STILL TWO SOLITUDES?
TRANSLATION OF MANIFESTOS AND POLITICAL PLATFORMS IN QUEBEC

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ABSTRACT

How can translation reinforce or challenge the dominant discourse circulating in a society? In Canada, a divide separates French from English Canadians and stereotypes about these 'two solitudes' tend to be echoed in media discourse. By examining how English newspapers report on two text genres—manifestos and platforms—produced in Quebec, this thesis contributes to the literature on ideology and translation, specifically studies that employ Critical Discourse Analysis. Focusing on rhetorical features of manifestos, the main objective of this research is to test a methodology for analyzing translation shifts. Between French and English versions, features related to identity revealed the most variation across each text genre. Empirically, this analysis also demonstrates that for English newspapers the national question obscures other issues in Quebec politics. Overall, this research confirms that translation of political texts can serve to reproduce stereotypes that maintain unequal power relations between dominant and non-dominant groups.

KEYWORDS: manifesto, platform, Translation Studies, Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology, newspaper translation

For my parents,
Ramesh & Ann Marie Bachan

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INTRODUCTION

One month before the 150th anniversary of the Canadian Confederation, the Quebec government, led by the *Parti libéral du Québec* (PLQ), released a document entitled 'Quebecers, Our Way of Being Canadian: Policy on Québec Affirmation and Canadian Relations.' While the PLQ is not a sovereigntist party, its aim was to affirm Quebec's status in Canada by renewing the constitutional debate.

The 197-page policy was met with harsh reactions from English language newspapers across the country. Nationwide headlines in the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* read 'Constitutional Talks? No Thank You' and 'Beating a Dead Horse in Quebec, Once Again.' Even the major English daily in the province, the *Montreal Gazette*, seemed exasperated, publishing an article titled 'Dear Quebec, Do We Need to Do This Again? Two Decades of Constitutional Angst is Plenty.'

In Canada, it is no secret that an ideological divide exists between Quebec and the rest of the country. The split between these 'two solitudes'—a term made popular by novelist Hugh MacLennan in 1945—may often appear latent, particularly when it comes to how the country is perceived internationally (Gagnon and Kalantari 2017). During elections and public debates, however, it amplifies, becoming much more visible.

One way to understand this ideological conflict is by examining communication between and about the country's two main linguistic groups. In Canada, as Vessey (2014) points out, the "linguistic divide is sometimes used as a metaphor or a euphemism for the national divide" (180). It would follow, then, that ideological differences between Quebec—a predominantly French speaking province—and the rest of Canada—a majority English speaking country—would surface in the French and English media. Instead of comparing and contrasting linguistic ideologies, this thesis

looks at how Quebec politics is depicted in the dominant English media. Specifically, it focuses on newspaper reporting of two kinds of political texts produced in the province: (1) social movement manifestos; and (2) party platforms.

While much attention has been paid to rhetorical features in social movement manifestos (Caws 2001; Lyon 1999), similar studies are lacking when it comes to party platforms. Research on the common characteristics of manifestos has uncovered various devices used to persuade audiences. Some of these include categorization through the language of 'us' and 'them'; positioning in a specific context; predicting the future; sounding urgent; employing metaphors related to war and siege; and using formatting strategically.

For this study, these features are examined in *both* manifestos and platforms to test a methodology aimed at describing each text genre's persuasive devices, as well as changes that have occurred during the translation process. Two additional devices— evaluations and figurative language—are also investigated. For the analysis, features are grouped under three categories: identity, emotion and physical.

With a focus on the contemporary period, French and English versions of the three most newsworthy social movement manifestos and party platforms from the most discussed Quebec election are assessed according to the features. Excerpts from the three manifestos and three platforms—as published in English Canadian newspapers—are then analyzed, taking their historical context into account.

Chapter One, which reviews the literature on manifestos and platforms, draws attention to features common among the two texts. Research on the translation of manifestos and platforms is also discussed. Chapter Two provides the historical context for this study by delving into Quebec and its changing place in the Canadian Federation. Chapter Three sets forth the theoretical framework (Critical Discourse

Analysis) and the methodology I used to analyze the texts. Chapter Four (manifestos) and Chapter Five (platforms) present the detailed findings from the analysis. Chapter Six consolidates these findings in a discussion of the features, translations and newspaper reports of the manifestos and platforms.

How are rhetorical features in social movement manifestos and party platforms used to persuade audiences? Taking examples from contemporary Quebec, this thesis addresses this question by examining similarities and differences between the text genres and their translations. Additionally, by analyzing newspaper reports on such texts, this study investigates how political issues in Quebec are represented in the English media. To what degree, if at all, does translation work to reinforce or bridge the gap between Canada's 'two solitudes'?

Text Genres

Both created to persuade, social movement manifestos and party platforms are more alike than different. While it can be said that the ideology in a manifesto is more explicit than that of a platform, these texts share some common features: they engage in an 'us versus them' dialogue, situate themselves in a specific period, and employ other devices to garner public support.

1.1 Social Movement Manifestos

A megaphone for the ignored, the political manifesto seeks to rouse its audience. Connected to the social movements in which it originates, the manifesto should no longer be considered the "ubiquitous yet undertheorized genre in the catalogue of modern discursive forms" (Lyon 1999, 1). Manifesto researchers have been able to uncover distinctive features shared amongst these texts. Usually produced during intensified class wars, gender debates, ethnicity problems or national struggles, manifestos tend to: contradict the views of the dominant establishment, position themselves in their immediate history, make predictions about the society's future, call for immediate action, and employ images related to war and siege (Lyon 1999, 10–17). As a whole, the manifesto "is a document of an ideology, crafted to convince and convert" (Caws 2001, xix). In producing this kind of text, a social movement is not subtle about its aims. Instead, its stance on any political issue addressed tends to be explicit.

