ and PLQ, one expects to see significant divergences in the integration policies proposed by the PQ and PLQ over time. Indeed, significant questions arise concerning integration policies: What are the best ways to integrate newcomers, laissez-faire or through an interactive and intervening state? What role ought the private citizen to play in the integration of newcomers? How has integration changed over time? One expects that the PQ would propose integrative strategies which would seek to promote the sovereignty project, in essence extending the Party's predisposition to political independence to the newcomer. But if this would be the case, it would be counter to the immigration policies they propose. No such proposed immigration policy sought to weave the independence project with immigration apart from one which argued that an independent Quebec would have full control over immigration policy—a claim which is objectively true. The PQ's refusal to tie the independence project to immigration demonstrates that these two issues are fundamentally separate. That immigration is not a tool to try and promote sovereignty. In contrast, the PLQ, then, extended their ideological predisposition to federalism to the newcomer by proposing integrative measures which counter-acted the PQ's ambitions by proposing policies which facilitated integration into Canada. The next step in determining the similarities and differences in the parties' proposed ethnocultural diversity management policies, then, is to comprehensively study the proposed integration policies over the 11 elections from 1976 onward.

IV. Integration

Before settling on an immigration policy, policy-makers must first decide whether immigration is desirable. If policy-makers decide that immigration is desirable, then they most often try to determine what is to be done once the newcomer lands in their new home country. Particularly sensitive to integrative measures are substate nations given that these nations are forged on the basis of some form of communal identity, the survival of the nation often rests on the nation's ability to successfully integrate newcomers—to extend this bond of citizenship to the newcomer, in effect offering a civic form of integration (Seymour 2002) by not restricting citizenship to the Other.

With the province's considerable success in gaining increased autonomy over immigration policy came increased responsibility over integration policy as well with the Canada-Quebec Accord (Government of Canada 1991). Yet, both the PQ and PLQ had been proposing numerous integrative measures well before the Accord was signed. Where the previous chapter determined that the parties' ideological dispositions towards sovereignty and federalism are not represented within their proposed immigration policies—both parties sought increased policy autonomy and sought to protect the Quebec nation—this chapter aims to extend this analysis to integration policy proposals. This chapter argues that the PQ and PLQ effectively proposed similar integrative strategies. As a result, significant convergence occurs over time but brief periods of divergence do occur. This argument is surprising given that one expects political ideology to play a significant role in integrative policy proposals. One expects the PQ to be more nationalist than the PLQ in this policy area, and for the PLQ to present policies which add to the pan-Canadian multicultural mosaic. On the one hand, one might expect nationalism to permeate this policy area offering a considerable contrast between ethnic forms of citizenship which bind the already settled members of the nation together at the expense of the new members. On the other hand, inclusive forms of citizenship might be proposed as a means to unite citizens *with* newcomers as a means of strengthening a Quebec-Canadian identity, or strengthening the Quebec sovereignty movement by extending the nation's boundaries to the newcomer. Yet this is not the case. The PQ and PLQ, for the most part, proposed integrative policies which extend the civic boundaries of the nation to the newcomer at the expense of the sovereignty project resulting in explicitly pluralist attempts to make language, employment, and the state itself active members in integration while allowing for, and promoting, cultural difference. This, however, is

subject to considerable change the farther the analysis gets from 1976 resulting in a possible reconceptualization of integration policy beginning with Pauline Marois' time as leader of the PQ.

This chapter offers a study of integration policy proposals by parcelling the analysis into four subsections. These four sections will demonstrate the changing areas of convergence and divergence, arguing that periods of convergence are met with brief divergence before ultimately returning back to convergence between the two parties. Using 1976 as the base year, the first subsection argues that the PQ and PLQ converged towards pluralist cultural integrative measures throughout the 1980s. The second subsection argues that 1994 served as an election of brief divergence for both parties. The third section shows that the 1998 and 2003 elections demonstrated a return to convergence. Finally, the fourth section argues that the 2007 election was a period of significant divergence that may account for a new path in which both parties will converge in a reconceptualization of citizenship and integration.

Integrating the Newcomer, Convergences and Divergences, 1976-2014

The 1976 Quebec provincial election was a pivotal moment in the province's history. As the Parti Libéral du Québec maintained the levers of government under Premier Robert Bourassa from 1970-1976, the Parti Québécois under René Lévesque won the party's first majority government in 1976. This election was a critical juncture as from 1976 onwards, Quebec, which saw numerous third parties with varying degrees of success, only had two parties form government. The dichotomy that resulted from this dual party system was one in which there was a clear delineation between the parties' positions on both ideology and federalism. What emerges from 1976 onward is nearly 40 years of similar integration proposals which sought to expand the boundaries of citizenship for newcomers, effectively making the Other a member of the Quebec nation while promoting cultural difference instead of actively seeking to assimilate or reduce differences. This path of pluralist integrative strategies, however, is met with policies which affirm or protect the nation and accounts for periods of brief divergence. A period of temporary divergence begins under Jean Charest's leadership of the PLQ. His successful reconceptualization of ethnocultural diversity management policies as a means in which to address economic necessity is ultimately the first concrete and sustained difference away from the PQ's proposals which lasts over numerous election cycles—and is rewarded with multiple terms in government. Indeed, during Charest's tenure, and the eventual Marois leadership, a

recent trend towards more restrictive integrative measures have come to define Quebec's integration policies both in terms of proposals within platforms and proposed legislation within the National Assembly. Under this leadership era, a temporary divergence occurred between the two parties. However, this temporary divergence eventually returned to the patterns of convergence which had come to define the parties' policy proposals.

1976-1989: The PQ's Shift, Integrative Pluralism, and a Decade's Long Convergence

Concretely, the PQ offered four proposals in 1976 concerning integration. These included to: "make French the official language of Quebec […] after a transitional period of five years French will be the sole language of the state"; "legislate to effectively make French the language in the workplace […]"; "make French the public language of radio and television and to *limit* the number of private non-francophone stations in order to make ethnic stations proportional to the community they serve"; and "guarantee to all Québécois workers the right to work in French" (PQ 1976, 304, emphasis added). While these policies are overwhelmingly concerned with language, they have been identified as integration proposals because they are located in the "Our Cultural Life" section of the platform. As a result, these proposals have been promised as a means by which to protect the Quebecois nation's culture. Interestingly, the PQ declared that "*[i]n a normal country* […] immigrants naturally integrate into the linguistic majority" (PQ 1976, 303, emphasis added). This is an explicit rhetorical recognition by the PQ that the province is abnormal and is a recognition that newcomers were not, in fact, integrating into the linguistic majority—therefore the successful integration policies would ensure this proper integration.

Where the PQ proposed integrative measures which sought to fortify the French language through the imposition of it onto the newcomer, they also offered open and pluralist policies which sought to make the state more accessible to minorities in languages other than French (PQ 1976, 304). Similar measures to extend citizenship to newcomers included recognitions that "a grown population, who are secure in the future of their culture, has to treat minority groups who share their destiny and contribute to their development with respect"; "ensure that the public network and private television and radio channels broadcast cultural programs specifically for minority groups"; and a recognition that "all minority groups can enrich Quebec society with their different cultures" (PQ 1976, 304-305).

The PQ's proposal to legislate that the French language becomes the "sole language of the state" (PQ 1976, 304) was, in fact, mirrored in the PLQ's 1976 platform given that the PLQ

proposed to "continue to prioritize and promote Quebecois cultures. The law which makes French the official language of Quebec, and which is committed to the protection of minority rights, is dedicated to Quebec's French character" (PLQ 1976, 35). The Party's commitment to the prioritization and promotion of Quebec culture, while implicitly accepting and promoting a law to make French the province's official language, is similar in terms of rhetoric and strategy to the PQ's language policy proposed in their 1976 platform. An early convergence occurs in 1976 given that these two parties remain committed both to Quebec culture but to ensuring the survival of the French language specifically through legislation. While this policy remains a somewhat vague policy declaration with little substance, the PLQ offered more concrete proposals concerning integration, including ensuring that Quebec is a welcoming place for those who wish to immigrate; to reduce the disorientation of immigrants through the humanization of the welcome structures which are in place; develop the *Centre d'orientation et de formation des immigrants* (COFI)[14] and set up special classes design to facilitate the integration of immigrants; help ethnic communities to assure that their cultures and traditions are protected; normalize foreign diplomas; and prioritize immigrants' access to Quebec's public service (PLQ 1976, 56).

The PQ and PLQ effectively branded themselves as protectors of the nation's language and culture through the proposal of language policies which sought to make French the sole language of the state. In the face of this proposal, which eventually became law, Lévesque still maintained his party's position on integrative pluralism in his inaugural address to the 31st legislature's second session, stating:

> Aussi, pour ces minorités actuelles de notre peuple qui sont d'autres souches et qui ont conservé ou adopté l'anglais comme langue principale, la loi devra également, avec sérénité, et pourquoi pas avec générosité, leur permettre de maintenir, à l'école et ailleurs, leurs propres identités. En y mettant de part et d'autre toute la bonne foi et la compréhension dont nous sommes capables, je sui [*sic*] sûr que nous arriverons à résoudre convenablement cette apparente quadrature du cercle (PQ 1977).

And further announcing, in his inaugural message to the sixth session of the 31st legislature in 1980, a new integration policy which created a "plan d'action pour assurer, dans notre société majoritairement française, le plein épanouissement de nos concitoyens des communautés ethniques et de la grande minorité anglophone" (PQ 1980). The second area of convergence is demonstrated in both parties' ability to carefully balance protective predispositions towards the

[14] The availability of French classes for immigrants.

nation with promises to remain open and receptive to newcomers—indeed, both parties make reference to ensuring the cultural development of minorities given that the nation itself is strong enough to support it, thus explicitly attempting to reduce the fear of the Other that settled Quebecers may have. The PQ proposed a host of policies which sought to reduce difference, or favourable media institutions, towards non-Quebecers. With 1976 serving as the base year, Lévesque's PQ was concomitantly committed to integrative pluralism and the protection of the nation by proposing, on the one hand, policies which sought to fortify the nation specifically at the expense of the newcomer and, on the other hand, proposing proposals which sought to facilitate integration while touting the nation's ability to allow non-Quebecois culture to prosper.

The PQ continued its preference for pluralist integrative measures in the 1981 election through the proposal of a host of policies which sought to: treat ethnic minorities with dignity and protect all Quebec citizens from discrimination; institutionalize COFI and increase access to French language training as a means to facilitate integration; allow for ethnic minorities to maintain their respective native language; the creation of integration policy based on the respect of cultural differences which includes announcing the services offered within the civil service in ethnic media; financial support for cultural groups and prioritize interactions between these groups and the francophone majority; recognizing the importance of ethnic media; facilitate access to the civil service for allophones; "establish a consultation mechanism for new Quebecers with the provision of the formation a global immigration policy"; and to "assure that future arrivals, before their immigration, are knowledgeable of Quebec society" (PQ 1981, 49).

The PLQ proposed policies which were, interestingly, similar to the ones that the PQ proposed. The similar policies included the PLQ proposing to facilitate the expression of different cultural values espoused by the various cultural communities through financially supporting their initiatives; and to hire individuals who speak and are familiar with different ethnic groups in order to assure that social services are available in languages other than French and English. The PLQ proposed more measures with concerned integration "Quebec's Ethnic Minorities" (PLQ 1981, C-IV/1-C-IV/2)[15]. These proposals recognized that "governments of Quebec have had the tendency to treat ethnic communities as spectators even in areas in which they are primarily concerned. In fact, these communities desire to participate within Quebec society and to break, among others, their isolation from public and semi-public institutions", and

[15] Page numbers are not provided in the document. The proposals can be found through pages identified C-IV/*x*.

"the [PLQ] recognizes that Quebec is a pluralist society, enriched by persons of diverse ethnic origins. [The party] reaffirms the principle by which people of ethnic origin, other than French or English, should, all the while preserving their cultural identity, be able to integrate into Quebec society, assured of their equality and equality of opportunities that have been accorded to Quebecois of French and English descent" (PLQ 1981, C-IV/1).

The platform promised to allow for the teaching of languages and history of ethnic communities within academic curricula and to consult with ethnic communities on these programs; to improve the quality of French within COFI; to prioritize a greater equal representation of ethnic groups within organizations that are responsible for the coordination and administration of social services, and to make the public and semi-public sector more representative of Quebec society by putting in place programmes which ensured the hiring of people of "ethnic origins"; and to support efforts to have a better representation of ethnic communities within the judicial system, police system, and within the ministries and public and semi-public institutions (PLQ 1981, C-IV/1; C-IV/2). A further proposal which sought to "regulate […] the case of children who attend English schools even if they are not legally enrolled" (PLQ 1981, C-IV/1). This proposal was identified as pluralist due to the underlying context of the document's section—that regulating this issue will be done as a means of integration and, perhaps more convincingly, because these enrolments were illegal nonetheless.

The 1981 election was a considerable shift. Both parties effectively limited their rhetoric towards the protection of the nation through integration, instead opting for pluralist policies which sought to facilitate integration but, most importantly, actively engaged with the state through financial remuneration, employment, and expanded the state's role to newcomers by offering services in languages other than French—directly contradicting the vociferously nationalist rhetoric from the PQ and PLQ's 1976 platforms which desired to make French the province's only language. The parties' 1981 platforms not only proposed two overlapping policy proposals, but as a whole both parties had effectively begun to prioritize and promote pluralist integrative measures—none of the policies proposed sought to reduce difference, impose the nation onto newcomers, nor sought to advance sovereignty through integration. Instead, integration was to serve as a way to ensure that newcomers fluidly integrated into the nation with the help of both private and civil society. The state was to become a more important actor and

take on an increased role in integration thereby ensuring that the boundaries of the nation were extended to newcomers by a legitimate institutional actor.

The PQ's commitment to integrative pluralism was further strengthened by Lévesque in his 1984 inaugural address where he announced the creation of the *Conseil des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* (CCCI), a "permanent and autonomous body comprising 15 members who represent different sectors of Quebec. Its function was to advise the minister on issues related to the integration of immigrants and intercultural relations" (Juteau 2002, 444):

> Dans un tout autre ordre d'idées, je m'en voudrais de ne pas mentionner spécifiquement un projet qui nous tient à cœur, c'est-à-dire l'instauration d'un conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration. Il s'agit là de doter nos concitoyens de diverses origines ethniques qui sont venus au cours des ans si bien enrichir notre société, d'un organisme à la fois autonome, représentatif et muni de pouvoirs qui lui permettent de jouer un rôle actif et bien concret (PQ 1984).

Where the 1981 election cemented the PQ's transition from proposing protective integration measures to one which emphatically proposed pluralist policies, the 1985 and 1989 elections continued this commitment—both for the PQ and PLQ. The parties' convergence towards pluralist integrative measures were exemplified in similar policy proposals which favoured access to the civil service and representative bureaucracy (PLQ 1976, 56; PLQ 1981, C-IV/2; PQ 1985, 32; PLQ 1985, 38; PQ 1989, 85; PLQ 1989*a*, 58; PLQ 2003*a*, 18; PLQ 2007*b*, 2; PQ 2008, 27). The PQ's commitment to ensuring a public service that is more representative of the province's various cultural communities is seen as a priority by premiers Parizeau and Bouchard. In his inaugural addresses[16], Parizeau mentioned immigration and integration a single time. This reference was a recognition that "au sein de la fonction [il y a] publique moins de citoyens d'origines diverses que lorsque le Parti québécois a quitté le pouvoir il y a neuf ans" and that this was "en dépit des engagements à répétition qu'avait pris le gouvernement libéral"; Parizeau promised to pick up again "notre travail et notre objectif que ces Québécois représentent leur juste proportion de toutes les catégories d'emplois" (PQ 1994*b*). Parizeau's comments were a pluralist recognition that cultural communities were not represented enough within the public sector, and a commitment that his party would work to rectify this issue. This promise was continued by Lucien Bouchard who, in his 1999 inaugural address, promised to

[16] Inaugural addresses are used as an analytical tool in which to see how the elected government prioritizes immigration and integration. Although inaugural messages are, in effect, government statements and not party statements, they demonstrate the amount of concern the elected party gives to their proposed policies in their electoral programs. Furthermore, the inaugural messages present the elected party with the opportunity to clarify their positions or to announce new policies that may not have been part of their program.

"faire une place équitable à la diversité québécoise" within the public service by ensuring that the "Ministre des Relations avec les citoyens et le président du Conseil du trésor proposeront un calendrier et des moyens pour y arriver" (PQ 1999). Jean Charest further echoed these sentiments in 2003 during his first inaugural address as Premier:

> Et je voudrais aussi, M. le Président, que l'État québécois, de par ses effectifs, soit le plus juste reflet possible de la diversité de notre société. Les Québécois aiment à se voir comme une société ouverte, accueillante, tolérante. Cette image qu'ils se font d'eux-mêmes n'est pas surfaite. Au cours des 10 prochaines années, 44 % des employés de l'État prendront leur retraite. Si ce contexte nous fournit une occasion historique de réduire la taille de notre État sans brusquer personne, il nous place aussi dans la situation de devoir préparer une relève importante. Les communautés culturelles, les autochtones ainsi que les anglophones du Québec doivent être représentés à tous les niveaux de l'État québécois. On doit refléter l'ensemble des composantes de la société (PLQ 2003*c*).

There is a recognition that Quebecers seemingly want a pluralist, open, and inclusive state and the state ought to couple this pluralism within the public sector.

Similar policy proposals concerning fighting against racism and discrimination (PQ 1989, 84; PLQ 1989*a*, 56) and 'sensitization programs' (PQ 1989, 85; PLQ 1989*a*, 58) which sought to "sensitize Quebec's population to other cultures, notably by making the teaching of other languages available to all Quebecers because mastering other languages leads to understanding other cultures" (PQ 1989, 85) and that the government will create "sensitization campaigns, and government information, which will reflect Quebec society's pluricultural nature" (PLQ 1989*a*, 58) demonstrated further convergence. The onus of accepting and integrating newcomers was now, in part, shared by both society and newcomers. Newcomers were still fully expected to integrate into the Francophone majority but these sensitization programs, either through access to other languages or through government information, acted as a means in which to get the mainstream population more used to various cultural communities—thus the familiarity with these cultures breeds tolerance and an easier and more inclusive society which facilitated the newcomers' desire to integrate.

Overall, 1981 was the election which set the two parties down a clear path where they both proposed similar pluralist policies. The 1980s, then, were marked by overarching policy convergence between the two parties given the similar policies they proposed throughout the decade. While the majority of the policies proposed may not have been identical copies of one another, they were nevertheless explicitly pluralist and sought the successful integration of

newcomers into Quebec society either through job placement within the civil service, extended the civil service to newcomers (PQ 1985, 31, 32; PLQ 1985*a*, 38); the offering of French language courses as a means to facilitate the integration of the newcomer into the Quebec nation without couching language policies within a greater narrative of protection or survival (PQ 1985, 32; PQ 1989, 85; PLQ 1989*a*, 56); and engaged with policy recognitions that, overall, immigration is a net-benefit for Quebec and different cultures should be encouraged (PQ 1989, 84; PLQ 1989*a*, 58). For the PLQ, their commitment to pluralism was made explicit in two inaugural messages. Most notably, Deputy Premier and Minister of Cultural Affairs, Lise Bacon, speaking for Premier Bourassa in the government's first inaugural message to the National Assembly in the wake of their 1985 election victory said, in English, that:

> Finally, one of the greatest concerns of our government will be the need to reinforce the ties between all Quebeckers. Too many political attitudes have in the past caused a great number of our fellow citizens to feel that they were being considered as second class citizens. For example, certain linguistic regulations will have to be corrected with a view responding to the profound values of justice in our society and the desire of all Quebeckers to be citizens of equal status (PLQ 1985*b*).

This was further elaborated upon in French by stating that it was now the government's duty to integrate "pleinement les membres des différentes communautés culturelles à la vie de la société et leur permettre d'apporter l'inestimable contribution économique, sociale et culturelle que nos concitoyens d'origine autre que française et anglaise veulent fournir au Québec" (PLQ 1985b). With both parties effectively agreeing that diversity-embracing measures were essential for the integration of newcomers into the Quebec nation, it became apparent that the parties' policy similarities were ultimately trying to achieve the same ends: the expansion of citizenship to the newcomer through means which made the province appear to open, welcome, and accommodating.

Although the proposed policies were generally pluralist in nature, there still did exist policies which fundamentally sought to protect the Quebec nation. These included a proposal by the PLQ (1985*a*, 38) that a "[PLQ] government will continue to assume the role of protector of Quebec's French language and culture". Protector of the French language and culture, then, was a continued theme in the 1989 election which emphasized the demographic crisis. The role of the government being protector of the French language and culture was mirrored in the PQ's 1989 platform (PQ 1989, 85) which insisted that "without a French culture enriched by the diversity of its origins and reinforced by the convictions one has from a common project, our chances of

survival are limited" (PQ 1989, 85), and that "significant effort needs to be made so that newcomers integrate into the Francophone majority" (PLQ 1989*a*, 49). The PLQ's 1989 platform further stated that: although access to the French language among immigrants has been increased, "more has to be done" in order to "ultimately allow the French fact to survive in North America" (PLQ 1989*a*, 56). Although a vague recognition, it is nevertheless a protective effort by the PLQ to ensure that increased efforts concerning language training are made not as a tool of integration but as a tool of protection.