The measure of a manifesto is its ability to persuade its intended audience. How successful the text is "depends on its power of declamation and persuasion" (Caws 2001, xix). The following section elaborates on the features that qualify the manifesto

as a tool for persuasion and, overall, a unique genre (Summers 2013; Yanoshevsky 2009).

1.1.1 Main Features

1.1.1.1 *Categorization*

For manifesto writers, society is not a diverse arrangement, it is constructed of two social categories, an 'us' or 'we' and a 'them' or 'they.' The 'them' represents the dominant force that 'we,' the social movement, are fighting against. This characteristic dichotomy emphasizes "a reduced understanding of heterogeneous social fields, creating audiences through a rhetoric of exclusivity, parceling out political identities across a polarized discursive field" (Lyon 1999, 3). In identifying these conflicts and calling for change, the manifesto's "oppositional tone is constructed of *againstness*" (Caws 2001, xxiii, emphasis in original). In the social sense, such "texts reveal cyclical patterns of oppression, resistance, and backlash between and among dominant and marginalized communities" (Summers 2013, 3). By condemning the dominant order, supporters of a social movement are able to join their shared disapproval.

1.1.1.2 *Positioning*

Manifestos are highly contextual texts. They are tied to a specific time and place— positioned "between what has been done and what will be done, between the accomplished and the potential, in a radical and energizing position" (Caws 2001, xxi). For a social movement, "the manifesto both generates and marks a break in history: it is both a trace and a tool of change" (Lyon 1999, 16). Narratives are situated in a larger social context in which the presentation of 'truths' underlines the need for action (Summers 2013, 26).

1.1.1.3 *Prophecies*

The manifesto engages in premonition and "draws from [...] discourses of religious prophecy and chiliasm (or millennialism)" (Lyon 1999, 13). These texts lay bare the undesirable consequences that will result if society continues along its current path. With their proposed solutions, social movement manifestos are "responding to the imperatives of history, hoping to ward off catastrophe with magic or logic" (Jencks 1997, 10).

1.1.1.4 *Urgency*

Requiring its audience to unite and act for change or resistance, "manifesto time is characterized above all by a kind of urgency" (Weeks 2013, 222). Because of the impending calamity, the manifesto entreats its readers to respond without hesitation. Devices often employed include "angry rejections of half-measures, demands for immediate action, and a call to take to the streets" (Lyon 1999, 9–10).

1.1.1.5 *War and Siege Metaphors*

To be memorable, a violent undertone often characterizes social movement manifestos. In promoting its againstness, the text "can be set up like a battlefield" (Caws 2001, xx), using rhetoric that "draws from [...] the martial language of war or siege" (Lyon 1999, 13).

1.1.2 Other Features

While the five features above are the most noteworthy, manifestos often use secondary devices to persuade their audience.

1.1.2.1 *Title*

Before the content is even viewed, a reader can often recognize the manifesto's position through its title (Caws 2001, xxiv). The social movement's stance is made clear, which may work to dissuade those opposed to its ideals from reading the entire text.

1.1.2.2 *'High Manifesto'*

Relating to its superficiality, the "'high manifesto,' […] is often noisy in its appearance, like a typographical alarm or an implicit rebel yell" (Caws 2001, xx). Examples include the use of capital letters, large font sizes and varied styles, often "deployed liberally to convey the insistent demands of [the manifesto's] visions and vituperations" (Alvarez and Stephenson 2012, 4). In some cases the physical configuration of the manifesto actually "creates its meaning" (Caws 2001, xx).

1.1.2.3 *Form*

Another feature related to the physical appearance of the text is its form: manifestos often present demands as lists or in bullet form (Caws 2001, xxvi). This also connects to the urgent tone of the genre.

These characteristics can be considered persuasive devices used to appeal to readers. In manifesto analysis, as much can be gained from the "stylistic practices of a text as from its specific claims and explicit purposes" (Weeks 2013, 221). Whether the text exhibits some or all of these features, the manifesto not only strives to persuade its readers, it "actually goes a step further and attempts to convince its recipients to identify with a particular type of person that is reflective of an ideology" (Summers 2013, 20).

1.1.3 Manifestos and Translation

According to Schäffner (1997), some political translations serve an informative function, i.e., they are meant to "inform [the target audience] about events in the [source language] culture" (128), while other translations are also meant to persuade their readers. Challenges in translating manifestos can arise due to differences in how socio-political problems are perceived in source and target cultures, whether text producers' ideologies align and if translations are official or not.

When the ideologies in the source and target cultures are in opposition, translations of social movement manifestos are usually created for informational purposes. For example, the 1970 manifesto of the *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ) [Quebec Liberation Front] nationalist movement declares that "Anglo-Saxon capitalists" and "Anglophone bosses" are oppressing French speaking Quebecers (Bélanger 2007). While a number of full and abridged translations appeared in the *Canadian Press NewsWire*, "[g]iven the FLQ's politics, the absence of an 'official' translation of the Manifesto is hardly surprising" (Schwartzwald 2014, 106). In this case, the Anglophones are the 'they' and an English translator of this text would face an impossible task if their goal was to get Anglophones to support the FLQ.

A more recent example is the 2014 declaration of *Uni-e-s contre la francophobie* [United against francophobia]:

French text:	Ce n'est pas d'hier qu'au Canada anglais on tente d'intimider et de culpabiliser les promoteurs et les défenseurs de la langue française. L'opposition à des services en français pour les communautés francophones et acadiennes y est souvent exprimée avec acrimonie.
Literal translation:	[English Canada's attempts to intimidate and blame promoters and defenders of the French language are nothing new. Opposition to services in French for Francophone and Acadian communities is often expressed with acrimony.]