The 1981 election served as the election which shifted the PQ from a party which proposed pluralist and protectionist policies, to one which became considerably more pluralist throughout the remainder of the 1980s. The preferred method of integrative pluralism was echoed by the PLQ and thus demonstrated significant areas of convergence between the two parties. This convergence, however, abated in 1994 when, now under a new leader and in the run up to the 1995 sovereignty referendum, the PQ first tried to incorporate its sovereignist agenda with its integration proposals.

1994: The Referendum and Brief Divergence

The 1990s proved to be a significant era both for Canadian and Quebec politics. With the 1980s being defined through constitutional negotiation, the early 1990s were marked by the arduous attempt to receive Quebec's signature on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms through the Charlottetown Accord in 1992. The Accord ultimately failed in a public referendum and by then the decade-long constitutional failure elicited increased sentiments in favour of sovereignty (Meadwell 1993). Culminating in the failures of the Meech and Charlottetown Accord was the emergence of the Bloc Québécois (BQ) in 1991 and the PQ's commitment to holding a public referendum in 1995 concerning Quebec's constitutional place within Canada where the PQ led a campaign for Quebec's political independence.

The integration policy proposals that the PQ proposed in the election immediately preceding the 1995 referendum was strikingly different from the ones proposed by the Lévesque government before the 1980 sovereignty-association referendum. Although the PQ's 1976 platform did maintain integrative elements which sought the protection of the French language and the reduction of differences (most notably the limiting of ethnic media), the platform did not attempt to increase sentiments of either nationalism or sovereignty amongst newcomers through

their integrative measures. The 1994 elections, however, marked both a discursive and policy shift for the PQ.

Although the parties' role as defenders of the nation had already been well-established both in terms of immigration and integration policy, in 1994 they diverged in the way they conceptualized their roles. The PQ proposed two policies which fundamentally sought to "Encourage the Dynamism of a Francophone and Pluralist Society" (PQ 1994*a*, 57). The first of these proposals implied recognizing that Quebec has historically found itself in a precarious situation by being a majority francophone minority within a large English hegemon both within Canada and North America. As a result, Quebec has "for a long time sought various guarantees, first for its survival, and now for the blossoming of Quebec as a French language and cultured country" (PQ 1994*a*, 57). Found in the "Encouraging the Dynamism of a Francophone and Pluralist Society", this was a recognition by the PQ that receiving said guarantees for the "country's" (PQ 1994*a*, 57) survival was essential—and these guarantees would lead to the blossoming of the French language and French culture. These nationalistic demands for greater policy autonomy done through political independence were, in effect, promoted as a means to ensure the survival of the French language and culture without mention of how this would affect cultural pluralism. The second proposal was a weaving together of the sovereignty project with integration: "A [PQ] government will make immigration and the integration of Quebec's citizens of all origins an essential aspect of its societal project and the realization of sovereignty for Quebec" (PQ 1994*a*, 68). This proposal marked the first time in the PQ's electoral programs that they attempted to make immigration and integration part of the party's plan to achieve political independence.

The protection of the nation either through policy autonomy or integrative measures was mirrored by the PLQ who in 1994 (PLQ 1994*a*, 60) proposed a 'moral contract' that newcomers are expected to sign if they wish to integrate into Quebec society (PLQ 1994*a*, 60). This moral contract was situated within "Quebec society's fundamental liberal values" in order to ensure that the "means of intercultural diversity are for the benefit of the entire collectivity" (PLQ 1994*a*, 60). The 'moral contract' served as a way of protecting Quebec's liberal values through the imposition of them onto new arrivals—instead of facilitating the integration of newcomers *into* these values like in platforms past, the moral contract, however, is a protectionist measure designed to impose these values onto the newcomer.

The convergence that occurred in the 1994 election was one where parties sought to protect Quebec's French character but chose to do so through different means. Yet the PQ's attempt to weave together sovereignty and integration did not stop the Party from proposing pluralist integrative policies. In the same vein, the PLQ's proposed a 'moral contract' which sought to reinforce and codify Quebec's liberal values did not prevent the party from proposing pluralist policies as well. Both parties proposed pluralist integrative measures which sought the participation of all Quebecers, whether through promotion of intercultural exchanges (PLQ 1994*a*, 80) between all citizens, or through the province counting "on the full and total participation of its citizens, independent of where they come from, for the constitution of a just, francophone, pluralist, and democratic society" (PQ 1994*a*, 68). The PQ offered to facilitate integration through measures targeting employment, institutional changes to the CCCI by making it the *Conseil de l'immigration, de l'intégration et de relations ethnoculturelles*, and to fight against racism and discrimination (PQ 1994*a*, 69). The PLQ offered more vague and opaque proposals but put forward significant open and pluralist recognition that "each generation of Quebecers, born here or elsewhere, can each influence [Quebec's history]. Our common culture is not fixed and defined once and for all. Accepting difference is part of the system we proudly offer to share" (PLQ 1994*a*, 60-61); and that the time in which the state sought to "on one hand support a '*pure laine*' culture while, on the other hand preserving the cultures of origin of immigrants is now over. The time has now come for intercultural exchanges and for the promotion of a Quebecois culture enriched by all cultural communities, current and future" (PLQ 1994*a*, 61). In essence, the pluralist proposals and recognitions put forth but the PLQ were less concrete than were the ones put forth by the PQ. Regardless, their proposals not dealing with a 'moral contract' or sovereignty *cum* integration were open and sought to facilitate integration into the nation.

Following the 1994 election came the 1995 Quebec sovereignty referendum. In the face of an incredibly close result (with the 'NO' side winning by slightly more than a single percentage point), Premier Parizeau came to utter one of the most infamous phrases in modern Quebec political history, that the referendum loss was a result of "money and the ethnic vote" (CBC Archives 1995). Parizeau's comments were seen as xenophobic and typified the exclusive form of nationalism that the PQ had long been trying to avoid for nearly twenty years. Yet Parizeau's comments were not indicative of the PQ's 1994 platform which explicitly proposed to

make the immigration and integration "of people of all origins an essential element for [the Party's] societal project and the realization of Quebec's sovereignty" (PQ 1994*a*, 68).

The proposal to effectively weave integration into the sovereignist project was a first for the PQ; previous electoral platforms actively promoted cultural differences and sought to integrate newcomers into Quebec society but did not propose, neither explicitly nor implicitly, that this integration was to benefit the sovereignist project. It is perhaps not surprising why Parizeau spoke as he did. With the PQ actively trying to recruit newcomers to the sovereignist side, and the "strategy to woo immigrants and ethnic groups in Quebec did not swing *their* vote; it did not bring *them* to embrace the nationalist project" (Juteau 2002, 446, emphasis in original), then these efforts were for naught given that "[g]overnmental discourses and actions did not induce immigrants and ethnic minorities to identify with Quebec to the extent of supporting independence" (Juteau 2002, 446). Parizeau's frustration with a failed attempt to successfully bolster the sovereignist cause by attempting to make integration a part of the sovereignist project manifested itself in the "money and the ethnic votes" comment. Parizeau eventually resigned from party leadership and, consequently, as Premier of the province. Lucien Bouchard replaced him as the head of the PQ, and Premier, and went on to win the 1998 election—and, much like the election immediately after the 1985 sovereignty-association referendum, the PQ was returned to power with a majority government losing only a single seat.

The 1994 election was a moment of temporary difference between the PLQ and PQ on the issue of integration. While both parties continued to protect the Quebecois nation, they did so through different means which both diverged from each other and from their past policies. The PQ's merging of integration with the sovereignty projection was a policy first for the party which had historically kept these two issues separate since 1976. The PLQ's proposal of a 'moral contract' was a first for both parties and this notion eventually became increasingly popular in the 21st century. Both parties were careful, however, to ensure that these policies which were both nationalistic and restrictive were matched with pluralist integration policies which did not seek to make integration harder. The parties were committed to ensuring that on-the-ground integration was still facilitated through employment but now all citizens had a role to play in successful integration, largely through the rapprochement between the mainstream population and newcomers.

The formal extension of integration into the sovereignty project—the attempt to ensure that integration facilitates separation—is a clear manifestation that the PQ opted not to disassociate integrative measures from their larger political ambition. This weaving together of integration and sovereignty represents two forms of divergence. First, the PQ diverged from its past proposals which maintained a frontier between ethnocultural diversity management and the achievement of sovereignty. Second, it offered a clear delineation between the PLQ and PQ in terms of proposed policies. But even with the noticeable policy difference, the PLQ still offered a fundamentally protectionist measure: the 'moral contract'. The 1994 election, then, is noted as a small and temporary divergence. Small because the PLQ was, itself, committed to ensuring that ethnocultural diversity management proposals protected the nation. Temporary because from 1994 onwards, the parties converged again, this time in two forms: through pluralist proposals and the removal of integration proposals from electoral programs altogether.

1998-2003: Convergence in Two Forms

The path which was set in 1981 by both the PQ and PLQ was one that promoted pluralist integrative policies throughout the 1980s. This path took a brief divergence in 1994 but convergence occurred once more after the 1994 election. This convergence, however, would not be a result of proposals suggesting similar pluralist, or restrictive, integrative measures. Instead, convergence occurred due to the parties' simultaneously limiting the total number of policies proposed during the 1998 election. The effective removal of ethnocultural diversity management proposals effectively mirrors Freeman's (1995) assertion that there "is a strong tendency […] for the major political parties to seek a consensus across the political spectrum that has the effect of taking immigration conflicts off the agenda" (Freeman 1995, 884).

The 1998 election saw the PQ propose two integrative policies: to "concretize the harmonization of employment-integration services to new arrivals and to immigrants by the *ministères de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité et des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration*" as well as ensuring that all citizens, regardless of origin, have equitable access to the civil service; and that a PQ government would intensify "its francization efforts towards new arrivals and immigrants who have lived in Quebec for a long time, particularly within the workplace" (PLQ 1998, 63). While the PLQ proposed to "reform COFI to make it more efficient and to better target its role in relation to the integration of immigrants" (PLQ 1998, 63). The PQ won the 1998 election and presented an electoral program which was quiet concerning their

ethnocultural diversity management policy proposals both in terms of total volume and rhetoric. Once in government, Bernard Landry was succeeded by Lucien Bouchard as leader of the PQ and Premier of the province. In Landry's inaugural address as Premier to the 36th legislature's second session, he explicitly endorsed pluralism and reject the notion of Quebec being an ethnic nation: "plus qu'à aucun autre moment de notre histoire il est admis que le Québec forme une nation, une nation civique, inclusive, et qui transcende toute forme d'ethnicité" and thus rejects the notion of an ethnic Quebec nation (PQ 2001). In the same address, Landry further announced an institutional change:

> Un de nos défis collectifs consiste également à bien accueillir et intégrer les immigrants. Le gouvernement a donné mandat au ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration d'intensifier les efforts visant à lever les obstacles empêchant les personnes immigrantes de faire valoir pleinement leurs compétences. À cette enseigne, je souligne que le gouvernement a créé le poste de secrétaire d'État à l'Accueil et à l'intégration des immigrants (PQ 2001).

These promises to create the Secretary of State for the Reception and Integration of Immigrants and to remove barriers concerning skill recognition is expanded upon in the announcement of the "Loi sur l'accès à l'égalité en emploi dans les organismes publics" (PQ 2001). This law would allow for increased cultural diversity within the public sector, ensuring that "Les femmes, les minorités visibles, les autochtones et les allophones doivent bénéficier de cette législation." (PQ 2001). With the 2003 election looming, Landry's 2001 inaugural address which stressed civic integration would be a precursor for the 2003 election in terms of programs emphasized.

Where the parties converged in 1998 through limiting their policy proposals, they continued to converge in 2003 but this time by returning to proposing pluralist policies. Although limited in the total volume of policies proposed, the PQ's 2003 platform is inherently civic and inclusive in nature. Although a restrictive integrative measure did exist concerning the intensification of the French language specifically in areas of employment "where we find immigrant workers" (PQ 2003, 85), the platform proposed the learning of French as a tool of integration (PQ 2003, 37). Furthermore, specifically in the platform's "A Pluralist Identity" section, the PQ recognized that the party "also values belonging to the Quebec nation by all peoples who have chosen Quebec as their adopted home. Their particular contribution adds to our collective quality of life and promotes the openness of our society to the world. We must

make sure that these new fellow citizens feel welcome and that they can develop a sentiment of belonging in Quebec. That they feel Quebecois!" (PQ 2003, 84). A PQ government, the platform further submits, will facilitate integration into the Quebec nation through reinforcing the French language's power of attraction (PQ 2003, 86).

These sentiments of creating a welcoming society through openness and reception are echoed by the PLQ who offered a policy-specific document alongside a general election platform. This document divided integrative measures into two major sections: "Partnerships" and "Participation". The Partnerships section proposed pluralist policies designed to empower organizations like the *Organismes communautaires d'acceuil et d'intégration* (OCAI) through increasing their ability to deliver services to cultural communities (PLQ 2003*a*, 9) and more actively engage with the integration of newcomers (PLQ 2003*a*, 10). In addition, the PLQ proposed to review and evaluate the existing integrative services (PLQ 2003*a*, 10) and promised to ensure that corporations, businesses, and professional associations "[…] absolutely have to contribute to the harmonious integration of newcomers" (PLQ 2003*a*, 10); and accelerate the recognition of foreign diplomas along with the recognition of foreign skills (PLQ 2003*a*, 12).

Under Participation, the party proposed to facilitate the participation of newcomers within Quebec society through continuing the fight against racism and discrimination (PLQ 2003*a*, 16), to create a multilingual communication network and to use said network to increase cultural communities' employment in the public sector and to acknowledge the mastery of another language other than French or English (PLQ 2003*a*, 18). The platform's commitment to representative bureaucracy is expanded to political offices given that the PLQ proposed to increase the number of visible minorities in "high level public service positions and within the administration of Crown Corporations" (PLQ 2003*a*, 18-19). More generally, the PLQ further proposed to support Quebec's different culture and identities, the various forms of cultural media, and develop a program of intercultural rapprochement in order to "support outreach activities into host society and the rapprochement of these communities" (PLQ 2003*a*, 19). Indeed, the PLQ had an explicit recognition that "cultural pluralism is a richness that a modern society needs to know how to cultivate. In Quebec, in contrast to the American 'melting pot', we value cultural diversity and the newcomer does not have to abandon their differences at the door" (PLQ 2003*a*, 19).

In sum, the PLQ called for a relationship between the provincial government, cultural communities, and the private and public sector as a means to facilitate integration, ad aimed to facilitate the democratic participation and employment of newcomers by actively engaging with the private citizenry—therefore asking that all Quebecers help to extend the boundaries of citizenship to newcomers.

Coupled with the PLQ's shift to economic immigration, Jean Charest stated in his inaugural address to the 37th legislature's second sitting, that immigration "contribue, pour les deux tiers, à l'augmentation de la population active du Québec, mais elle doit également contribuer davantage à notre enrichissement collectif" (PLQ 2006). This collective enrichment is to be done through proposing a legislative bill "dans le but de reconnaître la formation et les diplômes donc des personnes formées à l'étranger" given that "on a trop attendu au Québec pour justement faire une place à ceux et celles qui viennent ici, avec nous, construire le Québec" (PLQ 2006). Citizen integration and economic wellbeing are now being formally woven together, thus for the PLQ "nous pourrons ainsi mieux intégrer nos immigrants. Nous pourrons mieux bénéficier de la compétence des personnes qui sont des ponts tendus vers le reste du monde et qui veulent, il faut le dire, participer, participer non seulement à la création de richesse, mais participer à cette société, participer à leur terre d'accueil" (PLQ 2006).

Overall, the 1998 and 2003 electoral promises showed convergence. The 1998 election's convergence was due to the parties' limited amount of proposals. In the 2003 election's convergence appeared as both parties proposed pluralist policies which recognized, supported, and promoted cultural differences, and tried to engage all citizens to make integration easier. This convergence, however, did not continue in 2007 where the PQ, now under a new leader, opted to remove integration from their policy proposals while the PLQ continued to propose a host of pluralist policies. The next election after 2003 proved to be of utmost importance for Quebec as the parties diverged from each other within their policy platforms throughout the 2007, 2008, 2012, and 2014 elections. Yet the 2014 election saw a return to convergence—a wholly different form of integrative convergence than was observed from elections past.

2007: A New Path? Divergences and a Return to Convergence

Overtime, the ethnocultural diversity management policies proposed by both parties have remained relatively constant and stable. But for a brief period in 1994, both parties promoted pluralist and receptive policies which sought to facilitate integration, promote cultural difference,

and used the French language as a tool of integration. While policies were proposed by both parties which were restrictive and non-pluralist, these non-pluralist policies were effectively counter-balanced with inclusionary integration policies. From 2007 onwards, however, Quebec's political climate began to change. The 2007 and 2008 elections demonstrated significant divergence in terms of the policies proposed. The PLQ continued to propose a host of ethnocultural diversity management proposals in 2007 while the PQ opted to remove them from their agenda, and the opposite occurred in 2008. The 2012 election of Pauline Marois' PQ began a shift away from their historic predisposition in favour of pluralist integrative measures towards the imposition of restrictive, exclusionary, and protectionist integrative measures onto newcomers. These measures eventually culminated into Bill 60[17] and saw the PLQ remain quiet within their proposals, before effectively proposing a similar legislative bill after winning government in 2014.

However, the PQ's Bill 60 was not altogether different from the PLQ's proposed Bill 94 in 2010 (Government of Quebec 2010). Bill 94, the "law establishing the guidelines governing accommodation requests within the public service and certain establishments" (Government of Quebec 2010) attempted to codify that people receiving or administering government services had their faces uncovered, in effect ensuring that "Muslim women or others who wear face coverings in Quebec will have to remove them if they want to work in the public sector or do business with government officials" (CBC 2010). The PQ's Bill 60, then, is in fact quite similar to Bill 94 proposed by the PLQ in 2010. Beginning with Bill 94 in 2010, and becoming more apparent with the leadership of Pauline Marois, a shift, for both parties, occurred. This shift was one which moved away from notion of integrating newcomers without legislation which enforced state religious neutrality, or made explicit Quebec's liberal values (i.e. gender equality and maintaining uncovered faces when one received government services). Instead, the parties shifted to a notion where Quebec's demands were to become obvious to newcomers. Passing these bills were imperative for imposing common values onto newcomers, in effect levelling non-mainstream values through legislative fiat by targeting individuals that the government

[17] Bill 60, or Quebec's Charter of Values, was a legislative attempt by the PQ to pass a bill which aimed to, per the title of the bill, "affirm the values of state religious neutrality as well as equality between men and women while framing accommodation demands" (Government of Quebec 2013). Included in the Bill were provisions to limit the wearing of religious symbols by public sector workers, "make it mandatory to have one's face uncovered when providing or receiving a state service", and to amend Quebec's Human Rights Code (CBC 2013).

believed were practicing illiberal activities which ran counter to the values that bound the imagined community.

The PQ's 2007 electoral platform was a muted document concerning integration policy proposals. Now under the leadership of André Boisclair, the Party proposed but a single policy: to prioritize the "scholastic promotion of culture, identity, and Quebecois values (notably equality between men and women, language, State religious neutrality [*laïcité*], and the protection of the environment)" (PQ 2007, 11). This proposal was, in effect, an attempt to protect Quebec's common values—of which this would extend to newcomers given that children, under Law 101, have to receive an education in French. This education would ensure that Quebec's values would remain protected through a significant form of integration for children: education. The PLQ proposed a similarly limited platform in 2008—in fact, the Party did not propose a single integration proposal in the document.

While the PQ's 2007 platform was silent on matters of ethnocultural diversity management, the PLQ proposed a host of policies. Although the proposals were overwhelmingly pluralist, the 2007 policy-specific platform did offer a recognition that a PLQ government would commit itself to the protection and promotion of Quebec's French character given that it is a "liberal value at the base of our political philosophy" (PLQ 2007*b*, 2). Within the PLQ's 2007 general policy platform, the party makes pluralist proposals ranging from statements such as "our identity grows from what citizens from all four corners, who represent different traditions and religions, bring to us. Quebec's diversity is a richness. It is also a permanent challenge, one of equality between the majority and minority rights" (PLQ 2007a, 69), and continued fights against racism. The policy-specific document proposes to increase visible minorities' recruitment into the public sector, support groups and grassroots organizations, the promotion of educational activities (Black History Month), and the creation of an indicator in order to determine which private businesses are best handling diversity management (PLQ 2007*b*, 2).

Important in the 2007 campaign, however, was the very public and contentious debate surrounding 'reasonable accommodation'. Fuelling this public debate were the "Hérouxville Standards" established in Hérouxville, "a small town near Shawinigan in the region of [the] Mauricie" (Bélanger 2008, 73). These standards created a "'code of conduct' that asked immigrants wishing to establish themselves in the town to conform to the Quebec majority's secular view" (Bélanger 2008, 73). Nieguth and Lacassagne (2009, 6) point to the fact that

"contrary to the other two major political parties, the ADQ did not denounce the Hérouxville Standards, but instead used them to fuel a populist discourse around the 'reasonable accommodation' of cultural difference […] which ultimately benefited their electoral fortunes". Even though the 2007 election was partly marked by the reasonable accommodation debate, Bélanger (2009, 75) contends that the ADQ's rise was "impressive given that the reasonable accommodations issue played no direct part in the campaign. It must probably be concluded that this issue helped the ADQ before the campaign started, by giving the party the visibility and the impulse it needed to rival the two major parties". Although reasonable accommodation played "no direct part in the campaign" (Bélanger 2008, 75), its influence on the election is undeniable—so undeniable that the PLQ launched the Bouchard-Taylor Commission in 2007 to sort out the issue.

Commissioned in February 2007, the Bouchard-Taylor Commission had a four-part mandate: (i) to "take stock of harmonization practices in Québec", (ii) to "analyze the issues bearing in mind the experience of other societies", (iii) to "conduct an extensive consultation", and (iv) to "formulate recommendations to the government" (*Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles* 2008, 7). The chosen approach to fulfill this mandate would be to "perceive the debate on reasonable accommodation as the symptom of a more basic problem concerning the sociocultural integration model established in Québec since the 1970s" in order to "grasp the problem at its source and from all angles, with particular emphasis on its economic and social dimensions" (*Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles 2008*, 8).

With the public debate over integration looming large, only the PLQ and ADQ engaged with this debate within their electoral platforms. The PLQ maintained its pluralist-economic integrative measures while simultaneously ensuring the "reaffirmation of Quebec's common values" while the ADQ proposed a populist message within their electoral platform which "exhorted Québécois to 'be proud of our identity and find ways to reinforce it for the sake of the future and the continuance of our society'" (Nieguth and Lacassagne 2009, 6). It is no surprise, then, why within a volatile political climate the two parties which addressed the accommodation debate were rewarded while the PQ—who proposed only a single limited policy—suffered its worst electoral result in 37 years, capturing 36 seats and 28.3 percent of the popular vote

compared to the ADQ's historic 41 seats and 30.8 percent of the popular vote (Bélanger 2008, 72; 75).

The ultimate outcome of the 2007 election was a poor showing for the PQ and a minority government for the PLQ, the province's first in 129 years. While the PLQ was furthering its commitment to economic immigration, it did commit to maintaining cultural diversity through financial commitments to cultural groups, combatting racism and discrimination, and promoting intercultural rapprochement between newcomers and their new society. It presented itself as the divergent pluralist alternative to the mute PQ and reactionary ADQ. The necessity of successfully integrating newcomers in Quebec society was echoed in Charest's inaugural message to the minority government. Charest rejected the notion of an ethnic, or ascribed, nation and citizenship:

> Je suis né à Sherbrooke. Je suis à demi Irlandais. Je le suis de par ma mère dont le souvenir m'émeut à chaque jour. Est-ce que je suis moins Québécois pour autant? Bien sûr que non. Est-ce que quelqu'un né au Québec mais prénommé Mustafa ou Helena serait moins Québécois que vous et moi? On ne peut dresser de telles barrières entre nous (PLQ 2007*c*).

Furthermore, Charest explicitly committed himself and the party to integrating newcomers into Quebec's liberal values:

> Naître au Québec est une chance. Immigrer au Québec est un privilège. Intégrer les immigrants est une responsabilité. C'est un geste réciproque. Pour celui qui arrive, c'est prendre avec le Québec les valeurs québécoises: les libertés individuelles, l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et la séparation entre la religion et l'État. De façon prioritaire, c'est aussi prendre avec le Québec cette langue qui est le cœur de notre liberté, de notre identité. Intégration égale aussi francisation. Pour celui qui accueille, intégrer les immigrants, c'est s'ouvrir à la différence et aussi et surtout reconnaître les compétences (PLQ 2007*c*).

However, Charest was also careful to offer a nuanced position which took into account both integration and the protection of these liberal values:

> Nous allons, par exemple, renforcer le message livré à chaque immigrant à l'effet que nos valeurs fondamentales ne sont pas négociables. Ce message, nous allons le rendre public pour que tous les Québécois sachent ce qu'on attend de ceux qui sont invités à venir partager notre avenir. Nous ferons cela tout en réaffirmant notre conviction à l'effet que le seul Québec possible est un Québec de la diversité. Il n'y a pas plus beau cadeau que le Québec puisse recevoir que les espoirs de quelqu'un venu d'ailleurs. Le Québec n'est jamais aussi grand que lorsqu'il ouvre ses bras. Certains croient qu'on grandit lorsqu'on lève le menton, mais, en agissant ainsi, on ne fait que s'empêcher de regarder l'autre. Moi, je pense qu'on grandit lorsqu'on tend la main. Ma position, c'est celle des rapprochements, des rapprochements indispensables. C'est ça, être libéral (PLQ 2007*c*).

Charest's minority government fell, however, triggering the 2008 election. This election witnessed a shift in the volume of proposals from the year before, this time with the PQ proposing the bulk of ethnocultural diversity management policies while the PLQ proposed not a single policy. The PQ effectively began a discursive shift during the 2008 election, further leading to increased divergence between both the party's past policies and with the PLQ. The PQ's 2008 platform sought to modify the Charter of the French Language by "ensuring that French becomes the administrative language of interaction between the state and businesses and citizens" and to "put in place specific measures to francize businesses (with 1-50 employees) while taking into account certain criteria like the number of employees and their direct links with costumers. Fiscal measures will eventually be introduced in order to incentivize these businesses" (PQ 2008, 25). These measures were not proposed as a means to integrate newcomers, but the language measures were, in fact, explicitly placed in the "Reinforcing the Status of the French Language" section of the PQ's platform, therefore making them protectionist measures which distanced the Party from previous proposals setting language policy as an integrative tool and a way to improve services to the non-Francophone communities, even in the face of the Quebec's peculiar linguistic reality.

In the section titled "Ensuring the Full Integration of Immigrants in Quebec", the PQ proposed an "integration contract in order to prioritize their integration into Quebec life" and to "make learning the French language a *duty*[18] for newcomers and to take appropriate measures to achieve this" (PQ 2008, 27, emphasis added). This policy is, in fact, quite similar to the 'moral contract' that the PLQ first proposed in 1994. Apart from the PQ's 1994 proposal to include integration as part of the sovereignist plan, this is a rare attempt by the party to fundamentally alter the way in which integration into the host society was to occur and was a clear demonstration of the Party's ideology concerning the protection and advancement of the nation. In past elections, the PQ was either silent on the issue or continuously proposed to integrate newcomers *into* the Francophone majority. This proposal, however, forces integration *onto* newcomers instead of through more fluid, open, and pluralist means. While it did not explicitly reject cultural difference, the notion of an integration contract was nevertheless an implicit

[18] The original passage reads as: "*Faire de l'apprentissage de de la langue française un droit pour les nouveaux arrivants et prendre les moyens appropriés pour y parvenir*" (PQ 2008, 27). The use of "*droit*" is ambiguous because it could mean either 'duty' or 'right'—'right' having a more positive connotation than 'duty'. However, 'duty' has been used due to the document's overall context—particularly through the proposal of an integration contract.

recognition by the party that those with cultural differences must willingly integrate immediately and the contract, by extension, acted as means in which to level cultural differences by reifying Quebec's values and imposing them onto newcomers.

Yet the PQ was, once again, careful to counter-balance restrictive measures with open ones. Pluralist integration policies were all found in the "Ensuring the Full Integration of Immigrants in Quebec" section (PQ 2008, 27). The platform proposed to offer newcomers the resources to learn French upon their arrival to Quebec; encourage community and inter-community projects, particularly between women and young immigrants; and to continue the fight against racism and discrimination (PQ 2008, 27). Evidently, the PQ was aware that pluralism still had a role to play in successful integration and that cultural rapprochement between the mainstream and newcomers was an enviable way of ensuring successful integration, and understanding, into the French majority culture. There was, however, convergence on a handful of integrative strategies. Marois' PQ and Charest's PLQ adopted similar policies which aimed to increase the number of foreign students (PQ 2008, 23; PLQ 2008, 5); facilitate foreign diploma recognition (PQ 2008, 27; PLQ 2003a, 12); make it easier for immigrants to work and find jobs (PQ 2008, 27; PLQ 2003a, 13-14); and to prioritize hiring of cultural communities in the public sector (PQ 1989, 1999, 2003, 2008; PLQ 1989, 2003, 2007). The PLQ's commitment to increasing the number of foreign students was affirmed in Charest's first inaugural address after the 2008 election, stating:

> Le Québec accueille chaque année 22 000 étudiants étrangers. […] À peine un sur 10 reste au Québec, alors que plusieurs ont appris une nouvelle langue, alors qu'ils ont appris nos valeurs. M. le Président, je veux que, pour eux, le Québec ne soit pas qu'un heureux souvenir, mais qu'il soit également un projet d'avenir. Nous allons poser un geste audacieux pour garder cette jeunesse et son potentiel chez nous. Désormais, un étudiant étranger obtenant son diplôme ici se verra offrir un certificat de sélection pour immigrer au Québec. Nous nous fixons comme objectif de tripler le nombre d'étudiants étrangers qui font le choix de demeurer au Québec (PLQ 2009).

The result of the 2008 election was a PLQ majority government whose tenure in office was fundamentally defined by the ongoing economic crisis eventually culminating in the recession. The PLQ's divergence away from cultural integration towards placing emphasis on economic immigration and integration came to be reflected in their policy proposals. The PLQ's continued preference for economic ethnocultural diversity management was made clear in Premier Charest's 2011 inaugural address to the 39th legislature's second session:

> Le Québec a besoin de leurs [les immigrants] compétences. Pour certains, décrocher un emploi dans leurs domaines est difficile. Pourtant, nombre d'entreprises recherchent cette main-d'œuvre. Nous faisons le pont : le gouvernement a développé et activé un service de recrutement par Internet. Le Placement en ligne international offre aux entreprises de toutes les régions la possibilité d'embaucher des travailleurs qualifiés, sélectionnés par le Québec avant même leur arrivée chez nous. Avec ce service, nous atteignons un objectif triple : plus d'immigrants en emploi, plus d'immigrants dans nos régions, plus d'entreprises qui trouvent la main-d'œuvre dont elles ont besoin. D'autres mesures actives viendront accélérer l'intégration en emploi des nouveaux arrivants (PLQ 2011).

This sentiment towards economic integration was also echoed by Pauline Marois in her first inaugural speech as Premier, stating: "Et puis l'histoire de notre peuple, c'est aussi une histoire d'immigration. Nous avons le devoir de recevoir et d'intégrer les nouveaux arrivants à la nation québécoise et le gouvernement mettra l'emphase sur l'intégration en emploi" (PLQ 2012*b*). The impact that the recession had on both the 2008 and 2012 election could account for the lack of integrative policy proposals from the PLQ, the party could have rightly identified that economic issues were of greater salience to the voters and therefore reduced their emphasis on cultural integration, instead committing itself to economic immigration and integration.

Under Marois' leadership, however, integration was to be of incredible importance. But no longer was integration to be fluid, receptive, and pluralist. Instead the PQ was to impose integration as a required necessity for newcomers and these newcomers were to integrate into a pre-defined set of codified values which created a binary form of citizenship: those who subscribed to liberal values, and illiberal individuals.

Although there was significant divergence and convergence in the 2007 and 2008 elections, the overwhelming reality was that a discursive, rhetorical, and policy shift slowly began to emerge during these elections as the parties were effectively beginning to become more distinct in how they envisaged successful integration into Quebec society. These divergences were further solidified in the 2012 and 2014 elections where the PQ became increasingly more non-pluralist in regards to the imposition of codified liberal values onto the newcomer and the PLQ did not actively engage the PQ's policies, either in support or disagreement, in their policy platforms.

The 2012 election resulted in a minority government for Pauline Marois' PQ and saw Jean Charest resign as leader of the PLQ. Both parties' electoral platforms contain policies which seek to facilitate immigrant employment (PQ 2012*a*, 24; PLQ 2012, 8) but they fundamentally

differ in their proposed integrative measures. The PLQ's proposed integration policies by supporting private sector companies in their diversity management and francization efforts (PLQ 2012*a*, 8) whereas the PQ, instead, opted to increase the prevalence of French through the legislative power of the state by proposing to extend Law 101 to CÉGEP, trade schools, and to adult education (PQ 2012*a*, 9). Furthermore, the PQ proposed increasingly nationalist integration policies including the passing of a Quebec constitution[19] to establish Quebec's fundamental values, to put in place a Quebec citizenship, and to create a charter of *laïcité* (PQ 2012*a*, 9). The proposed constitution, charter, and citizenship are all found under the "Affirming our Identity and Values" section of the party's 2012 platform. They are overtly protectionist means dedicated to entrenching, codifying, and reifying Quebec's liberal and secular values in order to protect the nation from possible illiberal values that the Other may be bringing to Quebec. To fully ensure their integration into the new society, these values are to be imposed onto the Other instead of allowing the Other to integrate into society.

These proposals, however, are a significant shift away from the PQ's past proposals which emphasized cultural integration into the Francophone majority which allowed for parallel cultural traditions and identities to exist alongside the Francophone majority (PQ 1981, 49; 1985, 32; 1989, 85-85)—but the extension of Quebecois citizenship to the cultural community allowed for the Other to both feel Quebecois and of their respective ethnic origin thus allowing for democratic participation while the government actively sought to promote cultural difference and recognized its value (PQ 1989, 84; 2003, 86). Instead, proposals to "Affirm our Identity and Values" and what eventually became Bill 60 were put forward as a means to level differences between the Other and the host society, and effectively protect the nation from the Other through legislating the core concepts of the nation as a whole—that is, the concepts which bind the mainstream members of the nation together in face of threats to the nation's survival.

Heading into the 2014 election, Philippe Couillard was chosen to succeed Jean Charest as leader of the PLQ. Couillard, now leader of the Official Opposition, had to compete with the PQ's proposed Bill 60, a bill which sought to codify the state's religious neutrality, *laïcité*, gender equality, and to "frame the demands for reasonable accommodation" (Government of

[19] The significance of a Quebec constitution is expertly discussed in Nelson Wiseman's (2010) analytical piece concerning the proposed 2007 Quebec constitution.

Quebec 2013). This bill was first introduced by Pauline Marois in her first inaugural address as Premier:

> En matière de citoyenneté, notre société n'a jamais règlé [*sic*] les questions surgies à la suite de la crise des accommodements raisonnables. Pour y remédier, nous avons proposé l'adoption d'une charte de la laïcité, ainsi qu'une loi sur la citoyenneté québécoise. Ces propositions fondamentales doivent bénéficier de l'adhésion du plus grand nombre. Le gouvernement a donc décidé de lancer des consultations pour atteindre un point d'équilibre qui nous permettra d'avancer sur ces questions (PQ 2012*b*).

As Marois' PQ had only won a minority government, the government's eventually fall led to the 2014 election. With failure to pass Bill 60 through the National Assembly, it became part of the PQ's electoral platform in two sections: *Dire ce que nous sommes* and *Affirmer les valeurs de laïcité et de neutralité religieuse de l'État* where the party proposed to adopt said Charter (PQ 2014, 6). Due to the Charter's popularity, indeed with one polling firm placing support for the Charter at 65 percent among Quebecers in September, 2013 (Angus-Reid 2013) and the contention of the issue, the PLQ opted to not address the Charter within their electoral platform[20]. The party, however, put forward policies which proposed to give Montreal more powers over integration and to promote economic immigration through "entrepreneurial immigration" by encouraging foreign investors to Quebec and by facilitating their immigration process through the 'start-up visa' program (PLQ 2014*a*, 66; 87). The PLQ's quiet position on bill 60 within its electoral platform may have been a calculated attempt to achieve two political goals. First, its silence allowed for the immigrant vote to remain supportive of the PLQ. Second, by keeping quiet, the PLQ received the vote of those who were against the Charter; while coming out in favour of the bill could have alienated anti-Charter party supporters. Once elected, the PLQ proposed a nuanced series of integrative strategies (PLQ 2014*b*). The premier committed the party to economic immigration and integration, "[d]ans le contexte de notre démographie, où déjà le nombre de personnes en âge de travailler décroît, notre productivité, pour augmenter, doit s'appuyer sur une participation maximale au marché du travail […]. […] le caractère incontournable d'une immigration soutenue, bien formée, prête à l'emploi, dont les compétences sont davantage reconnues"; and the recognition of foreign credentials. Il faut

[20] This is not to say that the PLQ didn't address the Charter at all. To the contrary, the Charter and integration in general were well discussed issues during the numerous leaders' debates held throughout the election.

également agir de façon déterminée dans le domaine de la reconnaissance des compétences" (PLQ 2014*b*). While Couillard continued on the path that Charest created which favoured economic immigration and integration, he also mentioned proposals which echoed both the PQ's electoral platforms from 2012 and 2014, and Bill 60:

> L'accueil et l'intégration des personnes immigrantes doivent se poursuivre bien sûr avec deux ordres de réflexion. […]. Ce qui compte, c'est l'adhésion et l'attachement aux valeurs que nous partageons : le français comme langue commune de notre espace public dans le respect des droits et de la contribution historique de nos compatriotes anglophones; également, le partage d'autres principes, ceux-là partagés avec les autres démocraties du monde, notamment l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et la neutralité religieuse des institutions de l'État (PLQ 2014*b*).

The PLQ adopted a rhetoric similar to that employed by the PQ in 2012 and 2014. Premier Couillard stated:

> Notre gouvernement soumettra à cette Assemblée un projet de loi affirmant la neutralité religieuse des institutions de l'État, la nécessité que les services publics soient donnés et reçus à visage découvert, balisant les accommodements raisonnables et prévoyant des mécanismes de lutte contre l'intégrisme religieux. Voilà ce qu'il convient de faire. Le respect de nos droits fondamentaux, de notre patrimoine et bien sûr l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes seront les principes à la base de ce nouveau projet de loi. La ministre de la Justice et responsable de la Condition féminine, en particulier, et l'ensemble du gouvernement y veilleront (PLQ 2014*b*).

This proposed bill eventually took form as Bill 62, *Loi favorisant le respect de la neutralité religieuse de l'État et visant notamment à encadrer les demandes d'accommodements religieux dans certains organismes*, a bill similar, both in title and content, to the PQ's proposed Bill 60 in 2013 (Government of Quebec 2015).

The 2014 election underscored both the continued shift towards immigration as an economic necessity and priority, and entrenched the PQ's move from a party of cultural pluralism to one which primarily sought to protect the nation that the newcomer was to integrate into. As the PQ explicitly proposed nationalist integrative measures and the PLQ remained silent, the election returned the PLQ to power with a majority government—and resulted in a commitment from the PLQ to propose a bill that had much of the same rhetoric and principles as did the PQ's bill 60. This election, then, resulted in an interesting phenomenon. The parties briefly began to diverge under Charest's leadership as the PLQ began to promote both pluralist integration measures and pluralist economic-immigration measures; the PQ began to promote pluralist economic-immigration measures and exclusionary and protectionist integration

measures. While the PQ maintained these priorities in the 2014 election and the PLQ did not, the PLQ ultimately committed to these very same priorities in the inaugural address. As a result, the period of divergence was short-lived and concluded with a return to convergence—this time with the PLQ converging to the proposed PQ policies and limiting the past established rhetoric of cultural pluralism via integration *into* the host society.

The Effects of Nationalism, Divergent Integrative Measures, and a New Convergence?

The integration policies proposed from 1976 to 2014 demonstrated a fairly nuanced and complex series of changes over time. Included in these changes were shifts from open cultural pluralism which sought a dialogue between the newcomer and the state, to explicit manifestations of ideology in 1994, to economic realities, to non-pluralist policies which sought the codification of non-negotiable common liberal values. In effect, these changes brought both parties away from their early conceptualizations of integration policy as a means of fostering rapprochement and the support of ethnic cultures while facilitating integration into the French majority through participatory measures such as said rapprochement, sensitization programs, and French language courses.

Nationalism did indeed have a significant impact on the policies proposed. It took form in terms of civic proposals found throughout the 1980s which offered sensitization programs, representative bureaucracy, and continued recognitions of Quebec's multicultural diversity as being a benefit for the province—indeed reducing the risk of what could have become a stagnant and homogenized culture. Attempts to support different cultures and the offering of French language courses not as a means to protect the nation but as a means to facilitate integration are indicative of a civic type of nationalism which promoted participation between the state and newcomers. This participation sought to extend the boundaries of citizenship to newcomers by not limiting differences between the mainstream and the settling—this preference was largely prioritized by both parties. For a large part of the period under study (the 1981, 1985, and 1989 elections), the PQ and PLQ converged in their preference for this participative cultural integration and the PQ's predisposition towards achieving political sovereignty was not combined with integration policies either in the election before the 1980 sovereignty-referendum or immediately after it.