Like the FLQ, English Canadians are the 'them' that the collectivity is fighting against. The FLQ and *Uni-e-s contre la francophobie* are "claiming […] the moral high ground of revolutionary idealism, and constructing 'them' as ideological tyrants, bankrupt usurpers, or corrupt fools" (Lyon 1999, 3). These two situations highlight why, in some cases, manifestos are translated to mainly inform an audience.

Social movement manifestos that represent a target culture negatively can, nonetheless, be translated to persuade. Referring to newspaper translations of the FLQ manifesto, Schwartzwald (2014) highlights that some English publications rendered the text in full, while others "cho[se] particularly inflammatory passages" (106). This type of partiality, as well as the opinions surrounding the translation, would work to persuade an audience, not to support the social movement, but to denounce it.

Different issues arise when ideologies in the source and target cultures align. Examining translations of the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Guback and Bettig (1987) point out that "the specific program for their implementation would have to take account of the actual material conditions in each country" (4). In fact, the only authorized or official translation of the manifesto was rendered from the original German into English by Samuel Moore, an attorney from Manchester and, more importantly, a friend of Engels. Even though the "extent to which Engels actually reviewed and verified Moore's translation, or collaborated with him, is open to conjecture," the two were said to share ideas and Engels had confidence in Moore's skills (Guback and Bettig 1987, 9). With the ideologies of the authors and the translator being similar, this may work to ensure that the manifesto's ideology be transmitted in the target text.

In another study that looks at both official and unofficial manifesto translations, Baumgarten (2007) examines seven English translations of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Omitting controversial statements was among the translation strategies employed to "project a positive source text image" in the official or "Nazi-sponsored translations" (Baumgarten 2007, 246). Compared to these ideologically compliant renditions, translators of the unofficial or "resistant translations" employed opposite strategies by selecting the most contentious arguments in the manifesto and "adorning them with ideological commentary in order to communicate their own assessment of the political situation at the time" (Baumgarten 2007, 247). In further analysis, Baumgarten and Caimotto (2016) found that unofficial translations of *Mein Kampf* meant for British and Italian audiences rendered some extracts literally, which "may be interpreted as an attempt to delegitimise the ideology of racial supremacism" (293). As with Moore's translation of the *Communist Manifesto,* this research underlines the importance of alignment between the source and target text producers' ideologies when it comes to official translations.

Translations need not be official, however, if their intention is to persuade their audience of a manifesto's ideology. In an examination of the Greek translation of the *Communist Manifesto,* Delistathi (2011) undercovers strategies the Communist Party of Greece employed to establish its 1933 translation as the correct rendition. One way this was accomplished was through paratextual features, with the cover associating the party to the original authors. Additionally, translation evaluation highlighted its accuracy while "demonstrat[ing] that the translations issued by other political forces were inaccurate and, more importantly, that inaccuracies were deliberate mistranslations motivated by the translators' political beliefs" (Delistathi 2011, 209).

This research also draws attention to a case where ideologies between subordinate or dominated groups conflict.

Whether translated to inform, persuade or a combination of both, social movement manifestos can serve comparable or contrasting purposes in source and target cultures. Along with the context, the translation's official status also affects how the text is received by its audience.

1.2 **Party Platforms**

If the social movement manifesto "is a complex, convention-laden, ideologically inflected genre," (Lyon 1999, 10), what about the ideological nature of a party platform? The majority of research on platforms has focused on determining the political orientation of these texts (Harmel 2016, 6). This suggests the ideology underlying a platform is more implicit than that of a manifesto.

Sometimes termed 'programs' or even 'manifestos' themselves, platforms are "text[s]" published by a political party or presidential candidate in order to compete for votes in national elections" (Werner, Lacewell and Volkens 2015, 2). Studies on party platforms are mainly centred on content analysis, and not on the common characteristics of the genre. Specifically, researchers who study these texts have sought to answer "why parties choose the positions they do (or change those positions from time to time), why they choose (or change) the relative emphases placed on different issues, and whether they fulfill their pledges once in office" (Harmel 2016, 9). Some, however, have analyzed platform commonalities with respect to specific countries (e.g., Britain—see Smith and Smith (2000); and Slovenia—see Kustec Lipicer and Kropivnik (2011)).

One possible reason for the lack of genre research on platforms is that they "vary considerably across parties, elections, countries, and years" (Werner, Lacewell and Volkens 2015, 3). Do party platforms share any common features with social movement manifestos? This section highlights that the two texts use similar persuasive devices, particularly when it comes to categorization, positioning and metaphors related to war and siege.

1.2.1 Features Related to Social Movement Manifestos

1.2.1.1 *Categorization*

During election campaigns, party platforms help delineate a party's stance and proposals on various issues. Smith and Smith (2000) argue that the "ideological statements of political parties can be read as rhetorical documents, as purposive texts intended to attract voters to each party's 'us'" (469). Like social movement manifestos, there is an intended audience for the platform, which is "presumably written primarily if not exclusively with the party's potential electorate in mind" (Harmel 2016, 2).

1.2.1.2 *Positioning*

As platforms are created to gain votes during specific elections, they are certainly related to a particular time and place. Political parties often criticize past actions by rival parties, while detailing their future plans. By doing this, they are "situat[ing] the electoral choice in a past-present-future context" (Smith and Smith 2000, 462).

1.2.1.3 *War and Siege Metaphors*

Social movement manifestos tend to exhibit an "irresistible display of violence and strength which makes [them] memorable and psychologically impressive" (Jencks 1997, 7). While party platforms may not rely on such violent undertones, elections

essentially deal with parties winning and losing. Terminology related to war and siege would likely surface in these texts.