Nationalism as a whole should not be synonymous with racism, xenophobia, discrimination, or even political independence. It is a wholly complex phenomenon with

numerous identifications and definitions. It can either aim to bring people together in a civic and inclusive form, incite violence and divide people, or seek the political independence of a people. The various forms of nationalism are manifested within the parties' integration policies as both parties converge from a period of cultural-pluralist integration, to forming a new path come 2014 where more non-pluralist forms of nationalistic integration become apparent. Yet from the Lévesque era of the PQ's political rule through to Boisclair's brief tenure, the PQ's nationalist ideology does not permeate integration but for short-lived passage of Jacques Parizeau in 1994. And even under the more restrictive Marois era, integration is not woven into the sovereignty project which leads to a significant conclusion concerning the impact of ideology on integrative measures: much like its immigration policies, the PQ consciously opted to keep political sovereignty and integration separate except for the 1994 election. Its nationalistic ideological predisposition had little effect on its policy proposals.

Nationalism played a pivotal role across every election but for the ones in which both parties removed integration from their policy agendas. For the PLQ, initial forms of open and civic nationalism eventually gave way to economic integration which was neither civic nor ethnic but was still open and pluralist regardless. The PQ, however, shifted from a 1976 platform which stressed protectionism to platforms which were incredibly open and civic in nature before eventually being restrictive and affirmationist under Marois. A result of the PQ's shift was the Charter of Values, but it dies on the order paper in the National Assembly and became a campaign issue during the 2014 election. The PQ's Charter saw a new legislative birth in a different more moderate form through the PLQ's affirmationist Bill 62. Overall, the expected nationalist ideology which aimed to protect, affirm, and level out the differences between the Francophone majority and the rest of the population were not apparent in most of the PQ's policies. Both parties fundamentally agreed that civic inclusion and the fostering of democratic participation were essential for integration. This integration was to be aided by both the state and the citizens who must understand that difference existed and that it was a benefit. But rhetoric stressing the benefit that difference would bring fundamentally changed under the Charest Liberals who began to re-focus integration and immigration as an economic reality—thus reducing the state's responsibility to integrate newcomers into culture and instead integrating them into employment.

The 1994 election demonstrated that restrictive forms of nationalism can play an impact on policy determination. For the PLQ, the 1994 election saw the first mention of a form of integrative contract that newcomers were to sign. Evidently, the PQ does not maintain a monopoly on integration policies which sought to reduce the differences among newcomers and the Quebec born. Beginning in 2008, and arguably 2007 with the ADQ's success, restrictive nationalism began to appear more evident. With Pauline Marois as leader of the PQ, the Party underwent a discursive shift which distanced it from both its past preference for cultural pluralism and the PLQ. The PQ promoted instead policies which sought to concretize the values that newcomers were to adopt, effectively imposing non-negotiable liberal values onto the newcomer. These values were ones which bound the imagined community—the series of core beliefs and opinions which formed the nation: language, gender equality, and state religious neutrality. It is not to say that these values are not wholly proper liberal values to posses in a liberal-democratic society, but references to these values were few and far between for the majority of the elections examined. Efforts to codify these values were attempts to reify the position that many Quebecers held and attempted to draw a distinction: those who held these values were Quebecois, those who did not were the Other. The largest difference that occurred is that, assuming these values have been constant since 1976, newcomers were once expected to integrate into them through rapprochement with the settled, through being exposed to Quebec culture, and through the state's integrative ability; but moral contracts or Bill 60 and Bill 62 reduce the fluidity of integrating into these values and instead impose them onto newcomers thus drawing a clear distinction between the Quebecois and the Other. In essence, moral contracts and Charters of Values were effectively conceived as tools to level out differences between the Other and Quebecois, harkening back to the days of the single Quebec culture of the 'old stock' Quebecois.

Chapter V: Brokerage Politics

Why do ideological differences that distinguish the PLQ and PQ seem to have but a marginal importance when it comes to immigration and integration policies? With two parties both espousing fundamentally different ideologies concerning Quebec's place within Canada, one might expect, in fact, that these ideological differences would permeate their proposed policies. It would be expected to see the PQ engage the sovereignty project with their ethnocultural diversity management proposals; there should be overt efforts to both court newcomers to the sovereignist side and to implement immigration policies which target individuals more sympathetic to Quebec's independence. The PLQ would then be expected to combat the decision taken by the PQ and implement pluralist and open immigration and integration policies which favour the integration into the pan-Canadian multicultural mosaic. Yet this did not occur. Both parties fundamentally believed they have a duty and role to play as a defender of the Quebecois nation—indeed with considerable immigration policy being transferred to Quebec under Bourassa's Liberal governments—but their respective ideology concerning Quebec's place within Canada did not permeate itself concerning their proposed ethnocultural diversity management policies. Instead what emerged were periods of considerable policy proposal convergence between the two parties punctuated by elections of difference and divergence before ultimately returning back to convergence. Both theses convergences and divergences can be explained by 'brokerage politics'. Generally applied to Canada's federal parties, brokerage politics explains why political parties as a whole are not strikingly different from one another. Uniquely applying the brokerage theory to Quebec's political parties in a micro-policy sense will help to shed light on why two ideologically distinct parties effectively propose similar policies in an area in which significant difference is expected.

This chapter will first present a review of the relevant literature on party ideology, party competition, and brokerage politics before applying brokerage politics to the elections under consideration. The point of this exercise is to show that brokerage politics allowed for both parties to reduce the ideological difference between them and propose similar like-minded policies in order to appeal to the broadest electorate possible by acting as pragmatic vote seekers. Thus ideological positions concerning sovereignty and integration were de-emphasized in favour of the increased likelihood of forming government.

Party Ideology

The ideology that political parties come to espouse can be of utmost importance for voters. Party ideology helps individuals delineate where parties stand, whether they agree or disagree with them, and can influence the policies that parties develop and implement. But Anthony Downs' (1957) seminal work on the theory of political action posited that "political parties in a democracy formulate policy strictly as a means of gaining votes. They do not seek to gain office in order to carry out certain preconceived policies or to serve any particular interest groups; rather they formulate policies and serve interest groups in order to gain office" (Downs 1957, 137). Ideologies, then, act as a simple means for voters to reduce information costs—if the cost of obtaining information concerning policy proposals is too high (that is, if the process is too time consuming) then voters can vote based on ideological lines by identifying which party is most likely to represent their broad interests, an example of parties formulating policies to serve identified core voters and maximize potential votes (Downs 1957, 141). Ideologies help the voter "focus attention on the differences between parties; therefore, they can be used as samples of all the differentiating stands" (Downs 1957, 141-142).

If ideologies are an important aspect for voters to determine for whom to vote, and that parties invent "an ideology in order to attract the votes of those citizens who wish to cut costs by voting ideologically", it would be logical to assume that ideology would then have an effect on policy proposals and policy outputs (Downs 1957, 142). Indeed, the relationship between ideology and public policies has been well documented (Castles and McKinlay 1979; Consterdine 2015; Hinnfors *et al*. 2012; Imbeau *et al*. 2001; Laver and Hunt 1992; Schinkel and van Houdt 2010; Vassalo and Wilcox 2006), and has often been reduced to the axiom of 'politics matters' (Imbeau *et al*. 2001, 1). It is puzzling, then, that if the literature demonstrates that ideology ought to play a role in the development of policy proposals and policy outputs that this appears not to be the case in Quebec. Perhaps Quebec is an anomaly. Where the PQ and PLQ government undoubtedly espouse two different ideological positions representing both federalism within Canada and autonomy outside Canada respectively, their continued proposal of convergent policy proposals indicates that party ideology does not play a significant role in the determination of policy proposals and outputs. However, this is not to say that nationalism itself is unimportant, solely the federal-sovereignist divide.

'Politics matters' has been demonstrated through the study of migration in the UK from the perspective of the Labour Party (Consterdine 2015). The ideological shift that the Labour Party underwent as a result of spending nearly 20 years in political opposition had "reoriented [the party] to the centre" (Consterdine 2015, 1445-1446). This shift was essential to understanding "why the government adopted an expansionary approach to policy in the early 2000s" and the ideological reorientation was reflected "in most public policies, including immigration" (Consterdine 2015, 1449). Hinnfors *et al*. (2012) have similarly discussed the importance that ideology maintains in policy outputs. The authors contend that the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) has "made reference to central ideological tenets over more than 40 years. Moreover, we have shown that regardless of voter opinion or the level of party threat […], the SAP's entry policies have remained restrictive. Thus, we are confident that ideology should be included alongside more conventionally accepted explanatory factors" (Hinnfors *et al*. 2012, 599). In the Swedish context, the SAP has maintained ideological consistency in their restrictive immigration policies even in the face of vote competition. Ideology played a significant role in their policy outputs and demonstrates that ideology may play an important role in determining policy proposals and policy outputs beyond vote-maximization assumptions.

Likewise, Schikel and van Houdt (2010) demonstrate that "active citizenship" was subject to "renewed interest" in the Netherlands as a result of the "rise of neo-liberal emphasis on 'individual responsibility'" (Schikel and van Houdt 2010, 697) demonstrating that ideological changes led to increased dialogue in the Netherlands culminating in the "double helix of cultural assimiliationism and neo-liberalism […] [which] consists of a coming together of a communitarian emphasis on 'Dutch culture' and 'Dutch norms and values' with a neo-liberal emphasis on individual responsibility and participation" (Schikel and van Houdt 2010, 710). The relationship between policy and ideologies is further articulated by Vassallo and Wilcox (2006) who convincingly argue that "ideologies are tools that parties can use not only to attract votes but also to motivate activists" and that parties "may be seen as the repository of ideologies, but they are also the short-term carrier of ideas. The specific policy ideas debated by parties will vary across countries and in between election cycles" (Vassallo and Wilcox 2006, 414). Indeed, political parties often maintain "these ideas across several election cycles, although it is not unusual for parties to coopt [*sic*] specific ideas offered by other parties in order to eliminate the issue in the campaign" (Vassallo and Wilcox 2006, 414). For many, politics does indeed matter

in terms of policy proposal, party evolution, and policy output. Castles and McKinlay (1979) conclude their analysis by determining that "the answer to the question of whether politics is relevant for an understanding of the public welfare commitment in advanced democratic states is *unequivocally* that politics does matter" (Castles and McKinlay 1979, 179, emphasis added).

However, in the British context, Richard Rose (1984) argues that while political parties do matter:

> To interpret an election as a choice between ideologies is to misunderstand the nature of both parties and ideologies. A political party is not a thinking organization. Political philosophers may manufacture ideologies as logically coherent set of ideas. But parties do not make ideologies in any positively identifiable sense, for the institutions that constitute a party are multiple and intellectually not coherent, nor are election organizers interested in philosophical matters

and by extension, campaigns are "about a choice between organizations, not ideas" (Rose 1984, 144). Freeman (1995) mirrors Rose's argument in his contention that, in regards to immigration as an election issue, "political parties do not normally take clear, strong, or divergent positions on immigration issues. There is a strong tendency […] for the major political parties to seek a consensus across the political spectrum that has the effect of taking immigration conflicts off the agenda" (Freeman 1995, 884). Rose and Freeman argue that policy proposals and policy outputs are a result of vote maximization which may often lead to an agreement among parties to reduce the significance of a specific issue during an election campaign.

Party Competition

Richard Rose (1974) succinctly argues that, perhaps hyperbolically, in the British context, political parties "are necessary because opinion must be organized if anything resembling representative government is to exist; government without parties would make contemporary British politics resemble medieval England or contemporary Ethiopia" (Rose 1974, 1). Downs' identification that political parties and governments are vote-maximizing rational actors which offer policies for votes is influential in understanding how parties compete and why their policies may converge (Downs 1957, 137; 144). A two-party system may emerge where competing parties' policy proposals converge in order to appeal to the most voters possible—thus parties are rational actors who are explicitly seeking public office and must put together a broad coalition of voters in order to do so. By proposing and crafting policies that are favourable to the biggest voting coalition available, parties may dilute their ideological intents in order to capture the

mechanisms of government. Rose (1984, 13) articulates policy convergence of competing parties by likening it to automobile manufacturers "offering potential customers a car that is identical in nearly all fundamental respects, differing only at those points where small advantages may be won without alienating anyone". More formally, he convincingly notes that politics "is about reconciling as well as articulating differences. Insofar as there is a substantial majority in favour of a given policy, then differences can disappear as parties scurry to adopt the one position popular with the bulk of the voters" (Rose 1984, 13). This sentiment is further articulated by Robertson (1976) who argues that successful public policies "equally deserve the support of all major parties" and in turn leads "us to believe that successful and acceptable policies do, and should, have a dominance, such that they are the stock in trade of all parties. They should be advocated, and a party ought not to refrain from recommending them because this is not electorally expedient" (Robertson 1976, 18).

Laver and Hunt (1992) offer an alternative approach to the classic Downsian model of party competition. The authors include political systems themselves "as the source of structure in electoral tastes, and thus in party competition" (Laver and Hunt 1992, 9). For them, voter preference needs to include party identification given that "voters come to prefer policy positions that are consistent with those put forward by the party with which they identify" which has an important impact on party competition (Laver and Hunt 1992, 9). The inclusion of ideology into party competition allows for the explicit recognition that "policy preferences cannot be 'read off' directly from tastes, but are conditioned strongly by party identification. This means that the actual structure of policy preferences is endogenous to party competition" (Laver and Hunt 1992, 9). For Robertson, competitive political systems should impose constraints on the importance that ideology has between a "dominant and emerging party" thus it would not be expected for the "emerging party to react in the same way" to a policy issue as does the dominant party (Robertson 1976, 128). Robertson offers a nuanced interpretation of the role that ideology plays in party competition. For him, ideology is, indeed, of significant importance. But in the event of a two-party system with alternating parties—such as Quebec—"other constraints arising from the nature of governing in a consensus society, will present essentially the same challenge to them" (Robertson 1976, 128).

Downs (1957) identified party competition by viewing parties as vote-maximizers and thus may, over time, present converging policies in order to receive as much of the popular vote

as possible which lends to the possibility of the creation of a two-party system. In this two-party system, where two parties propose similar policies and implement similar outputs, the biggest distinguishing factor between party *A* and party *B* may be their espoused ideology. This ideology needs to be factored into party competition as well (Laver and Hunt 1992). If we assume that parties fundamentally want to control office, it would behoove them to appeal to the broadest electorate—a result of this may be the dilution of strong ideological predispositions that may have alienated it from the bulk of the population.

With this literature in mind, this chapter argues that the convergence of immigration and integration policy proposals is due to brokerage politics. Because ideology, in Quebec, does not affect immigration and integration proposals, both the PQ and PLQ act as vote-maximizing agents who seek to capture as broad a part of the electorate as possible. For the PQ, restrictive policies, or policies that are partisan in nature, or seek to advance the sovereignty project may prove to be alienating for newcomers. For the PLQ, then, their commitment to the protection of the Quebecois nation, at the expense of pro pan-Canadian ethnocultural diversity management policies, would shift their policy proposals to being more in line with their PQ competition—resulting in both parties to propose nationalistic policies that appeal to the largest number of voters as possible.

Parties as Brokerage Agents: Reducing Difference and Increasing Votes

The conceptualization and idea for the application of brokerage politics stems from Anthony Downs' (1957, 137) seminal work on party competition. Downs' main contention was that governments and parties "always act so as to maximize the number of votes it will receive" and thus are entrepreneurs "selling policies for votes instead of products for money". Thus parties "do not seek to gain office in order to carry out certain preconceived policies or to serve any particular interest groups; rather they formulate policies and serve interest groups in order to gain office" (Downs 1957, 137). The result of this is converging policy proposals. If "a majority of voters are massed in one relatively narrow band on the left-right scale, then the government can choose all its policies from within this band. Hence its policies will form a fairly cohesive set embodying the ideological viewpoint associated with that area of the scale" (Downs 1957, 144). Quebec is a bifurcated party system having only had two different parties to form government since 1976. The band of policy options that are available to the PLQ and PQ are a result of the

PLQ's inherent liberal ideology and the PQ's social-democratic ideology (McRoberts 1993, 241, 255; PQ 1988, 1). Using Downs' model allows for the recognition that political parties in a two-party system are essentially rational actors seeking to obtain the highest amount of votes possible.

Rose's identification of 'policy inheritance', or where "[m]uch time of politicians is not spent in making choices, but in dealing with the consequences of inherited programmes that would not have been chosen by the current incumbents of office […]" (Rose 1990, 264), is a later reflection of Downs' identification that, when in a two-party democracy with a "distribution of voters roughly approximating a normal curve", the changing of parties in office will have "no drastic policy changes" given that "most voters are located relatively close to the incumbent's position no matter which party is in office" (Downs 1957, 143). If the voters are indeed 'close to the incumbent's position', then this would in part explain the converging immigration and integration policy proposals.

The Downsian perspective, however, is often applied to the American perspective. Within Canadian political science, the research on 'brokerage politics' allows for a theoretical framework which recognizes the vote-maximizing behaviour of Canadian political parties while accounting for Canada's unique political culture.

Defined by Carty and Cross, brokerage agents are parties which seek to "obscure differences and muffle conflicting interests" among the electorate (Carty and Cross 2010, 193). These parties do not seek to represent a particular segment of social groups, and instead practice "electoral pragmatism" (Carty and Cross 2010, 194) resulting in a "commitment to the broadest possible support base" (Carty 2013, 11). In effect, this electoral pragmatism allows for parties to present convergent policies in order to limit the difference between them. Should parties successfully identify where the largest portion of voters lie, then they may present policies which are more in-line with the maximum number of voters. A result of offering similar policies, however, is that it may reduce the overall impact of ideology. Because ideology-distinct parties may opt to limit their ideological impact ton their proposals in favour of a watered down and more centrist version which is less alienating to voters, brokerage parties are not "constrained by past support or by specific groups in society; indeed, [their] raison d'être is to act as a social and political broker capable of accommodating the competing interests of distinctive elements of the whole electorate" (Carty 2015, 15).

Where Downs (1957) recognized that political parties actively seek to vote-maximize by trying to cobble together the largest amount of voters possible, the literature on brokerage politics assumes the same thing but inadvertently refines the Downsian perspective by allowing for the recognition that parties are inherently trying to "[obfuscate] and [suppress] wider political conflict" by presenting similar policy proposals (Carty 2015, 15). The converging nature of brokerage parties are a result of the "construction of an accommodative bargain that defines its role in the system and encompasses its diverse electorate" (Carty 2015, 17) which still allows for a political party the potential to "enjoy disproportionate success among distinctive clienteles […] but, rather, they are positioned to bind the political interests of such groups to others in the electorate" (Carty 2015, 18).

The recognition of brokerage parties as being *brokers* of identity, ideology, and difference in order to appeal to the broadest electorate as possible has long been an influential tenet of the Canadian political science literature (Brodie and Jenson 1995; Carty 2015; Carty and Cross 2010; Clarke *et al*. 1996; Cross and Young 2002; Jenson 1995; Meisel 1963). Brodie and Jenson (1996, 59) add to the literature on brokerage parties by identifying two different approaches in which to situate said parties. The first is an "organization explanation" which "assumes that electoral success is the sole goal of political parties", while the second approach is "more sociological, emphasizing the social divisions in Canadian society and the role of elites, who serve as brokers for divergent interests in order to maintain social harmony" (Brodie and Jenson 1996, 59; 60).

Aside from the broad application of brokerage politics to the parties as a whole, Stevenson (1987) identifies the importance of elites. This is expanded upon by Aucoin (1986) in his analysis of Brian Mulroney's leadership style which was based on the "accommodation of interest and not the interplay of ideas" and allowed for an easier facilitation of the "negotiation of compromises among different points of view" (Aucoin 1987, 17-18). Like Aucoin (1986), Carty *et al*. (2000) look at the implications of brokerage outside the general party literature. In so doing, they determined that 'regional brokerage' was a pre-eminent aspect of Canadian politics as far back as the second party system which culminated in a political "organization run by powerful regional chieftains whose control of the cabinet offices of the national government allowed them to engage in the political bargaining necessary to maintain their electoral support" (Carty *et al*. 2000, 17; 18). Regional brokerage is best reflected through the study of Quebec—a

province which was once thought to be crucial for the formation of a majority government—who inadvertently forced political parties to appeal to the province's unique political interests while simultaneously appealing to the rest of Canada (Johnston 2015, 30).

Cochrane (2010), however, looks at the perception that brokerage parties mitigate ideology. For Cochrane, "[i]t is a fundamental mistake to suppose that brokerage and ideology are inimical models of political operation" (Cochrane 2010, 584). In fact, brokerage and ideology must be intertwined because it heavily influences and "shapes party policy and party competition depends on the structure of the ideologies that stir party activists" (Cochrane 2010, 584). Politicians need the ideologically driven policy-seeking party members to support them, while the policy-seekers "need their party's politicians in power" which results in "quid pro quo between policy seekers and office seekers" that "drives brokerage politics" (Cochrane 2010, 584). The intra-party dimension which concerns office-seeking and membership-based policy proposal formulation is a result of the ideological constraints that a party embraces—this allows for the recognition that, within the party, ideology does indeed matter but may not explicitly translate externally during a general election.