For the other main persuasive devices found common among manifestos—prophetic and urgent language—literature on platforms has not specifically addressed whether these features are characteristic of the text genre.

1.2.2 Platforms and Translation

Research on the content of party platforms "tends to focus largely on the positions taken on—or relative emphasis placed upon—various policy issues (mostly positional) or ideologies" (Harmel 2016, 6). There is no shortage of research in this area, especially in the Canadian context: Collette, Couture, and Pétry (2008), for example, use a coding scheme developed by the Comparative Manifesto Project to determine the left–right positioning of Quebec's provincial parties during the 2007 elections. Adding another genre to their analysis, Crête and Diallo (2009) compare party platforms or the 'talk' of governing Quebec parties to their inaugural speeches or their 'walk' from 1960 to 2006. In a similar study, Birch and Crête (2014) compare the ideology in Quebec platforms to thrones speeches for elections from 1997 to 2014. They include the identity axis of federalism versus sovereignty, which is essential when examining any aspect of Quebec politics. Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps (2015) also discuss this dimension in their comparison of platforms over the past 20 years, finding that the "identity cleavage is shown not to have disappeared from the political debate, but to have evolved in several ways" (55).

Recognizing the lack of investigation into bilingual comparisons, Collette and Pétry (2014) conduct a content analysis of French and English platforms of Canadian federal parties over a 25-year period using expert surveys and word-based corpus

tools. Taking the stylistic differences between the two languages into account, they find that "[in] both English and French the positions of the [platforms] shift in the same direction from one election to the other" (Collette and Pétry 2014, 41–42). Judging *Wordscores*—the analytical tool used to uncover this finding—to be the most reliable, they conclude that differences between left–right ideologies are minimal between the French and English versions of the platforms.

Given this brief overview of the research on Canadian party platforms, what appears to be missing is a more in-depth descriptive comparison of language versions in terms of rhetorical features.

1.3 **Differences between Manifestos and Platforms**

While most of this chapter has focused on the similarities between both political texts, some noteworthy differences also separate them. This relates to their status, how they are produced and the context surrounding them.

First, the texts could be said to have different levels of prestige. Manifestos are often produced by fringe groups that are unknown to the general public. Party platforms, on the other hand, are published on party websites—and sometimes even government websites—meaning these texts have "an institutionalized legitimacy and authority" (Hodge and Kress 1988, 9). In this way, audiences may consider information in a platform more reliable than what is presented in a manifesto.

Produced in crises and representing the "impassioned voice of its participants" (Lyon 1999, 9), manifestos can often be considered "poetry written by someone on the run" (Jencks 1997, 11). The same could not be said of a party platform, which may be discussed and approved by the party's leaders, staff or members before its release to

the general public. Overall, more time and deliberation may go into the production of a party platform, which thereby gains in legitimacy.

Another difference relates to how the texts are situated in their context. A social movement manifesto is often complete on its own and "does not need to lean on anything else, demands no other text than itself" (Caws 2001, xxv). A party platform, by contrast, is only one element of an election campaign and "[does] not reflect the entire nature of a given political party and its members, not even at election time" (Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps 2015, 54). Speeches, interviews, leaders' debates and opinion polls are also important elements during election periods. In fact, there is little evidence that suggests the voting public read platforms (Crête and Diallo 2009, 214; Harmel 2016, 1) and, even when they do, it is unknown whether they "use its contents to form opinions or make vote choices in prospective or retrospective ways" (Fine 2003, 199). When it comes to accountability, however, platforms become important to the party's members, the opposition and the mass media (Fine 2003, 199).

Despite the differences between social movement manifestos and party platforms, the common aim of these texts is to persuade their audience. What this chapter has outlined is the importance of examining the characteristics of these texts, i.e., those rhetorical features designed to convince the reader. Before discussing theory and method, the next chapter will provide a selective historical overview of Quebec, the context in which the manifestos and platforms in this study are situated.

Background Information

From the time of settlement to recent debates about religious accommodation, the French in Quebec have acted to distinguish themselves from the English majority in the rest of Canada. This ideological division has mainly been positioned around language, sovereignty and interculturalism issues.

2.1 Brief History of Quebec

To trace the development of the 'two solitudes' and understand how this idea has progressed, it is important to look at the history of the French in Canada. Initial encounters with the continent were by explorers such as Jacques Cartier who, in 1534, sailed across the Atlantic to learn about the land's geography, natural resources and Native American cultures. As the first Europeans to settle permanently in what we now call Canada, the French arrived by the thousands between 1627 and 1663—soon after the colony was founded by Samuel de Champlain in 1608. These settlers of '*la Nouvelle France'* [New France] began to focus on farming and this worked to establish a French majority in the rural areas of what would become the province of Quebec (Bouchard 2002, 72).

During the Seven Years' War between 1756 and 1763, Quebec City was taken by the British army on September 13, 1759. The official end of this war was marked by the Treaty of Paris, whereby the French ceded the territory to Great Britain. Canada, thus, became one of the state's colonies in 1763 and "New France became a British possession cut off from the mother country" (Oakes and Warren 2007, 109). The consequences of these events would radically transform the social, political, economic and linguistic conditions of the French in Quebec.