As a theoretical framework, and as an extension of Downs' (1957) work, brokerage politics seeks to observe party convergence as a means of vote-maximizing. Under this model, the PQ and PLQ propose converging immigration and integration policies as pragmatic means of attempting to maximize votes which demonstrates two things: (i) the PLQ can propose nationalistic policies that allows them to maintain the support of nationalists and protect the Quebecois nation's culture and language; and (ii) the PQ can propose policies that do not actively seek to advance the independence project through immigration and integration while simultaneously allowing for pluralist policies that do not alienate the immigrant and still offers them the option to vote for the PQ.

A Tale of Two Parties: The PQ and PLQ as Brokerage Agents

Immigration: Defending the Nation while Remaining Open

In their policy proposals, the PQ and PLQ both fundamentally agreed that immigration was necessary for the province. With immigration being a necessity, the next issue that policy makers sought to address was rectifying the need for new individuals with the precarious and delicate situation the Quebec nation found itself in. The addressing of concerns for the nation's survival with regard to immigration policy saw the PQ and PLQ both propose policies which sought to

affirm the nation, either by demands for policy autonomy or through measures which prioritized the immigration of those who could easily integrate such as French speaking immigrants. Although the parties seldom converged in how they framed their immigration policies they both proposed policies which fundamentally wanted the same thing: the continued survival and protection of the nation.

The proposed policies by both parties resulted in a convergence which promoted two things. First, both parties were able to claim their right as defenders of the nation through proposing policies which either sought increased policy autonomy, or through the prioritization of French speaking immigrants specifically due to the nation's French fact. Second, these affirmative immigration policies were countered with pluralist policies which did not limit the total number of immigrants nor did they allow for only a specific type of immigration. Favouring French speaking immigrants did not mean that non-Francophone immigrants were to be rejected. Simply put, the PQ and PLQ converged in that both defend and protect the nation while remaining open to pluralism in the recruitment of newcomers.

These convergences reduced the distance between the two parties' proposals over time which allowed them to offer similar policies to the electorate thus actively engaging in brokerage politics. Brokering in this policy area led both parties to commit themselves to the "broadest possible support base" (Carty 2013, 11) as non-exclusionary and pluralist policies allowed for both parties to remain an enticing party for newcomers, and policies which sought the affirmation of the nation allowed for the support of members of the nation who were concerned about immigration's role in the nation's survival. This key consideration led the PLQ and PQ to reduce the differences between their respective ideologies which, in turn, created a large band of available voters who fell between protectionist and nation affirming policies, and pluralist policies which sought to facilitate immigration. Party competition, then, in a two-party system proved to be more important for the PQ and PLQ who actively reduced their ideological differences to appeal to the median voter. As the median voter was most likely to respond to similar policies, the party which could effectively mobilize this area of support was assuredly to be rewarded with political office. Time in office, at the expense of ideological policy positions, was a reasonable trade-off for both parties. Both parties acting as brokerage agents did not give a single party a monopoly on being defender of the nation, nor did one party have a monopoly on promoting immigration.

When applied to the immigration policies proposed, brokerage politics can explain why the ideological differences between the parties did not manifest itself in their immigration policies. The PQ's ambition for an autonomous and independent Quebec did not permeate their immigration measures; in fact, the PLQ proposed policies, and signed federal-provincial agreements, which increased the province's policy autonomy. The PQ's ability to broker on this policy area effectively reduced the importance of ideology and brought them to policies which were more in-line with the PLQ. Brokerage politics, then, demonstrates why the difference between the parties' proposals were so limited, because they identified the largest band of voters' preferences and to receive these votes they had to present similar policies which would not alienate a majority of the voters. A result of attempting to receive these votes is the watering down of ideology in favour of proposing policies which are ultimately similar. Over the 11 elections reviewed, the parties proposed significantly less immigration policies than they did integration. While it is surprising that the parties broker over immigration policy, particularly because one would fully expect ideology to play a significant role in this policy area, integration itself is subject to considerable brokering by the parties—although with brief periods of notable divergence. Ideology came to play a significant role in the proposed integration policies, but ultimately, like immigration, it was the desire for the accumulation of votes in a bifurcated party system which proved to be more important. The desire for the cobbling together of large voting blocs which rewarded parties with terms in office effectively came to outweigh the sovereignty project, resulting in periods of similar policy proposals between two parties where one would expect to see significant differences in the policies proposed.

The 1980s: Contexts and Convergences

Contextually, the convergences that occurred throughout the 1980s are surprising. The 1980s were a decade marked by referendum on Quebec's position within Canada, the province's refusal to sign the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, and the Meech Lake Accord. With these three aspects coming to dominate Quebec politics and Quebec-Canada relations for the 1980s and well into the 1990s, it would be expected that brokerage politics would not occur. One might expect that the PLQ and PQ would be diametrically opposed in their policy proposals, both seeking different ends and means specifically due to this tension with the federal government. With the PQ winning their first term in government in 1976, the province held a referendum on 'sovereignty-association'. The referendum, held in 1980, was ultimately defeated 60 percent

'NO' to 40 percent 'YES'. And yet, with the referendum's failure, the PQ was returned to office in 1981 with another majority government on a platform which put forth a host of pluralist ethnocultural diversity management proposals which did not seek to make integration, or immigration, a part of the sovereignty project in the hopes of increasing the likelihood of a 'YES' vote the second time around. Although the 1976 platform proposed affirmationist integration measures, none of these measures sought to increase support for the sovereignty project and the immigration measures did not seek to promote the migration of those who were more sympathetic to the sovereignty project. At the same time, the PLQ's proposals during the 1976 and 1981 elections did not seek to facilitate integration into Canada instead of Quebec which would ensure a stronger bond with federalists and ultimately reduce the likelihood of voting 'YES'. Instead the policies proposed sought to ensure integration into the Quebec nation's linguistic and cultural majority.

Policy convergence and the dilution of political ideology was a result of the province's refusal to sign the Charter and the ultimate defeat of the Meech Lake Accord which further solidified the parties acting as brokerage agents. Under these circumstances, integration policy was never proposed as a means to combat the federal government or to strengthen the sovereignist cause. However, the Meech Lake Accord did result in policy transfer from the federal government to the provincial government regarding the selection and integration of newcomers to Quebec. Brokerage politics best explains the policy convergences that occurred throughout the 1980s. Even under the auspices of a failed referendum and constitutional negotiation, the two parties were committed to what Carty and Cross call "electoral pragmatism" (Carty and Cross 2010, 194). Because brokerage politics is "about accommodating and integrating the social divisions that would otherwise provide the organizational basis for electoral division and enduring partisan alignments" (Carty 2015, 15), both parties had to propose pragmatic electoral platforms which brokered their ideological differences between them resulting in similar policies which sought to cobble the most number of voters together at the expense of political ideology.

With a failed referendum, hostility towards the federal government, and the failure to get Quebec's signature on the Charter, one might have been expected that the PQ tried to weave sovereignty into immigration and integration as a means of ensuring their societal project; similarly, the PLQ could have proposed policies to negate the PQ by ensuring integration into a

pan-Canadian society. Yet this did not occur. What did occur were policy platforms which stressed the same common themes: the extension of citizenship, an open and pluralist nation, the state's formal role in integration, rapprochement between the mainstream and newcomers, and the use of French as an integrative tool and not as a protectionist measure. In essence, the parties' ability to broker allowed for them to appeal to the largest electorate possible. The reduction of ideology in favour of pluralist policies was a recognition that the median voter maintained this preference for pluralist policies and that crafting and proposing policies which may have been seen as too ideological risked turning voters away from more centrist and accommodating policies. Brokerage in the 1980s was a result of constitutional struggle and voter preference. The obfuscation of differences between the parties allowed them to converge towards similar policies in an era where significant difference could have been expected, but the parties instead opted to propose similar policies as a vote maximizing strategy in order to form political office. While the 1980s was a period marked by continuity in terms of policy proposals, an election of brief divergence occurred in 1994 this time, not surprisingly, in the run up to the highly contested 1995 referendum.

The 1990s: The Referendum, Brief Divergence, and a Return to Convergence

The PQ's 1976 election platform and platforms throughout the 1980s did not demonstrate efforts to make ethnocultural diversity management part of the party's desire for political independence for the province of Quebec. Instead the PQ opted to act as a brokerage agent with the PLQ by converging on similar policy proposals which were pluralist, open, accommodative, and did not advance the PQ's predisposition for a sovereign Quebec. The 1994 election, however, broke this established path of brokerage politics as both the PQ and PLQ diverged from their past preference of non-affirmationist integrative policy proposals. The parties' 1994 election platforms saw the PLQ propose an integrative contract, a 'moral contract', as a way to legislate and codify Quebec's shared liberal values; the PQ proposed to weave their desire for a sovereign Quebec with their integration policies.

The combination of sovereignty with integration was a first for the PQ as the party had previously committed themselves to keeping the independence project and integration of newcomers separate as a means to accumulate the most votes possible. Although the 1976 election was the last before the 1980 referendum, and the 1981 election immediately followed the referendum, the two parties continued to converge. But in the lead up to the 1995

referendum, the 1994 election was one where the two parties diverged from one another. Both parties diverged from their previous proposals and diverged from their electoral competitor which put noticeable policy difference between the two competitors. Unlike the 1976 election, the 1994 election demonstrated a clear delineation of ideology and of policy difference between the two parties. The application of brokerage politics to this election does not demonstrate policy *convergence* and mitigation of difference; but it can, in part, explain why temporary *divergence* occurred. Brodie and Jenson argue that brokerage parties "are constantly on the lookout for new supporters, there is, moreover, no basis for the systematic exclusion of any group if its interests can be incorporated into the definition of politics used by the party. Numbers, not principle, are the currency of electoral politics" (Brodie and Jenson 1996, 59). The PQ's incorporation of integration policies with the sovereignty project was a recognition that the party was competing for the greatest number of votes possible—thus the inclusion of newcomers into the sovereignist cause was an explicit understanding that this may increase the likelihood of a 'YES' vote should their integrative strategy work. In a similar fashion, because brokerage parties "re-create coalitions at each election" (Clarke *et al*. 1996, 16), the party was attempting to reconfigure their integrative strategies to form a new voting coalition, one which was sympathetic to their societal project.

The policy differences between the PQ and PLQ during the 1994 election was a result of the PQ ultimately trying to ensure a greater likelihood that a YES vote would be successful. Yet with the failure of the 1995 referendum, and Parizeau's now infamous comments, Lucien Bouchard came to head the PQ. The 1998 election saw both Jean Charest and Lucien Bouchard compete in their first general election as leaders of their respective parties. The election of 1998 served as a return to convergence for the PQ and PLQ, although not in terms of concrete policy proposed. The parties converged in their lack of policy proposals, echoing Freeman's (1995) assertion that political parties often implicitly agree to remove immigration issue from their electoral agendas.

Because brokerage parties "constantly compete for the same policy space and the same votes" (Clarke *et al*. 1996, 16) but are not beholden to past voting blocs they have identified and accumulated (Carty 2015, 15), the removal of ethnocultural diversity management proposals by both parties was an implicit recognition that political gain lied in their ability to not propose policies. Through proposing no policies, no differences emerged between the parties. But the

parties have nevertheless both agreed to broker through not proposing policies. It is not without reason to argue that the lack of policy proposals from the PQ were a result of Parizeau's contentious comments the night of the referendum. Parizeau's comments were frustrations of his policy's failure at successfully 'wooing' newcomers to the sovereignty project. The contentious result of the 1995 referendum, combined with Parizeau's comment, may have led to the PQ preferring a muted approach to ethnocultural diversity management where they could propose zero policies—along with the PLQ—which reduced the differences between the two parties' proposals thus allowing the parties to re-emerge as brokerage agents.

The brief period of divergence in 1994 was accentuated through the parties' ability to simultaneously propose an integration contract and the combination of sovereignty and integration for the first time with a handful of pluralist and open integrative policies which again demonstrated the established preference for the parties to be defenders of the nation and open and receptive to extending citizenship to newcomers. The brief period of divergence that occurred in 1994 eventually led back to convergence in 1998. This convergence continued into the 21st century with the 2003 election. But the post-2003 elections proved to be a political era that was marked with various contextual factors that unequivocally influenced the proposed integration policies, culminating in a period era shifting from divergence to convergence.

The 2000s: Divergence and a new form of Brokerage

The 2003 election continued the path of policy convergence which began again in 1998. Now, however, the PQ and PLQ were again proposing hosts of pluralist integrative policies. The PLQ, in fact, proposed their integration policies in its own proper document to be read in conjunction with the general election platform. The election of 2003 was an election in which both parties opted to recommit themselves to pluralist policies. This allowed the PQ to distance themselves from the 1994 platform, Parizeau's comments, and the lack of policies in the 1998 platform. Similarly, the PLQ's overwhelmingly pluralist document was competing against an equally pluralist document. Although the PLQ's platform offered more concrete policies compared to the PQ's recognitions, both parties effectively proposed similar proposals. Because brokerage parties do not see themselves as being "constrained by past support or by specific groups in society; indeed, [their] raison d'être is to act as a social and political broker capable of accommodating the competing interests of distinctive elements of the whole electorate" (Carty 2015, 15), the return to converging pluralist policies for the PQ was a repudiation of their attempt to court

newcomers to the sovereignist side. This convergence allowed both parties to reduce the ideological differences between them in favour of similar policies which stressed integration into the nation and the rapprochement of various cultural communities with the mainstream. The PQ's ability to recommit to pluralist integration policies was also balanced with a policy proposal to "Affirm our Identity" through intensifying French language courses in milieus where immigrants were most common. In contrast to the 1998 platform, the PQ sought to re-engage with their prior preference for being a defender of the nation with pluralist integrative policies. In effect, this allowed the PQ to act as a broker "capable of accommodating the competing interests of distinctive elements of the whole electorate" (Carty 2015, 15). The convergence in the policies proposed led to the reduction in the importance of ideology in the policies proposed. The significant ideological differences between the two parties were nearly non-existent in their policy proposals which allowed them to seek the same voting bloc.

The 2003 election ultimately resulted in Jean Charest's PLQ receiving a majority government. However, the convergence which occurred during the 1998 and 2003 elections came to an end in 2007. Held against the backdrop of a contentious public debate sparked by the town of Hérouxville's "Standards" for immigrants, the 2007 election featured the 'reasonable accommodation' of immigrants. The 2007 election, however, saw a divergence between the PQ and PLQ as the PQ's lack of policy proposals allowed for voters to see a significant difference between the policies. Thus voters had two clear alternatives. Those who remained committed to pluralist policies could vote for the PLQ, while those who wanted to affirm the Quebec nation through integration could now vote for Mario Dumont's ADQ. As a whole, the ADQ's populist and nation-affirming ideology permeated its electoral platform while the PLQ continued its proposals which sought to build and consolidate its coalition of newcomers and what they identified was the largest band of voters. Indeed, the PQ's platform was one which was void of ideological inspiration in their ethnocultural diversity management proposals. The difference was that the PQ's attempt to remove ethnocultural diversity management from the electoral agenda was not echoed by the PLQ and ADQ which created noticeable policy differences between all three parties where pluralism *versus* nation-affirming integration measures came to define the election. The result of the 2007 election was a short lived PLQ minority government which ultimately fell in 2008.

The PLQ's minority government in 2007 came to be defined by an impending and growing economic crisis and the 2008 election was framed by a growing international economic crisis. The PLQ's 2008 platform did not employ two platforms like in years past, nor did it address issues of ethnocultural diversity management. Instead, their platform "*L'économie d'abord*" ("The Economy First") sought to combat the economic recession. The choice of focusing on the relaunching of the economy and combatting economic decline came at the expense of immigration and integration. For the PLQ, the economy was more salient than was ethnocultural diversity management and their platform was a recognition that Quebecers were more concerned with the economy than they were with ethnocultural diversity management. In contrast, the PQ, now under the leadership of Pauline Marois, proposed a host of ethnocultural diversity management which demonstrated the ideological gap between the two parties. The 2008 election, Marois' first as leader, saw the PQ propose a host of nation-affirming and pluralist policies which included an integration contract and making the learning of French a 'duty' for newcomers. Ultimately, however, the shift that occurred under Marois' leadership began in the 2012 campaign. Yet with the two parties opting to not propose similar ethnocultural diversity management proposals in 2008, the PLQ's identification of the economy as the most salient issue resulted in the party shifting their policy emphasis towards stabilizing the economy at the expense of ethnocultural diversity management, ultimately rewarding the party with a majority government. The 2008 election serves as one of divergence between the two parties as they not propose similar ethnocultural diversity management policies which, in effect, put ideological difference between the two parties.

The 2012 election saw Marois' second election as leader of the PQ. The party proposed a host of nation-affirming policies which created a large difference between the PLQ and PQ, and between the PQ's historically preferred policies of pluralist integration. Under Marois' leadership, the most significant divergence and notable difference between the two parties emerged. Indeed, political leadership is an important aspect of brokerage politics. Because brokerage parties are "leader-centric" (Carty and Cross 2010, 194), the leader "is more than the public personification of the party message; the leader is the chief broker, the individual who determines both the style and consent of the accommodative package the party represents. Responsible for creating the message, brokerage leaders are not especially constrained by past policies or any natural limits on the party's reach" (Carty 2013, 15). It is no coincidence that

Marois' leadership coincided with a gradual shift from 2007 to 2008 and culminated in a wholesale change in the PQ's integrative measures in 2012. What emerged from the 2012 election were proposals by the PQ to affirm the Quebecois nation through the codification and legislation of the nation's shared common values including a charter of 'laïcité'.

The PQ's commitment to reaffirming the nation from the Other was contrasted with the PLQ's silence on the issue—a clear indication that the parties were not converging concerning their policy proposals. But this is not to say that the parties were not brokering. The PQ's policies were an indication, by the party, that the majority of Quebec voters lied in an electoral band which preferred these affirmationist and protectionist policies; the PLQ, instead, identified that the electorate was more concerned with issues other than ethnocultural diversity management, or they identified the band that the PQ was appealing to but the PLQ could not offer similar policies given that they risked losing their previous support. Where the 2012 election began the PQ's shift towards integration policies which were more nation-affirming and protectionist, the end result was a minority government for the PQ which demonstrated that the median voter was in part both concerned with the integration of newcomers as well as more pressing electoral issues.

The 2014 election continued the PQ's preference for these protectionist integrative measures and the PLQ, now under Couillard, continued their relative silence. The result of the 2014 election, however, was a majority government for the Couillard Liberals. While the 2012 and 2014 elections can be seen as periods of divergence, the Couillard Liberals, once in government, proposed Bill 62—a nation- affirming protectionist measure in a similar vein to the PQ's Bill 60. While policy convergence stopped in 2012 and 2014, it continued post-2014 through Bill 62. Bill 62 represents a policy shift for the Party who now distanced themselves from their past preference for pluralist integration instead proposing a policy which is more in-line with the PQ's identification that the median-voter lies in an ideological position which prefers policies which affirm and protect the nation. The brief periods of policy divergence between the two parties effectively returned back to convergence with the election of Philippe Couillard. A significant implication of bills 60 and 62 is that the parties have now shifted their preferences from pluralist cultural and fluid integration to strategies which seek the imposition of common values onto the newcomer. In a similar fashion, the parties are reducing their preference for the extension of the state to ethnocultural diversity management through the prioritization of

rapprochement and using the state as a means to facilitate integration. Instead the state is now to be an actor which ensures that moral and integrative contracts are enforced and agreed to upon arrival and these the morals and mores that newcomers possess are parallel to the values which account for the imagined community—that the imposed values are those which tie the nation together and citizenship in the nation is now non-optional and dependent upon these values.

Conclusion

The 38 years, 11 elections, and 22 platforms studied demonstrate that the proposal of ethnocultural diversity management policies by Quebec's two main political parties are defined through periods of convergence with punctuated phases of brief divergence before ultimately returning to convergence once more. Early convergences stressed the importance of cultural pluralism—integrating into the linguistic and cultural majority while both parties stressed the importance of cultural diversity through financially and institutionally supporting cultural communities. Throughout the 1980s, the PQ and PLQ both proposed similar plural integrative policies before ultimately diverging from one another in 1994 with the earliest identification of the PQ's sovereignist predisposition permeating their integrative measures. After 1994, however, the parties opted to remove ethnocultural diversity management from their proposals for the 1998 election before ultimately converging once more towards plural policies in 2003. The parties diverged during the 2007 election—a highly contentious period defined through public debates concerning reasonable accommodation and the brief rise of a third party in Quebec—and 2008 came to place Quebec on a new political path.

This work intended to study and answer two research questions. The first question was extended from work of Béland and Lecours (2008): Does nationalism affect immigration and integration policy proposals and if so, to what extent? The second question was derived from the literature on party competition: Does party competition affect immigration and integration policy proposals and if so, to what extent? These research questions were answered by employing a critical document analysis of election platforms in order to determine how each party conceptualized their ethnocultural diversity management proposals and to determine whether, first, there was convergence and, if there was convergence, how these similarities manifested themselves, how did the proposals conceive of the nation, immigration, integration, and the means they proposed to encourage, or discourage, these areas. Furthermore, inaugural addresses were used to demonstrate the level of importance, or non-importance, the parties gave to their immigration and integration proposals and to further frame each party's conceptualization of ethnocultural diversity management policies outside of the party's written word within their electoral platforms.