In the second half of the 18th century, the arrival of the British made for a precarious situation for the French. With the English beginning to occupy important positions in administration and commerce, tensions between the two groups heightened and stereotypes began to solidify. Arnopoulos and Clift (1984, 4) explain that:

> While recognizing that the French population was exceptionally industrious, the English commented upon its inclination for routine, lack of initiative, ineptness in business, absence of discipline, and general misunderstanding of the nature of progress. The English could not fathom the French attachment to archaic customs and institutions which no longer ensured well-being and which stood in the way of the country's prosperity. The French, on the other hand, looked down upon the English as materialistic, puritan, greedy, intrusive, and unsubtle. The English, they thought, were prone to impose their views and ways of doing things as standards towards which all others should strive.

As the English focused on 'progress,' religion and language became politically important for the French. Because of growing concern that people of Quebec would support the Americans in a revolution, Britain passed the Quebec Act of 1774 whereby the language and Roman Catholic religion of the population would be respected. Thereafter the survival of the French depended on its Catholic Church—which contested the Protestantism of the British—and the demographic strength of the Francophone population (Fraser 2006, 15).

2.1.1 Becoming a Nation

While language became an important element of French survival in Canada, eventually the idea of nation also became tied to the idea of territory. By the second half of the 20th century, "French speakers living outside Quebec were, for the most part, not included in the nationalist movement" (Vessey 2016, 30). Even though French populations existed throughout the country—in the provinces of New Brunswick,

Ontario and Manitoba—the ideological divide in Canada became one between the inhabitants of Quebec and those of the 'rest of Canada' (Taylor 1993, 102).

This shift to a territory based national identity "began in the wake of the Quiet Revolution, when Quebec society underwent a major transformation as a result of modernisation and secularisation" (Oakes and Warren 2007, 23). With the advancement of industrialization and urbanization in the 1920s, agriculture became less valued. This period, therefore, marked a movement away from the pastoral idylls that defined Quebec as a place where citizens bore many children and lived peacefully and devoutly in a rural setting. Because English Canadians still owned and operated the majority of the businesses in the province (Fraser 2006, 21), opportunities for French speakers were limited and such inequities became harder to accept. Furthermore, the French Canadians' disapproval of conscription during the Second World War (Bouchard 2002, 181–182)—a war they hardly supported—set the conditions for anger and dissent within the Canadian Confederation. During the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, religious and traditional values became more secular and liberal. From this period on, the Quebec government began to implement social welfare and economic policies aimed at the province's development (Behiels and Hayday 2012, 43). While this type of shift was not unique to the province, it was notably intense—for it spanned a relatively short period—and it led to a new ideology: Quebec sovereignty.

2.1.2 Sovereignty

During this identity shift from 'French Canadian' to 'Quebecois,' an important political development occurred in the province—the rise of a nationalist movement, promoted principally by the *Parti Québécois* (PQ). The movement sought to gain independence for Quebec by separating from the rest of the country, and thus contested the Canadian

ideology of federalism. Lluch (2010) notes that "[b]efore the 1960s most of the political parties in Quebec were autonomist, or autonomist–federalist, in their political and constitutional orientation" (8). Even though many wanted more freedoms in terms of provincial governance, parties in Quebec were not actively pursuing a separation from Canada. This changed when, thanks to political parties like the PQ, the "quest for autonomy was substituted by the quest for sovereignty or independence" (Lluch 2010, 8).

The PQ has won several elections over the past few decades, most recently in 2012. During this period, the party has held two referendums on sovereignty: in 1980, when 60% of Quebec voters rejected the idea of establishing a "sovereignty association" agreement between the province and Canada; and in 1995, when a second referendum with a relatively vague question about Quebec independence was also unsuccessful, though closer with a little more than half of voters opposed.

While the PQ is the main promoter of the sovereignty movement, the other important political party in the province—the *Parti libéral du Québec* (PLQ)—supports federalism, albeit not completely. On occasion, the PLQ has been at odds with the federal government, even as recently as June 2017, when the party, led by Philippe Couillard, asked Prime Minister Trudeau to reopen negotiations regarding the constitution.

2.1.3 Constitutional Issues

In 1867, a proclamation issued by Queen Victoria declared Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario to be the founding provinces of the country. Under the British North American Act, as of July 1, 1867, the four provinces became united into one dominion under the name of Canada. In 1949, Newfoundland was the last of

the ten provinces to join the Canadian Federation, which today also includes three territories—Yukon, Northwest and Nunavut. Under the Constitution Act of 1982, Canada received formal independence from Great Britain. Amendments to this act were implemented even though Quebec did not formally approve of it, with the Supreme Court ruling that the province's endorsement was not necessary (Leslie 1999, 147).

In 1987, after Quebec refused to ratify the constitution, the federal and provincial governments signed the Meech Lake Accord, a set of amendments "designed to create the political conditions necessary for the French-speaking province of Québec to join the Canadian constitution" (Conway 2008, 35). Among the proposed amendments, all provinces were then able to contribute to Supreme Court nominations. Further, they could receive compensation if they decided not to participate in federal programs and gained more control over immigration. What was most important for Quebec was that it would be recognized as a '*société distincte*', a 'distinct society' (Hogg 1988, 12).

By the time the deadline for signing the Accord was reached, Elijah Harper, a Cree resident and Member of Parliament in Manitoba, rejected the proposal. He argued that First Nations groups were not a part of the negotiation process and their interests were not represented (Conway 2008, 36). The federal government decided to extend the deadline, but this led to frustration in Newfoundland, where the provincial parliament decided not to vote on the amendments. The Meech Lake Accord had failed. One repercussion was the birth of the *Bloc Québécois*, another sovereigntist political party in Quebec, this time acting at the federal level. A proposal similar to the Meech Lake Accord—the Charlottetown Accord—was put to a national referendum in 1992, but was also rejected.

2.1.4 Language Policies

Increasing unrest in Quebec from the 1960s on led to a number of responses by the Canadian government. Most of these concerned language. With the Official Languages Act of 1969, English and French gained equal status in the Canadian Federation. Additional measures through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 aimed to protect the French language and culture in Canada as part of the Constitution.

Not satisfied with these efforts by the federal government, Quebec began to develop its own language policies. Bill 63 was adopted in 1969—only two months after the Official Languages Act—to promote the French language in the province. Focusing on the education system, the measure gave parents the right to choose the language of instruction for their children (Bouchard 2002, 263). Because of backlash from both Anglophones and Francophones, this law was replaced in 1974 with what is commonly referred to as the Official Language Act or Bill 22. Though similar in name to the Canadian act, this law recognized French as the only official language of Quebec. In addition to the language of instruction, it also regulated language in the workplace as well as language quality. French was to become the language of public administration, commercial businesses and street signs. At the same time "dealing a major blow to the Anglophone vision of an officially bilingual Montreal, the measures proposed fell nonetheless well short of making French the common language of Quebec" (Oakes and Warren 2007, 86) and proved almost impractical.

With increasing concern for the survival of the French language, particularly in the area of business, Bill 101 or the *Charte de la langue française* [Charter of the French language] reintroduced the status of French as the only official language of Quebec. Adopted by the National Assembly in 1977, this act "list[s] a series of fundamental linguistic rights" (Oakes and Warren 2007, 86), including the right to communicate in

French with various public administration branches, the right to work in French, the right to receive services in French, and the right to be educated in French. Bill 101, which still remains the foundation of language policy in Quebec, highlights the state's role in maintaining the French identity. Specifically, its policies serve the French language by protecting it from English intrusion and promoting it as the language of integration for immigrants.

2.2 **Contemporary Quebec**

As outlined above, Quebec experienced a shift from religious to secular ideals and the "nationalist movement resulted in Canada becoming indexed by language and geography with new and ideological categories of belonging" (Vessey 2016, 30). In recent years, the situation in Quebec has changed yet again with the increase of immigration into the province. This social development—the transition from a society populated by a French Canadian majority and British minority to a society which is becoming increasingly multicultural due to migration from all over the world—has had effects on policies and proposals intended to protect the French 'way of life' in the province.

2.2.1 Reasonable Accommodation

Before discussing the specifics of contemporary Quebec politics, it is important to recognize the differing ideologies between the province and Canada regarding multiculturalism. Most notably, the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 gave Canadian citizens the right to practice their languages and cultures. For Quebec, researchers have argued that the province follows 'interculturalism,' a somewhat differing ideology when it comes to cultural diversity. Though both of these political philosophies strive to appreciate difference, interculturalism "places a greater emphasis on [integration]"

(Taylor 2012, 417) and is essentially "rooted in the notion of self-preservation" (Bakali 2015, 418). This can be seen in the linguistic policies implemented by the provincial government. Another example is highlighted in the contemporary era with the debate around reasonable accommodation.

In 2006, the reasonable accommodation of religious minorities became a major issue for Quebec and saturated the public sphere. While research has found that this provincial crisis stemmed from the exaggeration, and even fabrication, of accommodation requests by the media (Bakali 2015; Wong 2011), the debate surrounding minorities nonetheless had an impact on proposals put forward by the government. From October 2006 to June 2008, the PLQ authorized the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences—more commonly known as the Bouchard-Taylor Commission. In their final report, the Commission (Bouchard and Taylor, 2008) concluded that:

> the foundations of collective life in Québec are not in a critical situation. If we can speak of an "accommodation crisis," it is essentially from the standpoint of perceptions. Indeed, our deliberations did not reveal to us a striking or sudden increase in the adjustments or accommodation that public institutions allow, nor did we observe that the normal operation of our institutions would have been disrupted by such requests.

Even though the controversy was linked public perception, the report was seen to be "in favor of interculturalism and not an analysis of existing media practices" (Davier 2015, 539).

The completion of the Commission did not signal the end of the debate, however. As recently as 2013, the PQ put forward a proposal that sought to ban public employees from wearing conspicuous religious symbols. Since one of the manifestos examined in this study is a reaction to this *Charte de valeurs* [Charter of Values], additional context will be provided when it becomes more relevant (see Chapter Four).

Though the Charter did not become government policy, it reflects how some Quebec residents view the integration of minorities.

2.2.2 Sovereignty and Multi-Party System

Even though the PQ still supports Quebec sovereignty, its objectives have become more complex. In their analysis of party platforms for elections between 1994 and 2014, Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps (2015) find "confirmation of the shift from the identity cleavage to the socioeconomic cleavage" in Quebec (55). The federalism–sovereignty issue is still alive, yet the debate between the welfare state as opposed to the free market has gained in salience, with the PQ said to support the former and the PLQ the latter (Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps 2015, 53).

While fringe parties have emerged and subsided in Quebec politics, competition between the federalist leaning PLQ and the sovereigntist PQ has been the norm in the province. Over the past decade, however, this two-party system has evolved to include a third centrist leaning party. This shift became evident in 2007 when the *Action démocratique du Québec* (ADQ) became the official opposition and the province elected a minority government for the first time in 129 years. The ADQ was said to occupy a different ideological space, giving more choice to voters who shared their stance on specific issues (Bélanger and Nadeau 2008, 20). In terms of Quebec nationalism, the party was located somewhere between the ideologies of Canadian federalism and Quebec sovereignty (Allan and Vengroff 2009, 127). The ADQ later merged with another party, the *Coalition Avenir Québec* (CAQ) in 2012. Even though the third party has not gained opposition status since, in the latest election of 2014, the CAQ gained 23% of the vote, almost matching the PQ's election result of 25%. With the inclusion of

more political choice and the national question slowly losing momentum, contemporary Quebec politics is still evolving.