The result of this study determined that nationalism does indeed affect immigration and integration policy proposals. With nationalism being a political reality in Quebec, both the PQ

and PLQ actively engaged with affirmationist policy proposals—be it through proposing policies which sought greater policy autonomy or proposing ethnocultural diversity management proposals which aimed to protect the Quebec nation. Even in the non-exclusive non-protectionist perspective, the manifestations of nationalism are apparent. Nationalism does not necessarily equate to being exclusive, restrictive, xenophobic, nor racist. Within a substate nation, it may be likely that nationalist sentiments manifest themselves through policies and sentiments which seek to extend the concept of the nation to the newcomer and thus are wholly pluralist, open, and democratic. This form of nationalism, a civic nationalism which stresses citizenship for all citizens and does not impose a uniform identity onto newcomers nor does it seek to limit cultural differences in the same way that Jacobin citizenship regimes operate, were the preferred policy proposals espoused by both the PQ and PLQ over time.

For most of the observed time period, for the PQ 1976-1994; 1998-2007, and the PLQ, 1976-2007, the parties favoured cultural integrative measured which openly supported—both institutionally and financially—promoted, and recognized the value-added benefits that other cultures brought to Quebec society and both parties did not close off democratic participation nor citizenship within the nation. But for a brief period of divergence in 1994, and 2008 onward, the PQ and PLQ both either proposed these pluralist policies or effectively acted to remove ethnocultural diversity management proposals from the electoral agenda in order to limit on-paper discussion of the topic within their electoral platforms. Nationalism, then, was of tremendous importance to both parties but it was the civic conception of the nation that was manifested through their policy proposals. In answering the second research question, electoral competition was incredibly important in how the parties conceptualized their ethnocultural diversity management. By brokering towards similar policies in a two-party system, the parties presented similar policies in order to appear attractive to the highest amount of voters as possible. Electoral competition resulted in both parties reducing their ideologies' influence on ethnocultural diversity management in order to increase their chances of seizing the levers of government.

There are, of course, limitations associated with this study. First, a significant limitation of document analysis and content analysis concerns contextual identification and bias. While the coding process has been justified, and the bias reduced through the affirmationist typology, the selection and determination of what constitutes 'pluralist', 'affirmationist', or 'protectionist' is

selective on the part of the researcher and open to debate and rejection by others doing the same research. Second, while the study of election platforms are an invaluable tool to determine shifting policies overtime, the proposed measures were not further explored to see whether they were effectively implemented by the party who formed government. As a result, it remains unclear whether these policies remained undelivered promises or solely as electoral promises which served as enticements for votes. Regardless, it is the specific policy proposals observed within the documents which account for brokerage politics. Third, there were ethnocultural diversity management proposals which were put forth within electoral platforms which were non-codifiable. While every attempt was made to include these policies within the analysis, they nevertheless were not included in the count of policies as they were neither non-plural or non-affirmationist and thus do not tell the full story of the proposed policies. As a whole, identifying nuance and subtlety in ethnocultural diversity management policy proposals is not as simple as dividing them into a binary distinction of 'pluralist' and 'non-pluralist'.

The result of this study creates exciting possibilities for future research. Included in these possibilities is extending this study over the next election cycle, and cycles, to observe whether the convergence which took place by the PLQ with Bill 62 will be maintained, or whether the Party will instead go back to their previous ethnocultural diversity management policies. Similarly, future study should look at the policies proposed by the PQ in the face of Pierre Karl Péladeau's resignation (CBC 2016). It remains to be determined as to whether the observed divergence that occurred under the Marois-Charest competitive era will continue over future election cycles, or whether bills such as Bill 60 and Bill 62 have cemented a new path for the PQ and PLQ to continue on, a path which has fundamentally altered the previously established preference for plural ethnocultural diversity management proposals. Not only should leadership, and leadership changes, and the policies proposed in the National Assembly be examined, but so too should the policies proposed. Extending the study of electoral platforms will provide insight into the continued shifts, convergences, and divergences presented by each party. Thus this will continue to elucidate the fundamental differences between the parties' conceptions of immigration and integration—that is, if a difference exists at all—and whether or not these parties continue to actively engage public debate concerning ethnocultural diversity management or whether they opt to remove this policy area from their electoral agenda altogether.

The result of this research demonstrates four things. First, over time, the PQ and PLQ have proposed similar ethnocultural diversity management proposals which have equally stressed a fluid integration into the linguistic and cultural majority which emphasized difference, cultural tradition, and proposed policies which fostered these differences while expecting integration to be practiced by both the settled and the settling. Second, a brief period of divergence occurred under the Charest Liberals and Marois PQ. Yet this divergence was still met with similar policy proposals concerning immigration. Third, it is a facile and non-substantive argument for individuals to claim that the PQ is anymore exclusionary, racist, and ethnic than is the PLQ. In fact, through careful examination of both parties' policy proposals from 1976-2014, both parties have prioritized open and pluralist policies. Fourth, both nationalism and electoral competition are of pivotal importance for the proposed policies. While it is not determined as to which one is more important than the other, the nationalist aspects remain clear given that both parties promote policies which sought to protect the Quebec nation, language, and culture. The proposal of these protectionist and pluralist policies resulted in the parties promising similar policies as an attempt to broker their ideology to the voting public. This has a twofold effect. First, it allows the PQ and PLQ to be both pluralist and nationalist as a means of solidifying their own core vote all the while remaining a possibility for newcomers. Second, this brokering results in policies which are favoured by the public, thus this is where the median voter lies, and as a result the parties can propose policies which appeal to the broadest electorate possible by blurring the lines between these parties' difference in this one specific micro-policy area.

Quebec is, and will continue to be, a fascinating area of study. As a nation, per Benedict Anderson (2006), Quebec embodies the 'imagined community'. Forged through a common bond of language and culture, many of the province's residents feel connected to each other through a common past and collective future. Yet this common past and collective future has not manifested itself in an ethnic form of citizenship which restricted access to the nation for those who were non-White-Francophone-Catholic Quebecers. Even with the predominance of plural ethnocultural diversity management policy proposals, Quebec remains in a precarious situation. The province must decide whether the protection of the nation must come at the expense of cultural difference; or whether the nation can be protected through the promotion of this cultural difference as a means of strengthening the province as a whole.

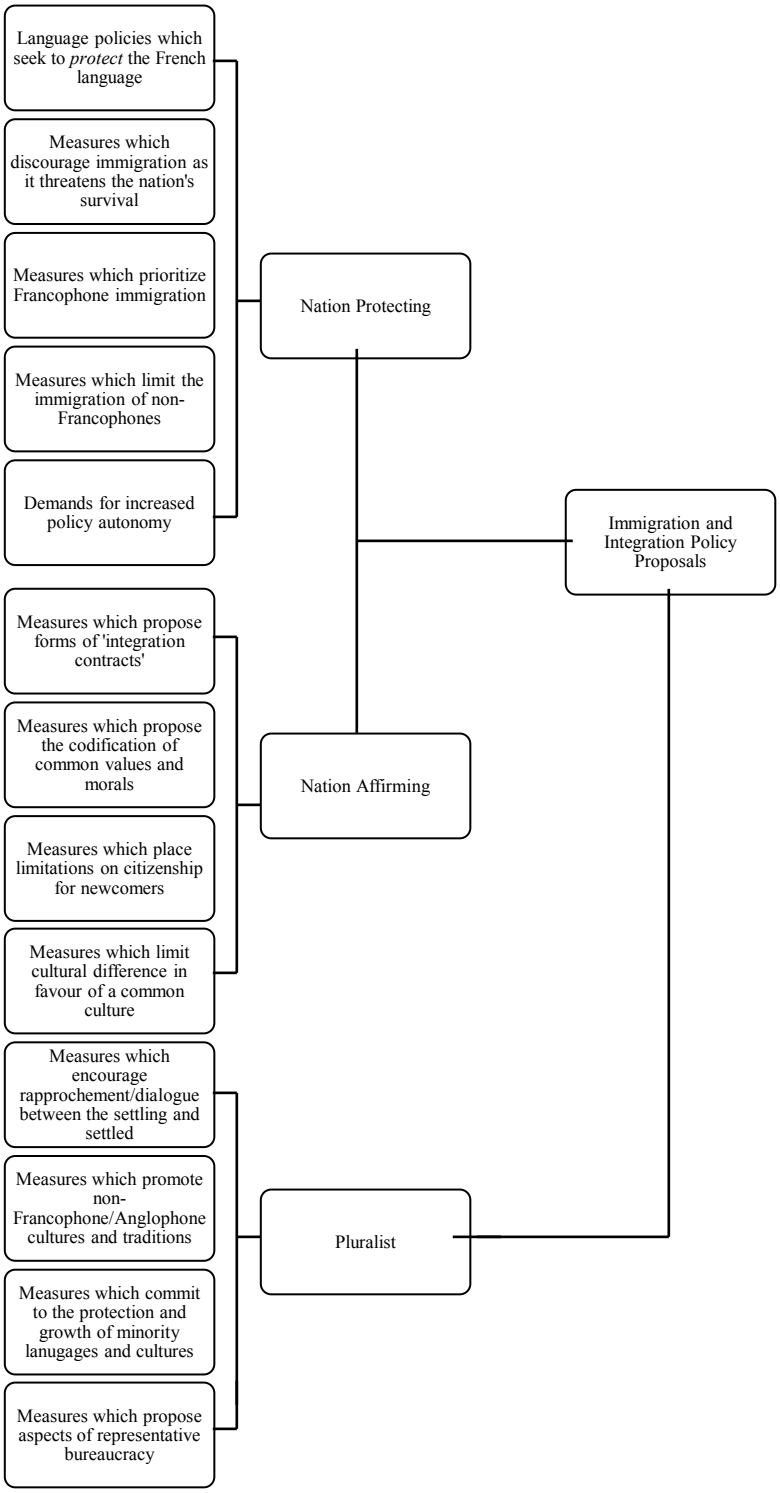
However, the proposal of two similarly restrictive and exclusive legislative bills pertaining to integration poses a significant challenge to a province which requires immigrants both for economic and demographic gains. The province is undertaking a delicate balancing act of prioritizing economic immigration while offering exclusive integration policies in parallel. Where immigration is a necessity, so too is protecting the nation from perceived illiberal values. The protection of the Quebec nation, coupled with the need for immigration creates a complicated paradox that the province needs to address and the province must determine how to protect these common values while remaining open and inclusive in order to remain an attractive land for newcomers to settle. Remaining on the path that has been created during the Marois-Charest competitive era, indeed converging towards the protectionist policies proposed by the PQ, limited the province's ability to be seen as a welcoming and accommodating province—instead giving the perspective that Quebec's cultural insecurities manifest themselves through restrictive policies concerning the very newcomers that the province needs for its economic and demographic benefit.

Over the course of the province's history, Quebec has actively sought to extend the boarders of citizenship to those that comprise the changing face of Quebec's population. Policy-makers have traditionally been in a precarious situation of attempting to facilitate the immigration and integration of newcomers—those bringing with them different cultural values, histories, traditions, and languages—while ensuring their integration into the linguistic majority in order to make certain that the Francophone fact, language, and culture does not disappear in an increasingly globalized world. From 1976-2007, both the PQ and PLQ favoured proposing plural ethnocultural diversity management policies and with these proposals, and their eventual implementations, the protection of the French fact, language, and culture could be done through facilitating access to the French language and ensuring participation within the host society while reducing the totality of the integration burden from the newcomer. Integration was to be done by the newcomer but was to be made easier by non-immigrant Quebecers, through dialogue, cultural events, and by fostering this difference as a means of developing cultural understanding between the settling and the settled. The proposal of plural policies does not inherently increase the likelihood that Quebec's cultural uniqueness will become assimilated into the Anglophone North American hegemony. There is no reason to believe that promoting pluralist policies will lead to the erosion of Quebec's culture—the nation's culture has persisted, indeed thrived, in

parallel with pluralist policies. Likewise, restrictive ethnocultural diversity management policies do not concretize or solidify Quebec's common values and cultural uniqueness any more than do plural policies. The fundamental strength of the Quebec nation comes in numbers. Eschewing restrictive policies which seek to limit cultural difference in favour of pluralist policies which respect, promote, and support cultural differences is a more conducive way of incorporating newcomers into the nation and to ensure that the boundaries which limit citizenship are constantly expanding and evolving in order to match the province's linguistic, cultural, and pluricultural realities.

Appendices

Appendix A



		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
1976 PQ*	Immigration	"Prendre les mesures nécessaires pour favoriser l'immigration au Québec des individus et des familles francophones établis au Canada" (*Les minorités*) (305). **Total: 1**	
	Integration	"***Dans un pays normale*** [...] les immigrants s'intègrent naturellement au groupe linguistique majoritaire" (*Notre vie culturelle* 303); S' engage: "Faire du français la seule langue officielle du Québec de façon à ce que, à la suite d'une période de transition ne dépassant pas cinq ans, le français devienne la seule langue de l'État […]" (*Notre vie culturelle*) (304); S'engage: "Légiférer pour que le français devienne effectivement la langue du travail et des communications dans toutes les entreprises […]" (*Notre vie culturelle*) (304); S'engage: "Faire du français la langue du réseau public de radio et de télévision et ***limiter*** le nombre des stations privées non-francophones de façon à ce qu'il soit proportionnel à la population non-francophone qu'elles desservent" (*Notre vie culturelle*) (304); S'engage: "Garantir à tous les travailleurs québécois le droit de travailler en français" (*Notre vie culturelle*) (304); **Total: 5**	S'engage: "établir un bureau national de traduction afin d'assuer la diffusion de documents en langues étrangères pour les milieux de l'enseignement, des affaires, du travail, etc…" (*Notre vie culturelle*) (304); "Un peuple adulte, qui a assuré son avenir culturel, se doit de traiter avec justice les groupes minoritaires qui partagent son destin et contribuent à son développement" (*Les minorités*) (305); "Enfin, tous les groupes minoritaires peuvent enrichir la société québécoise d'apports culturels diversifiés" (*Les minorités*) (305); "S'assurer que le réseau public et les stations privées de radio et de télévision diffusent des programmes culturels à l'adresse de tous les groupes minoritaires" (*Les minorités*) (305); **Total: 4**
Total		**6**	**4**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
1976 PLQ	Immigration	"Recrutement des immigrants: L'immigration étant une juridiction constitutionnelle partagée entre le Gouvernement fédéral et celui de la province, la politique québécoise de recrutement doit reposer des critères définis conjointement avec le fédéral tout en étant orientée en fonction des besoins spécifiques du Québec" (*La population et l'immigration*) (55-56). **Total: 1**	S'engage: "à créer un ministère de la Population et de l'immigration dont la tâche sera principalement: i) de déterminer les objectifs de la politique démographique du Québec: volume, taux de croissance, répartition géographique, équilibre démolinguistique" (*La population et l'immigration*) (55). S'engage: "à créer un conseil de la Population et de l'Immigration en vue: de conseiller le Ministre sue les politiques d'immigration et sur les problèmes démographiques" *(La population et l'immigration*) (55). **Total: 2**
	Integration	"Avec détermination et imagination, le Parti libéral du Québec s'engage à continuer de favoriser l'affirmation et l'épanouissement culturels des Québécois. La loi faisant du français la langue officiel du Québec consacre, dans la protéction des droits de la minorité, le caractère français du Québec" (*La politique culturelle*) (35) **Total: 1**	S'engage: "à créer un ministère de la Population et de l'immigration dont la tâche sera principalement: ii) de formuler les politiques relatives aux immigrants, à leurs besoins à l'accueil et à leur intégration à la vie du Québec" *(La population et l'immigration*) (55). S'engage: "Etablissement et adaptation des immigrants: Le Québec doit être une terre d'accueil pour ceux-là qui choisis-sent de venir et s'établir chez nous." (*La population et l'immigration*) (56). S'engage "à atténuer le dépaysement des immigrants en humanisant les structures d'accueil actuelles" (*La population et l'immigration*) (56). S'engage "à développer le réseau des COFI et des classes d'accueil" (*La population et l'immigration*) (56). S'engage "à aider les communautés ethniques pour assurer aux immigrants la protection de leur culture et de leurs traditions" (*La population et l'immigration*) (56). S'engage "à établir des normes sur l'équivalence des diplômes étrangers" (*La population et l'immigration*) (56). S'engage "à favoriser l'accès des immigrants à la fonction publique québécoise" (*La population et l'immigration*) (56). **Total: 7**
Total		**2**	**9**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
1981 PQ*	Immigration	S'engage: "Exercer une juridiction exclusive en matière d'immigration" (Section: *Notre vie culturelle*; Chapter: *Les minorités ethinques*) (49) S'engage: "Prendre les mesures nécessaires pour favoriser l'immigration au Québec des individus et des familles francophones établis au Canada" (Section: *Notre vie culturelle*; Chapter: *Les minorités ethinques*) (49) **Total: 2**	"Organiser un appareil gouvernemental et administratif fonctionnel regroupant en un petit nombre de 'super-ministères' les départements ministériels, directions générales, etc… Ces super-ministères pourraient compter, par example: f) le ministère des Affaires sociales: Travail et Main-d'oeuvre, Bien-Être social et Famille, Santé, Jeunesse, Immigration" (*L'administration publique*) (9)
	Integration	**Total: 0**	"Car si la culture québécoise participe majoritairement bien sûr de l'apport francophone, elle n'est pas univoque pour autant. Sans compter les divers courants qui la traversent en tous sens (couches sociales, régions, etc.), cette culture puise aussi des richesses dans les diverses traditions culturelles qui véhiculent les groupes ethniques" (Section: *Notre vie culturelle*; Chapter: *Les minorités ethinques*) (49); "De la même façon que les Québécois sûrs de leur avenir culturel et politique entendent participer directement à la vie internationale […], ils reconnaissent la valeur, à l'intérieur du Québec, de la diversité enrichissante des différents groupes ethniques" (Section: *Notre vie culturelle*; Chapter: *Les minorités ethinques*) (49); S'engage: "Fonder sa politique à l'égard des groupes minoritaires sur ***le principe de l'égalité des citoyens*** entre eux: traiter avec justice, comme des citoyens égaux en droit et en dignité, et protéger contre toute discrimination tous les citoyens du Québec, quelles que soient leur origine et leur langue maternelle; institutionnaliser à partir des COFI sur une base permanente et rendre accessible à tous les nouveau immigrant d'âge préscolaire, scolaire et adulte un système de classes d'initiation à la vie québécoise dont l'objectif est de faciliter l'intégration des immigrants à la société québécoise; accorder à l'immigrant 'reçu' au Québec tous les droits dévolus aux citoyens québécois, y compris la fonction publique, à l'exception de ce qui est spécifiquement exclu par le législateur" (Section: *Notre vie culturelle*; Chapter: *Les minorités ethinques*) (49) S'engage: "Fonder sa politique à l'égard des groupes minoritaires sur ***le principe du respect de la spécificité culturelle*** : Considérer comme avantageux pour l'ensemble de la société québécoise que les divers groupes qui la composent puissent maintenir et enrichir la connaissance de leurs lange maternelles respectives; annonce régulièrement dans les média d'information des groupes ethniques, dans la langue des média, les services offerts à la population et, en particulier, aux immigrants par les différents ministères et organismes du gouvernement du Québec; assister financièrement les organismes culturels des minorités ethniques et favoriser les échanges entre elle et avec les organismes culturels de la majorité francophone; reconnaître l'importance des média ethniques au sein de la communauté québécoise et favoriser la création et la diffusion de ces média en respectant les critères qui régissent l'ensemble des média d'information; négocier et conclure des accords d'échanges culturels et de services de sécurité sociale avec les pays d'origine de nos principaux groupes culturels allophones; mettre sur pied une politique d'information auprès des allophones pour leur faciliter l'accès à la fonction publique" (Section: *Notre vie culturelle*; Chapter: *Les minorités ethinques*) (49) "Instaurer un mécanisme de consultation auprès des Québécois de nouvelle souche en prévision d'une politique globale d'immigration ou des lois les concernant" (Section: *Notre vie culturelle*; Chapter: *Les minorités ethinques*) (49) "S'assurer que les futurs arrivants, avant leur immigration, soient renseignés sur les particularités de la société québécoise" (Section: *Notre vie culturelle*; Chapter: *Les minorités ethinques*) (49) **Total: 13**
	Total	**2**	**14**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
1981 PLQ	Immigration	**Total: 0**	**Total: 0**
	Integration	**Total: 0**	"Les gouvernements du Québec ont tendance à traiter les communautés ethniques comme des spectatrices même lors d'événements qui les concernent au premier chef. En fait, ces communautés désirent participer au fonctionnement de la société québécoise et briser, entre autres, leur isolement face aux institutions publiques ou parapubliques" (*Les Communautés Ethniques du Québec*) (C-IV/1). "Le [PLQ] reconnaît que la société québécoise est une société pluraliste, enrichie de personnes d'origines ethniques diverses. Il réaffirme le principe selon lequel les personnes d'origines ethniques, autres que française ou anglaise, devraient, tout en préservant leur identité culturelle, pouvoir s'intégrer dans la société québécoise, assurés de leur égalité et des mêmes opportunités que celles accordées aux Québécois d'origine française ou anglaise" (*Les Communautés Ethniques du Québec*) (C-IV/1). S'engage: "à faciliter l'expression des valuers culturelles diffusées dans les communautés ethniques en appuyant financièrement leur initiatives; à permettre l'insertion dans les programmes scolaires, de l'enseignement des langue d'origine et de l'histoire des civilisations dont sont issues les communautés ethniques et à consulter ces groupes sur le contenu de tels programmes; à améliorer l'enseignement du français dans les COFI en adaptant leur enseignement aux besoins des différentes catégories socio-professionelles d'immigrants; à régulariser, dans un esprit humanitaire, le cas des enfants qui fréquentent les écoles anglaises même s'ils n'y sont pas légalement inscrits […]; à embaucher dans le réseau des affaires sociales des personnes familières avec les langues d'origine et les coutumes des différents groupes ethniques afin d'assurer que ces services sociaux soient accessibles dans les langues d'origine; à favoriser également une représentation plus adéquate des groupes ethniques dans les organismes qui sont responsables de la coordination et de l'administration des services sociaux; à mettre sur pied des programmes pour assurer l'emploi des personnes d'origine ethnique au niveau de la fonction publique et du secteur parapublic afin de les rendre plus représentatifs de la société québécoise; à soutenir les efforts en vue de permettre une meilleure représentation des personnes d'origine ethnique dans le système judiciaire et les forces de la police et dans les différents conseils d'administration des organismes publics et parapublics" (*Les Communautés Ethniques du Québec*) (C-IV/1; C-IV/2). **Total: 10**
	Total	**0**	**10**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
1985 PQ	Immigration	"La politique québécoise d'immigration s'appuiera sur trois types de considérations. Sur le plan culturel, elle devra tenir compte du caractère français du Québec. Dans cette perspective, elle encouragera l'immigration au Québec des francophones du Canada et du reste du monde, tout en conservant une attitude d'accueil face aux autres immigrants et immigrantes" (*Les communautées culturelles*) (31) **Total: 1**	"La principe fondamental de l'égalité des droits et des devoirs de tout citoyen ou de toute citoyenne, quelle que soit son appartenance ethnique ou culturelle, sera le fondement de la politique québécoise à l'égard des communautés culturelles. La volonté du Québec de promouvoir la diversité culturelle ne doit pas, selon ce principe, engendrer de cloisonnements au sein de notre société. Au contraire, nous devons faire la prévue qu'il est possible de développer le caractère français du Québec, en encourageant à la fois l'expression des cultures de nos différentes communautés. ***Cette préoccupation se reflétera autant dans la politique québécoise d'immigration*** que dans les relations que l'État entretiendra avec les membres des communautés culturelles" (*Les communautés culturelles*) (31). **Total: 1**
	Integration	**Total: 0**	"Les immigrantes et les immigrants 'reçus' au Québec auront les mêmes droits que les citoyens et les citoyennes du Québec, y compris celui de l'accès à la fonction publique. Toute exception à cette règle devra être spécifiée par voie législative" (*Les communautées culturelles*) (31). "Le gouvernement du Québec informera les membres des communautés culturelles des droits, des devoirs et des recours qui leur appartiennent en vertu de la législation québécoise. Dans ce cadre, les organismes publics feront en sorte de desservir adéquatement les membres des communautés culturelles, en particulier dans les endroits où ils sont regroupés de façon significative, en exigeant de leur personnel une connaissance suffisante de ces milieux et de leur langue, au besoin. Le gouvernement fera en sorte de publiciser ses services dans les médias des communautés culturelles et dans leur langue" (*Les communautées culturelles*) (32). "La Commission des droits de la personne et les autres organismes concernés devront porter une attention particulière à toutes les formes de discrimination ou d'exploitation dont peuvent être victimes les Québécois et les Québécoises de nouvelle souche" *(Les communautées culturelles*) (32). "Afin de faciliter, pour les membres de communautés culturelles, la transition vers un Québec de plus en plus français, on intensifiera l'enseignement du français aux non-francophones. Dans la measure du possible, la documentation et les services gouvernementaux seront également offerts dans des langues autres que le français" (*Les communautées culturelles*) (32). "Un programme sera mis sur pied pour faciliter l'embauche des membres des communautés culturelles à tous les niveaux de la fonction publique. Ce programme verra à sensibiliser ces personnes au processus de recrutement et aux lois du travail" (*Les communautées culturelles*) (32). "Le gouvernement apportera son appui technique et financier aux associations des communautés culturelles" (*Les communautées culturelles*) (32). "Le gouvernement négociera des accords d'échange de service de sécurité sociale avec les pays d'où proviennent les principales communautés cultures québécoises" (*Les communautées culturelles*) (32). **Total: 7**
Total		**1**	**8**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
1985 PLQ*	Immigration	"QU'un gouvernement du Parti libéral du Québec, conscient de la nécessité de faire reconnaître le caractère distinct de la société québécoise et de doter cette société des instruments requis pour son développement économique et social, poursuive ses efforts d'une manière pragmatique pour mener à terme le projet de réforme constitutionnelle élaboré par le Parti, notamment en ce qui concerne la Cour suprême, le Sénat et le ***partage des pouvoirs*** " (*La carte du Canada et de la Francophonie*) (11). Where powers refers to immigration policy. "QU'un gouvernement libéral réclame la reconnaissance constitutionnelle du droit, pour le Québec, de déterminer conjointement avec le gouvernement fédéral le nombre et la sélection des personnes immigrant au Québec, ces garanties nouvelles devant servir d'instruments pour l'élaboration d'une politique québécoise en matière d'immigration et de population" (*Les conditions d'acceptation de la nouvelle constitution*) (13) **Total: 2**	**Total: 0**
	Integration	"***Qu'un gouvernement du Parti libéral du Québec continue d'assumer son rôle de protecteur de la langue et de la culture française de la société québécoise*** et qu'il s'efforce de rendre cette société toujours plus dynamique, ouverte, fraternelle et capable d'assumer sans réserve les valeurs et l'apport des communautés anglophones et des autre communautés culturelles établies sur son territoire" (*Il est résolu*) (2) **Total: 1**	"Qu'un gouvernement du Parti libéral du Québec continue d'assumer son rôle de protecteur de la langue et de la culture française de la société québécoise et ***qu'il s'efforce de rendre cette société toujours plus dynamique, ouverte, fraternelle et capable d'assumer sans réserve les valeurs et l'apport des communautés anglophones et des autre communautés culturelles établies sur son territoir*** " (*Il est résolu*) (2). "Accentue le recrutement des fonctionnaires parmi les membres des communautés anglophones et ethniques" (*Une administration publique responsable*) (38). **Total: 2**
Total		**3**	**2**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
	Immigration	"Il n'est pas exagéré de dire que le Québec traverse actuellement une crise démographique majeure qui risque d'altéré la force et le tissu de notre société. Si les tendances actuelles se poursuivent, le poids relatif du Québec francophone en Amérique du Nord aura tendance à s'amenuiser. [...]. Compte tenu de l'importance accrue de l'immigration, ces deux tendances, à long terme, pourraient sérieusement compromettre le caractère francophone de la métropole, Montréal, et notre avenir en tant que peuple francophone" (*La population et l'immigration*) (77). "Par ailleurs, l'immigration doit contribuer au renforcement culturel et à la consolidation du caractère français du Québec, autant qu'à sa démographie" (*La population et l'immigration*) (77). "La clarification indispensable de la situation passe nécessairement par la souveraineté du Québec, l'affirmation incontestable de la personnalité de notre nation. La politique d'immigration du Québec souverain sera fondée sur une double tradition: celle de l'accueil et celle de l'enrichissement de notre personnalité nationale" (*L'immigration et les communautés culturelles*) (84). "Orienter la politique d'immigration de façon à faciliter l'intégration des communautés culturelles: accorder la priorité aux immigrants francophones, en particulier les francophone en provenance du Canada et des États-Unis; augmenter le poids accordé à la connaissance du français dans les critères de sélection et accroître la représentation du Québec dans les pays ciblés;" (*L'immigration et les communautés culturelles*) (85).	
1989		**Total: 5**	**Total: 0**
PQ	Integration	"Sans une culture française enrichie par la diversité de ses origines et renforcée par la conviction qu'elle peut servir de project commun, nos chances de survie seraient fort minces" (*L'immigration et les communautés culturelles*) (84)	"L'accueil et l'intégration des communautés culturelles constituent un élément essentiel du projet que nous voulons réaliser: établir en Amérique du Nord une société moderne, humaine et francophone. Les communautés culturelles doivent avoir l'occasion de participer activement à ce projet et notre culture québécoise risquerait la stérilité si elle refusait de s'enrichir de leur appart diversifié" (*L'immigration et les communautés culturelles*) (84). "Orienter la politique d'immigration de façon à faciliter l'intégration des communautés culturelles (*L'immigration et les communautés culturelles*) (85): rendre facilement accessibles à tous ceux et celles qui désirent s'établir au Québec des course de langue française et de culture québécoise afin que tous et toutes aient des chances égales de s'intégrer et de profiter de leur participation à la société québécoise; promouvoir les activités d'intégration des nouveau arrivants à la société québécoise et soutenir les organismes communautaires désireux de s'y engager; organiser, en collaboration avec les entreprises et les association syndicales, des cours de langue française et de culture québécoise dans les différentes milieux de travail où se trouvent principalement les membres des communautés culturelles; établir, avec les représentants de chaque communauté culturelle québécoise, des programmes favorisant l'accès à la langue française et à la culture québécoise pour tous les membres de la communauté, sans distinction d'âge, de date d'arrivée ou du statut familial; accélérer en imposant des échéanciers précis, la mise en œuvre des programmes d'accès à l'égalité permettant une représentation juste et équitable des membres des communautés culturelles dans la fonction publique du Québec, les organismes para- publics et les sociétés d'État; mener des campagnes destinées à faire changer les mentalités du monde du travail pour éviter les ghettos de travail; encourager les municipalités et les entreprises privées à adopter des programmes d'égalité des chances pour les membres des communautés culturelles; instituer dans les écoles des programmes particuliers d'apprentissage du français et de la culture québécoise pour les enfants immigrants et y intéresser leurs parents". "Reconnaitre l'apport des communautés culturelles à la vie de la société québécoise, S'engage à (*L'immigration et les communautés culturelles*) (85-86): sensibiliser la population québécoise à l'apport des autres cultures, notamment en faisant en sorte que l'enseignement des langues d'origines soit offert aux Québécois et Québécoises afin que la maîtrise d'autres langues favorise la compréhension d'autres cultures; s'assurer que les institutions et les médias francophone jouent efficacement leur rôle de soutien aux activités propres aux diverses communautés culturelles; favoriser l'action des groupes de sensibilisation aux réalités interculturelles, particulièrement les groupes jeunes". "Empêcher l'émergence de toute forme de discrimination fondée sur l'origine ou l'ancienneté d'établissement" (*L'immigration et les communautés culturelles*) (86)
		Total: 1	**Total: 13**
Total		**6**	**13**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
	Immigration	"Les politiques fédérales d'immigration doivent tenir compte de cette responsabilité unique et additionnelle du Québec en matière d'immigration" (*L'accueil et l'insertion à la société québécoise*) (56) "***Par ailleurs, puisque les immigrants francophones s'intègrent plus facilement à la société québécoise***, le [PLQ] propose de faciliter leur entrée en ajustant, en conséquence, les grilles de sélection pour augmenter le nombre de candidats admis, notamment parmi les plus jeunes. ***Il propose également que le gouvernement mette en œuvre, pour atteindre cet objectif, un recrutement dynamique dans les pays francophones, à tradition francophone ou latine***" *(Le recherche active d'immigrants*) (55-56). **Total: 2**	"Tout en accueillant plus d'immigrants, le Parti libéral du Québec veut qu'ils puissent pleinement s'intégrer à la société québécoise. Nous croyons que cette dernière doit s'ouvrir à l'apport positif des Québécois de toutes origines" (*Infléchir puis renverser le déclin démographique*) (48) **Total: 1**
1989 PLQ*	Integration	"De 1977 à 1986, 26% des immigrants reçus au Québec ne parlaient que le français, 11% parlaient le français et l'anglais, 23% ne parlaient que l'anglais et 39% ne parlaient ni le français ni l'anglais. ***Ces chiffres démontrent qu'un effort très significatif doit être fait pour que les nouveau arrivants s'intègrent à la majorité francophone***" (*Les moyens pour relever le défi démographique*) (49); "Le gouvernement a déjà beaucoup fait pour améliorer, chez les nouveaux arrivants, l'apprentissage de la langue française. ***Il devra cependant faire encore plus: il en va ultimement de la survie du fait français en Amérique***" (*L'accueil et l'insertion à la société québécoise*) (56); **Total: 2**	"Le gouvernement du Parti libéral du Québec mettra également la politique économique à contribution pour relever le défi démographique. Les conditions économiques déterminent, pour une large part, l'attrait relatif du Québec pour les immigrants. Par la suite, leur intégration réussie à notre société nourrira son processus de croissance et augmentera son potentiel de développement. Des facteurs économiques et financiers sont également susceptibles de jouer aussi un rôle important en regard de l'évolution de la natalité: soutien au revenu familial, accès à l'habitation, normes du travail, etc. En particulier, l'état québécois continuera à reconnaître l'apport de ceux qui élèvent une famille en les faisant bénéficier d'importants transferts de revenu" (*Les nouvelles priorités*) (13). "En ce qui a trait nouveaux arrivants, comme les membres des communautés culturelles, ceux-ci doivent se sentir chez eux, au Québec, de façon à ce qu'ils choisissent d'y demeurer, d'y prospérer et, espérons-le, d'y fonder une famille. Le Québec doit savoir faire une juste place à ceux d'entre les siens qui sont issus des communautés culturelles" (*Infléchir puis renverser le déclin démographique*) (48) "Au-delà de l'apprentissage du français, il faut aussi dispenser aux nouveaux arrivants les connaissances qui leur sont indispensables pour s'intégrer plus facilement dans notre société. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement crée un nouveau programme à cet effet. Il devra de plus miser sur le dynamisme de groupes et d'associations à vocation socio-économique ou communautaire pour en faciliter la mise en place" (*L'accueil et l'insertion à la société québécoise*) (56); "Nous croyons également qu'il devra, non seulement promouvoir le valeurs de tolérance, de respect et de générosité déjà enracinées dans notre culture, mais aussi combattre, par tous les moyen dont il dispose, le racisme, la xénophobie ou tout simplement l'ignorance, notamment par une meilleure information et par des programmes adéquats en milieu scolaire et en milieu de travail" (*L'accueil et l'insertion à la société québécoise*) (56); "Il s'agit d'intégrer les membres des communautés culturelles et non de les assimiler. Pour le [PLQ], cela veut dire bâtir des points entre les membres de ces communautés culturelles et rapprocher les Québécois d'origines différentes et ce, dans le respect des cultures de chacun. Finalement, ce processus implique tant un changement de notre mentalité qu'une volonté des immigrants de participer à notre culture" (*Les communautés culturelles*) (58) "Ainsi, nous croyons que les campagnes de sensibilisation et d'information du gouvernement devront davantage refléter la dimension pluriculturelle de notre société. […] Dans un même ordre d'idées, l'État incitera les entreprises à inclure davantage de membres des communautés culturelles dans leur publicité" (*Sensibilisation à l'apport des communautés culturelles*) (58); "Le ministère de l'Éducation portera, par ailleurs, une attention particulière à la formation des professeurs qui œuvrent en milieu multiculturel" (*Sensibilisation à l'apport des communautés culturelles*) (58) "Il faut donc mettre en place une campagne de sensibilisation et des programmes ponctuels dans les milieux ethniques, afin de mieux leur faire connaître les opportunités d'emploi disponibles au Québec, et afin d'accroître leur présence dans tous les secteurs d'activité économique et en particulier, dans le secteur publique" (*Sensibilisation aux possibilités du marché du travail*) (58) **Total: 8**
Total:		**4**	**9**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
	Immigration	"Pour le PLQ, ces revendications n'ont rien perdu de leur pertinence. Dès lors, il n'est pas l'intention du PLQ de les abandonner. Elles ont en commun une volonté d'obtenir une plus grande autonomie pour le Québec, fondée sur le principe de subsidiarité, selon lequel sont confiées au gouvernement fédéral les seules juridictions pour lesquelles il est le mieux qualifié pour livrer des services de manière efficace, et sure l'affirmation du caractère distinct de la société québécoise" (*La vision libéral de l'identité Québécoise*) (55). "Enfin, nous continuons de penser que la stabilité politique du Canada sera mieux servie dès lors que le pacte national reconnaîtra la place qui revient au Québéc [*sic*] en lui permettant de prendre en charge certaines institutions sur lesquelles se fondent sa spécificité économique, sociale et culturelle" (*La vision libéral de l'identité Québécoise*) (55). **Total: 2**	**Total: 0**