While attitudes toward religion and territory have changed over time, the French language as a component of Quebec identity has remained constant. Arguably, the sovereignty movement has not been as influential as it was during the 1995 referendum. Yet discussions about Quebec independence and autonomy, or the 'Quebec question,' remain as "part and parcel of the on-going Canadian fabric" (Edwards 2009, 184). Debates around the province's ideology of interculturalism further contribute the differences that mark the country's 'two solitudes.'

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The theoretical framework on which this research is based is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA deals with the role of language in reproducing or negating power relations between groups. Accordingly, it offers an appropriate lens through which to observe the relations between Quebec and Canada.

Viewing language as a form of social practice, CDA is a combination of linguistics and social theory. While the development of this critical perspective can arguably be traced as far back as Enlightenment philosophers or even Aristotle (van Dijk 1993, 251), CDA emerged mainly as a "reaction against the dominant formal (often "asocial" or "uncritical") paradigms of the 1960s and 1970s" (van Dijk 2015, 467). As an approach to the study of texts, its main assumption is that discourse occurs primarily between dominant and non-dominant groups. These groups are said to have unequal access to not only social but also linguistic resources. In an effort to see through conventional discourse, CDA researchers examine the underlying *ideology* of a *text* to uncover how power imbalances are reproduced in *discourse*.

3.1.1 Ideology

Commonly understood as a system of social beliefs, ideology is a rather abstract concept. For the purposes of this research, I will use one of the more comprehensive definitions put forward by van Dijk (2009, 193, emphasis in original):

> Ideologies are not just any kind of social beliefs, but the fundamental, featuring fundamental *norms* and *values* (such as those of freedom, justice, equality, etc.) which may be used or abused by each social group to impose, defend or struggle for its own *interests* (e.g., freedom of the press, freedom of the market, freedom from discrimination, etc.).

While these beliefs, norms, values and interests are often inherent and implicit, they are also changeable. As outlined in Chapter Two, for example, a part of French Canadian ideology evolved from solidarity around language and religion to include identification with territory. One way to examine ideology, whether explicit or implicit, is at the level of text.

3.1.2 Text

This study takes the traditional view of text as the printed word, however, the term 'text' does extend to include other media such as film, painting and photography. Texts can be classified under different types or genres, and while these two terms tend to be used interchangeably, text genres are "typical forms of text which link kinds of producer, consumer, topic, medium, manner and occasion" (Hodge and Kress 1988, 7). Research into the definition of text type suggests that there are three main categories: argumentative, expository, instructive or multifunctional (Izquierdo 2000). This means that different text genres can contain one or more text types. For this thesis, social movement manifestos and party platforms can be considered different genres of texts—or text forms—that fall under the larger genre of political texts.

3.1.3 Discourse

Texts comprise the units of discourse, that is, "the social process in which texts are embedded" (Hodge and Kress 1988, 6). Like ideologies, discourses are subject to change over time. Texts, in contrast, are illustrative of the discourse in which they form a part, meaning they are static and tied to a specific time and place. As texts are the tangible products reflective of a discourse, both concepts need to be considered together.

Studying discourses can reveal their underlying ideologies and their role in the "(re)production and challenge of dominance" (van Dijk 1993, 249). For Quebec and Canada, it can be said that "language, identity, nationhood, and the state become interconnected in the social imaginary and represented in discourse" (Vessey 2016, 2). Since this thesis project is centred on representations of the non-dominant group in newspaper articles, it is essential to examine the common characteristics of media discourse.

3.1.3.1 *Media discourse*

The primary goal of a newspaper is to sell as many copies to their target audience as possible—to maximize profit (Conboy 2007, 122). To do this, various strategies are used to appeal to readers and make the paper marketable. Journalists tend to cover topics that are considered newsworthy, while identifying with the dominant, or in-group.

How journalists decide what is newsworthy—i.e., which events they should report on—is based on their 'news values.' These values are centred on ideologies and they work to inform a journalist's decisions (Cotter 2010, 67). For newspapers, writers are constantly "measur[ing] and judg[ing] the perceived newsworthiness of events based on what they imagine their audiences find newsworthy and us[ing] this judgment to select (include/exclude), order and produce news stories" (Bednarek 2016, 27). By appealing to an intended audience, journalists could be seen as working to reinforce the ideologies of this group.

Similar to the research on social movement manifestos (see Chapter One), the idea of 'us' and 'them' is an important feature of discourse in the news. Journalists tend to belong to local communities (Vessey 2016, 11) and "often identify not only with a language but also with a nation state" (van Dijk 2009, 201). In the case of Quebec and

Canada, language is tied to belonging. This identification with a social group often frames the way in which stories are presented. In what van Dijk (2009) terms the 'ideological square,' newspapers place emphasis on representing Us (the in-group) positively and Them (the out-group) negatively, while "mitigating the negative representation of Us and the positive representation of Them" (194). Stories and ideas that run counter to, or threaten, mainstream ideologies would likely be represented negatively (van Dijk 2009, 202).[1]

News media play an essential role in the transmission of ideology. However, "[they] are not solely responsible for the ideologies they may contain; rather, they can be taken as an example of ideological discourse that is already in circulation in society" (Vessey 2016, 12). In this way, analyzing the discourse in mainstream newspapers can offer a representation of the dominant ideologies existing within a community.