1994 PLQ	Integration	"Pour le PLQ, les valeurs fondamentales, inscrites dans nos institutions, incluant notamment les libertés publiques, la règle de droit, le primauté du français, l'égalité des citoyens et en conséquense [*sic*] celle des hommes et des femmes, sont des valeurs auxquelles s'engage à adhérer, sous la forme d'un contrat moral, toute personne désirant s'intégrer à sa nouvelle société: l'intégration à une société démocratique fait une place à la différence au sein d'un cadre commun auquel adhère tout citoyen. C'est dans ce cadre des valeurs fondamentales de la société québécoise et de la philosophie libérale qu'il faut situer l'ensemble des moyens visant à aménager la diversité interculturelle pour qu'elle soit au service de toute la collectivité" (*Une richesse pour le Québec*) (60). **Total: 1**	"[…] Et l'histoire du Québec exprime la volonté répétée de maintenir et de développer une société distincte en Amérique du Nord. Cette continuité droit inspirer notre action. Il y a donc une histoire à assumer. La connaître et la faire sienne sont des signes d'intégration. C'est une histoire qui continue à s'écrire, et chaque génération de Québécois, nés ici ou venus d'ailleurs, peut à son tour influer sur elle. Notre culture commune n'est donc pas un ensemble figé, défini une fois pour toutes. L'ouverture à la différence fait partie du système que nous offrons fièrement en partage" (*Une richesse pour le Québec*) (60-61). "La présence sur notre sol d'un demi-million de Québécois nés à l'étranger constitue pour le PLQ un apport précieux, non seulement du point de vue économique et démographique, mais aussi du point de vue culturel. Grâce à une volonté d'intégration soutenue, tant chez les immigrants eux-mêmes qu'au sein de la société d'accueil, l'époque où l'État appuyait l'épanouissement d'une culture québécoise 'pure laine' d'une main et la préservation des cultures d'origine des immigrants de l'autre, est maintenant révolue. L'heure est désormais à l'échange interculturel et à l'épanouissement d'une culture québécoise enrichie par l'apport de toutes les communautés culturelles, actuelles et futures" (*Une richesse pour le Québec*) (61). "Agisse pour offrir à tous les Québécois, peu importe leur origine ou leur langue maternelle, l'opportunité de contribuer, autour de valeurs communes, à bâtir un avenir meilleur pour notre société. En ce sens, qu'il favorise les échanges interculturels entre toutes les communautés qui enrichissent notre culture, et qu'il vise à parfaire les instruments d'accueil qui viennent en aide aux nouveaux arrivants en vue de réussir leur intégration à la société québécoise" (*Il est proposé*) (80). **Total: 3**
Total		**3**	**4**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
1994 PQ*	Immigration	S'engage: "Mettre en place une politique d'immigration qui tienne compte de la capacité d'accueil de la société québécoise ainsi que de ***ses besoins sociodémographiques, linguistiques et économiques*** . Une tell politique doit pouvoir compter sur l'apport d'un débat public. Cette politique s'assurera, entre autres, d'intensifier l'information disponible à l'étranger sur les spécificités du Québec, ***notamment sur son histoire, sa culture et son caractère francophone*** . ***Elle cherchera à garantir une meilleure integration à la société québécoise en favorisant, d'une part, la venue d'immigrants connaissant déjà le français et, d'autre part, la réunification des familles*** " (*Faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux Québécois)* (68-69). **Total: 1**	**Total: 0**
	Integration	"Le Québec est à cet égard dans une situation toute particulière. Peuple de sept million d'habitants sur un continent largement anglophone, composé d'une majorité francophone, de nations autochtones, premiers occupants du territoire, d'une minorité anglophone, qui a puissamment contribué au développement du pays, et de nombreux nouveau arrivants qui enrichissent sa diversité, ***le Québec est, depuis longtemps, à la recherche de garanties, d'abord pour sa survie, maintenant pour son épanouissement comme pays de langue et de culture françaises*** " (*La société québécoise: Encourage le dynamisme d'une société francophone et pluraliste*) (57); "Le gouvernement du Parti Québécois fera de l'immigration et de cette intégration des citoyens québécois de toutes origines des éléments essentiels de son project de société et de la réalisation de la souveraineté du Québec" (*Faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux Québécois*) (68); **Total: 2**	"Le Québec compte sur la participation pleine et entière de tous ses citoyens, indépendamment de leur origine, pour la construction d'une société empreint de justice, francophone, pluraliste et démocratique" (*Faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux Québécois*) (68); S'engage: "Mettre en place une politique d'accueil assurant une intégration rapide des nouveaux Québécois par des mesures spécifiques destinées principalement à faciliter l'accès à l'emploi et à l'apprentissage de la langue française; Remplaces le Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration par le Conseil de l'immigration, de l'intégration et de relations ethnoculturelles. Son mandate et sa composition lui permettront d'assumer un rôle consultatif de plus grande envergure concernant l'intégration des nouveaux Québécois et des membres des groupes ethnoculturels déjà établis au Québec; Accentuer la lutte au racisme et à la discrimination" (*Faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux Québécois*) (69) **Total: 4**
Total		**3**	**4**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist		Pluralist
1998 PQ*	Immigration	"Il veillera par ailleurs à orienter la planification de l'immigration selon les axes qui ont fait consensus lors de la consultation publique de 1997 : ***augmentation de la proportion des immigrants connaissant le français*** et sélection d'immigrants à haut potentiel d'employabilité et de mobilité professionnelle" (*Les groupes ethnoculturels: une pleine participation à la citoyenneté québécoise*) (63). **Total: 1**		**Total: 0**
	Integration	**Total: 0**		"Dans cet esprit, un gouvernement du Parti Québécois s'assurera en priorité que soit vraiment concrétisée l'harmonisation des services d'intégration en emploi offerts aux nouveaux arrivants et aux citoyens issus de l'immigration par les ministères de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité et des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration. Le gouvernement tiendra à s'assurer que toute personne, quelle que soit son origine, ait un accès équitable aux services publics" (*Les groupes ethnoculturels: une pleine participation à la citoyenneté québécoise*) (62). "Un gouvernement du Parti Québécois intensifiera, en second lieu, son action en matière de francisation des nouveaux arrivants et aussi des citoyens issus de l'immigration vivant au Québec plus longtemps, particulièrement en milieu de travail" (*Les groupes ethnoculturels: une pleine participation à la citoyenneté québécoise*) (63). **Total: 2**
	Total	**1**		**2**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist		Pluralist
1998 PLQ	Immigration	**Total: 0**		"***L'action d'un gouvernement du Parti Libéral du Québec en matière d'immigration demeurera toujours fidèle à sa tradition d'ouverture*** et poursuivra le même objectif : promouvoir les intérêts du Québec" (*Un plan pour tous les Québécois // Une politique d'immigration tournée vers l'avenir*) (No page numbers in document). **Total: 1**
	Integration	**Total: 0**		S'engage à: "réformer les COFI pour les rendre plus efficaces et mieux cibler leur rôle par rapport à l'intégration des immigrants" (*Un plan pour tous les Québécois // Une politique d'immigration tournée vers l'avenir*) (No page numbers in document). **Total: 1**
	Total	**0**		**2**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
2003 PQ	Immigration	**Total: 0**	"Les enjeux démographiques occupent une place croissante dans les débats publics. Ils doivent être abordés dans une large perspective. Un gouvernement du Parti Québécois adoptera une politique nationale de la population pour permettre au Québec non seulement de faire face aux conséquences du vieillissement de la population, mais aussi d'en tirer le meilleur parti possible. Ce plan d'action comprendra quatre volets [one, three, and four are irrelevant]: L'immigration est une source d'enrichissement pour le Québec, qui devra y recourir davantage pour relever le défi de la démographie. Afin d'en maximiser l'impact positif, un gouvernement du Parti Québécois portera le volume d'accueil des immigrants à 50 000 à l'horizon de 2005 et fera en sorte qu'au moins 25 % d'entre eux s'établissent en région. À cette fin, il prendra les mesures suivantes: Mieux faire valoir le Québec comme terre d'accueil auprès des immigrants potentiels; Enrichir le Québec par l'immigration" (*Rajeunir le Québec*) (35-37). **Total: 3**
	Integration	"Il s'attachera de façon plus intensive à l'apprentissage du français dans les petites et moyennes entreprises, surtout dans celles où se retrouvent des travailleuses et des travailleurs issus de l'immigration" (*Une identité à affirmer*; sub-section: *Un consensus à renforcer*) (85). **Total: 1**	"Les enjeux démographiques occupent une place croissante dans les débats publics. Ils doivent être abordés dans une large perspective. Un gouvernement du Parti Québécois adoptera une politique nationale de la population pour permettre au Québec non seulement de faire face aux conséquences du vieillissement de la population, mais aussi d'en tirer le meilleur parti possible. Ce plan d'action comprendra quatre volets [one, three, and four are irrelevant]: L'immigration : une grande richesse Veiller à une meilleure intégration des immigrants à la société québécoise, notamment par la reconnaissance du droit à l'apprentissage du français" (*Rajeunir le Québec*) (37) . "Le Parti Québécois valorise aussi l'appartenance à la nation québécoise de toutes les personnes qui ont choisi le Québec comme terre d'adoption. Leur apport particulier ajoute à notre qualité de vie collective et favorise l'ouverture de notre société sur le monde. Il faut donc faire en sorte que ces nouveaux concitoyens se sentent bien accueillis et qu'ils développent un sentiment d'appartenance au Québec. Qu'ils se sentent Québécois!" (*Une identité à affirmer*; sub-section: *Une identité plurielle*) (84; 86). "Un gouvernement du Parti Québécois poursuivra son action afin de renforcer le pouvoir d'attraction du français comme langue commune et faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants à la nation québécoise. En outre, il fera en sorte que l'accès aux cours de français soit élargi aux réfugiés en attente d'une décision relative à leur statut" (*Une identité à affirmer*; sub-section: *Une identité plurielle*) (84; 86). **Total: 3**
Total:		**1**	**6**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
2003 PLQ*	Immigration	**Total: 0**	Section: "**Préparation:** Moyens: Faire une meilleure sélection: En sélectionnant des personnes susceptibles de s'intégrer plus facilement en matière d'emploi, on augmente évidemment les chances d'une intégration réussie et rapide; En d'autres mots, les objectifs fixés pour l'immigration francophone ne doivent pas devenir des quotas exclusifs qui feraint en sorte que l'on refuserait une personne pratiquant un emploi en pénurie au Québec et qui a la volonté d'apprendre le français, parce qu'elle n'est pas d'origine francophone; Pour faire une meilleure sélection, il faut que les OCAI soient associés à la recherche de candidats à l'immigration au Québec. Ils peuvent, de par leur contact dans leur pays d'origine et en collaboration avec les chambres de commerce et associations professionnelles de leur communauté, aider le gouvernement à dénicher le type de personne qui s'adaptera le mieux au Québec; Offrir, lorsque c'est possible, et en partenariat avec les ordres, corporations et associations professionnelles du Québec, des évaluations de connaissances administrées dans le pays d'origine afin d'accélérer la reconnaissance des compétences et des diplômes étrangers" (*Préparation*) (13-14). **Total: 4**
	Integration	**Total: 0**	Section: "**Partenariats**": Moyens: Réorganiser la livraison des services: Faire des partenariats et établir des contrats de service avec des organismes communautaires des communautés culturelles accrédités par le gouvernement. Ces organismes communautaires auront la structure et la capacité d'assurer, avec un financement adéquat et l'encadrement du gouvernement, les services d'accueil et d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants. (À des fins de discussion, ils seront appelés Organismes communautaires d'accueil et d'intégration ou OCAI). Une deuxième aide à l'intégration: Donner aux OCAI le mandat de prévoir des programmes particuliers pour faciliter l'intégration sociale et à l'emploi des membres des communautés culturelles, hommes et femmes déjà installés qui ont vécu une intégration difficile et qui auraient besoin d'une aide spécifique; Évaluer, dans le cadre de la vision de partenariat avec les communautés culturelles, la pertinence d'intégrer, de fusionner, d'associer ou d'abolir les différents services d'accueil et d'intégration qui existent présentement. Mettre tout le monde en réseau: Un gouvernement libéral fera appel aux organismes communautaires des communautés culturelles parce qu'ils sont implantés dans leur milieu et plus proches du nouvel arrivant. Il s'attend donc à ce que les nouveaux arrivants reçoivent un meilleur service et soient véritablement accompagnés dans toutes leurs étapes d'intégration par les OCAI; Les ordres, corporations et associations professionnelles du Québec, sans compromettre la qualité des services rendus au public, doivent absolument être mis à contribution pour l'intégration plus harmonieuse des nouveaux arrivants; Faire des partenariats avec les ordres, corporations et associations professionnelles du Québec afin d'accélérer la reconnaissance des compétences et des diplômes étrangers et faciliter l'accès aux professions; Modifier, si nécessaire, les lois sur les ordres professionnels afin qu'une personne qui s'est vu reconnaître ses compétences et l'équivalence de son diplôme étranger, puisse comme une personne diplômée d'une université québécoise, suivre la procédure normale pour intégrer l'ordre professionnel pertinent" *(Partenariats)* (8-12). Section: "**Participation**": Moyens: Combattre la discrimination raciale et religieuse; Reconnaître la différence comme une compétence (***not counted, but proposals under this are counted***): Reconnaître la maîtrise d'une autre langue que le français et l'anglais, la connaissance et la compréhension d'une autre culture comme des compétences importantes. Rechercher, pour l'embauche des employés dans les points de service des ministères et organismes du gouvernement, la connaissance de la langue et de la culture de la population avoisinante, notamment dans les services de santé, socio-sanitaire, à l'emploi et au logement. Répondre aux besoins spécifiques (***not counted, but proposals under this are counted***): Mettre en place un réseau de communication multilingue (réseau d'interprètes). Être plus proactif : Faire du recrutement pour la fonction publique par les médias écrits et électroniques des communautés culturelles et au sein des divers cégeps et université québécoises, incluant le réseau anglophone Assurer une meilleur représentation des communautés culturelles dans les cabinets politiques, dans la haute direction de la fonction publique et aux conseils d'administration des organismes d'État. Instaurer un mécanisme de surveillance et d'imputabilité pour assurer la réalisation des priorités. Soutenir la vitalité Le Parti libéral du Québec considère que le pluralisme culturel est une richesse qu'une société moderne doit savoir cultiver. Contrairement au melting pot américain, au Québec, nous valorisons la diversité culturelle et le nouvel immigrant n'abandonne pas sa différence à la porte. Il faut donc que le gouvernement aide au maintien des cultures, identités et traditions d'origine qui viennent enrichir la société québécoise. Appuyer diverses formes d'expressions et événements culturels ainsi que les médias des diverses communautés, dans le but d'en assurer la vitalité et d'en faire profiter la société québécoise. Développer un programme de rapprochement interculturel, comme la Semaine interculturelle, afin de soutenir des activités d'ouverture à la société d'accueil et de rapprochement entre les communautés" *(Participation)* (16-19). **Total: 18**
	Total:	**0**	**22**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
	Immigration	**Total: 0**	**Total: 0**
2007 PQ	Integration	"Favorisera la promotion scolaire de la culture, de l'identité et des valeurs québécoises (notamment l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes, la langue, la laïcité de l'État et la protection de l'environnement)" (*La réussite en éducation pour tous* ; sub-section: *L'école citoyenne*) (11).	**Total: 0**
	Total	**1**	**0**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
	Immigration		"Nos engagements pour un deuxième mandat: Immigration: Augmenter les niveaux d'immigration afin de soutenir le développement économique du Québec; Poursuivre la sélection des immigrants selon le système de grille de sélection actuellement en vigueur et mettre sur pied un processus de révision de ce système qui serait récurrent pour permettre de recruter les meilleurs candidats possible selon le marché de l'emploi au Québec" (PLQ 2007*b* , 2).
		Total: 0	**Total: 2**
2007 PLQ*	Integration	"Une des ***valeurs libérales à la base de notre pensée politique est la protection et la promotion du caractère français*** et du dynamisme culturel de la société québécoise, tout en reconnaissant la pleine légitimité du fait anglophone au Québec et la diversité culturelle" (*Énoncé politique: Unis pour réussir la diversité* PLQ*b*) (2).	"Notre identité se nourrit aussi de l'apport de citoyens provenant des quatre coins du monde, représentant toutes les traditions et religions. La diversité québécoise est une richesse. Elle est aussi un défi permanent, celui de l'équilibre entre les droits de la majorité et les droits des minorités" (*Promouvoir la richesse de notre diversité dans le respect de nos valeurs communes* PLQ*a*) (69). "Un gouvernement du Parti libéral du Québec, dans un deuxième mandat, réaffirmera les valeurs communes des Québécois et sa conviction profonde selon laquelle la diversité du Québec est l'une de nos plus grandes richesses." (*Promouvoir la richesse de notre diversité dans le respect de nos valeurs communes* PLQ*a*) (69). "Nos engagements pour un deuxième mandat: Emploi: Réviser le système de recrutement de la fonction publique afin d'intégrer davantage de membres issus des minorités visibles et des communautés culturelles. Créer un processus de vérification permettant de rendre compte de la diversité dans la fonction publique québécoise; Diversité: Continuer d'offrir un soutien logistique aux groupes et organismes sur le terrain afin qu'ils puissent offrir leurs services dans toutes les régions du Québec; Soutenir efficacement les groupes représentatifs de différentes communautés; Déposer la politique gouvernementale contre le racisme et la discrimination et mettre son plan d'action on œuvre; Publiciser et organiser des activités éducatives autour du Mois de l'histoire des Noirs, la Semaine d'action contre le racisme et la Semaine québécoise des rencontres interculturelles; Créer un indice du type ISO pour la diversité en entreprise afin de reconnaître les entreprises du Québec qui sont des leaders dans la gestion de la diversité" (*Énoncé politique: Unis pour réussir la diversité* PLQ*b*) (2).
		Total: 1	**Total: 8**
	Total	**1**	**10**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
2008 PQ	Immigration	"Se battre pour récupérer tous les pouvoirs les Québécois considèrent comme essentiels pour préserver leur identité, continuer à défendre leurs intérêts et assurer leur avenir : la langue, ***l'immigration,*** la culture, les communications et les relations internationales reliées à nos champs de compétence" (*Faire progresser la nation québécoise*) (25). **Total: 1**	**Total: 0**
	Integration	"Modifier la Charte de la langue française: S'assurer de l'utilisation du français comme langue de l'administration dans les relations de l'État avec les entreprises et les citoyens Mettre en place des mesures spécifiques pour franciser les entreprises et commerces (1 à 50 employés) en tenant d'abord compte de certains critères comme le nombre d'employés et leurs liens directs avec les consommateurs. Afin d'aider les entreprises et commerces dans ces démarches, des mesures fiscales incitatives seront mises en place" (*Renforcer le statut de la langue française*) (25). "Conclure avec les personnes qui s'établissent au Québec un contrat d'intégration afin de favoriser leur intégration à la vie québécoise" (*Assurer la peine intégration des immigrants au québec* [*sic*]) (27). "Faire de l'apprentissage de la langue française un ***droit*** pour les nouveaux arrivants et prendre les moyens appropriés pour y parvenir" (*Assurer la peine intégration des immigrants au québec* [*sic*]) (27). **Total: 4**	"Offrir à tout nouvel arrivant l'accès aux ressources nécessaires pour apprendre le français dès son arrivée au Québec" (*Assurer la peine intégration des immigrants au québec* [*sic*]) (27). "Faciliter l'accès au travail des immigrants et leur répartition sur l'ensemble du Québec [*Not included in count but points are*]: Favoriser la reconnaissance des diplômes des nouveaux arrivants Instituer des passerelles permettant aux professionnels de pratiquer leur profession au Québec (formation d'appoint, etc.) Favoriser l'embauche de Québécoises and Québécois issus de l'immigration dans la fonction publique québécoise et les sociétés d'État Rendre accessibles dans tout le Québec des programmes de mentorat destinés à l'insertion professionnelle des travailleurs issus de l'immigration ainsi qu'à la prévention du décrochage scolaire des jeunes issus de l'immigration" (*Assurer la peine intégration des immigrants au québec* [*sic*]) (27). "Encourager les projets d'action communautaire et intercommunautaire en particulier pour les femmes et les jeunes immigrants" (*Assurer la peine intégration des immigrants au québec* [*sic*]) (27). "Lutter contre le racisme et la discrimination" (*Assurer la peine intégration des immigrants au québec* [*sic*]) (27). **Total: 7**
Total:		**5**	**7**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist	Pluralist
2008 PLQ*	Immigration	**Total: 0**	**Total: 0**
	Integration	**Total: 0**	**Total: 0**
Total:		**0**	**0**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist		Pluralist
2012 PQ*	Immigration	**Total: 0**		**Total: 0**
	Integration	"Adopter une nouvelle Charte de la langue française afin de faire du français la langue officielle du travail et de l'enseignement, notamment en élargissant la portée de la Charte dans toutes les entreprises de plus de 10 employés et en appliquant aux cégeps et aux écoles professionnelle ainsi qu'à l'éducation des adultes les mêmes dispositions de la Charte de la langue française appliquées aux écoles primaires and secondaires" (*Promouvoir et protéger le français*) (9); "Doter le Québec d'une constitution et la faire adopter par l'Assemblée nationale, après une large consultation de la population, pour affirmer et établir juridiquement les valeurs fondamentales de la nation québécoise tout en tenant compte du patrimoine historique, telles que la prédominance de la langue française, l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et la laïcité des institutions publiques" (*Affirmer notre identité et nos valeurs*) (9); "Élaborer une charte québécoise de la laïcité" (*Affirmer notre identité et nos valeurs*) (9); "Instaurer une citoyenneté québécoise" (*Affirmer notre identité et nos valeurs*) (9).		"Resserrer les règles de sélection des travailleurs qualifiés et leur famille afin qu'ils puissent se trouver un emploi de qualité et bien s'intégrer à la société québécoise" (*Accueillir et intégrer les nouveaux québécois*) (24); "Appliquer une véritable stratégie d'intégration afin que le Québec puisse accueillir tous les nouveau Québécois; rendre obligatoires les course de francisation pour celles et ceux qui n'ont pas une connaissance fonctionnelle du français et établir un parcours d'accompagnement individuel au cours de leurs premières années d'installation, et ce, pour tous les nouveaux Québécois" (*Accueillir et intégrer les nouveaux québécois*) (25).
		Total: 4		**Total: 2**
	Total		**4**	**2**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist		Pluralist
2012 PLQ	Immigration	**Total: 0**		"Le grille de sélection des immigrants sera également révisée afin d'accorder davantage de points au demandeur qui détient une offre d'emploi validée. Des points supplémentaires seront accordés dans le cas d'offres d'emplois en région" (*Pour faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants au marché du travail*) (8); "Nous intensifierons nos discussions avec le gouvernement fédéral afin de faciliter l'obtention de visas étudiants aux personnes qui s'inscrivent dans les écoles de métiers du Québec où les besoins en main-d'œuvre sont importants" (*Pour faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants au marché du travail*) (8); "Nous augmenterons le nombre de missions de recrutement à l'étranger, soit les Journées Québec, et diversifierons les destinations" (*Pour faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants au marché du travail*) (8). **Total: 3**
	Integration	**Total: 0**		"Nous ferons la promotion, auprès des entreprises et des employeurs, des programmes de soutien et d'accompagnement des entreprises en ce qui touche à la gestion de la diversité et à la francisation des immigrants en milieu de travail" (*Pour faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants au marché du travail*) (8). **Total: 1**
	Total		**0**	**4**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist		Pluralist
2014 PQ	Immigration	**Total: 0**		"Le Parti Québécois veut doter le Québec d'un système d'immigration moderne. Nous voulons revoir le processus de sélection des immigrants pour assurer leur francisation, leur intégration et leur insertion professionnelle, ainsi que pour mieux répondre aux besoins du Québec" (*Accueillir les nouveaux Québécois*) (22). **Total: 1**
	Integration	"Le Parti Québécois a eu le courage de se saisir de la question des accommodements religieux et de la laïcité, négligée pendant si longtemps par le Parti libéral du Québec. Dans le cadre du projet de loi 60, nous consacrons plusieurs valeurs qui rassemblent les Québécois : l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes, la neutralité religieuse de l'État et le respect de notre patrimoine historique" (*Dire ce que nous sommes*) (6); "Nous sommes déterminés à: adopter la Charte *affirmant les valeurs de laïcité et de neutralité religieuse de l'État ainsi que d'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et encadrant les demandes d'accommodement* (projet de loi 60)" (*Affirmer les valeurs de laïcité et de neutralité religieuse de l'État*) (6). **Total: 2**		"Nous sommes déterminés à: offrir plus de soutien à l'apprentissage du français aux enfants allophones, et ce, dès l'âge préscolaire; soutenir davantage les projets favorisant l'intégration et la francisation des parents immigrants" (*Accueillir les nouveaux Québécois*) (22). **Total: 2**
	Total		**2**	**3**

		Affirmationist/Protectionist		Pluralist
2014 PLQ*	Immigration	**Total: 0**		**Total: 0**
	Integration	**Total: 0**		**Total: 0**
	Total		**0**	**0**

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