3.2 **CDA and Translation Studies**

In recent years, many studies have explicitly employed CDA to analyze translations, particularly in political discourse. These have covered a range of genres including press conferences (Bhatia 2006), interviews (Bulut 2012), speeches (Calzada Pérez 2001; Gagnon and Kalantari 2017) and headlines (Khanjan et al. 2013). Contemporary Translation Studies and CDA are both interdisciplinary in nature in that they have an "interest in analyzing the influences of social, cultural, political, and ideological contexts on texts and discourse" (Schäffner 2010, 275). This section summarizes some

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[1] This realization raises an important question about journalist accountability. The 'Ethics Guidelines' (2011) published by the Canadian Association of Journalists, for example, states that journalists "do not allow [their] own biases to impede fair and accurate reporting." Given these expectations, it is nonetheless difficult to determine whether reporting decisions are intentional. In media discourse analysis, as in this study, "what socially counts is how discourses are understood ('heard') by participants, whatever the intentions of the speaker" (van Dijk 2006, 127). This ethical question is further compounded when journalists use outside sources (e.g., newswires) for information.

of this research, drawing particular attention to whether the ideology of the translator has an influence on the target text. A separate section will address the studies that examine the media as well as the Canadian context.

Rashidi and Karimi Fam's (2011) choice of source text—George Orwell's *1984*—was related to the challenges that translators face in rendering literary-political texts: ideological considerations as well as upholding the beauty in the original. Through the examination of euphemisms, hyperbole and norm expressions in the source text and two corresponding Persian translations, the authors conclude that deviations from the source text were ideologically motivated.

In the Canadian context, Gagnon (2006) explores the role that ideology plays in the production of a corpus of seven political speeches during "national crisis situations." The texts studied are considered to be French and English language versions of the same speech as opposed to separate source and target texts. The use of the word 'Canada' and its lemma—'Canadian' and 'Canadians'—were found to be more symbolic in the English versions whereas, in the French versions, the use of the pronoun '*nous*' was significant. The author claims that the strategies uncovered in both language versions are deliberate on the part of the Canadian government so as to uphold its institutional ideology. These included face-work processes, where the hearer's self-image is upheld, and socio-political repositioning. Both of these are unfixed strategies based on the text's surrounding context, place of publication, target audience as well as the current prime minister's 'nationality'—whether Quebecois or Canadian.

Using an integrated approach—text linguistics, sociocognitive theory and CDA—Bánhegyi (2008) examines two language versions of former Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's referendum speech in 1995. Like Gagnon (2006), since both the

source (French) and target (English) texts were produced at the same time by many political assistants, they are considered to be of equal status. Through the analysis of text structure nodes, opinions and the cultural characteristics of the texts, the author concludes that the French speech targeted the audience's emotions by using the pronoun '*vous*,' emphasizing national identity and stressing the consequences of separation. The English version's emphasis, in contrast, was on persuasion: using simpler sentence styles, words related to social inclusiveness and centred on the unification of Canada. These strategies indicate that "ideologically charged text production" occurs during the translation process (Bánhegyi 2008, 81).

3.2.1 Studies on Newspaper Translations

While its authority may arguably be in decline because of the internet, it is still true today that the mass media have a significant impact on how information is accessed by and disseminated across a society. When it comes to influence, the "articulation of ideology in the language of the news fulfils, cumulatively and through daily iteration, a background of reproducing the beliefs and paradigms of the community generally" (Fowler 1991, 124). Additionally, as some conglomerates own multiple news agencies, competition is reduced and sources of information can be limited (Pritchard, Brewer, and Sauvageau 2005, 293). This can work to present one opinion across various outlets, underlining the media's function as a powerful social institution. CDA studies on newspaper translations have uncovered the importance of examining ideology to explain translation shifts.

Ayyad's (2012) study analyzes how the divergent ideologies at play in the Palestinian–Israeli conflict have affected the translation of the *Roadmap Plan*, a peace initiative proposed by the Quartet on the Middle East, into Arabic and Hebrew. The

four Arabic and six Hebrew translations were produced by different institutions and news agencies within and outside the Middle East. The analysis focuses on the translation of proper names—protagonists and toponyms—and politically sensitive terms along with "instances of deliberately ambiguous or vague drafting" (259). The results suggest that a translator's ideology does indeed act upon the text during the translation process. This is evidenced in the way word order was sometimes reversed (e.g., 'Israel–Palestinian conflict' to 'Palestinian–Israeli conflict'), the use of terms (e.g., 'curfew' versus 'siege'), explicitation (e.g., 'areas' to 'the areas') as well as other strategies employed to appeal to each translation's readership.

Romagnuolo (2009) compares a corpus of 52 American presidential inaugural addresses—dating from George Washington's first inaugural in 1789 to George W. Bush's second inaugural in 2005—with 61 Italian translations. Forty-seven of these were renditions by two daily newspapers considered to be in the middle of the political spectrum, while the other 14 were found in books. From this diachronic perspective, recurring strategies and problems related to American rhetoric were established. After a discussion of how the Italian media have covered inaugural events in the past, the results demonstrated that the newspaper translations displayed a higher tendency to reorganize the source text by omitting, simplifying and recombining elements. The book translations, produced at various points in time, did not demonstrate consistency in strategies, however. The tendency to avoid repetition was said to be related to the formal register of such texts. Especially in the case of the newspapers, ideology manifested itself in the translations since the target texts were shown to appeal to the Italian public.

Based on an analysis of two Chinese translations of the same English news article about Taiwan's first lady Wu Shu-chen's visit to the United States, Kuo and Nakamura

(2005) contend that translation shifts occurred because of the underlying—and opposite—ideologies of the two target text producers: the *United Daily News* being pro-unification and *Liberty Times* being pro-independence. The authors first detail the history of reform in Taiwan and its impact on the newspaper industry, then analyze the source and target texts based on deletions, additions, syntactic structures, lexical changes and stylistic differences. How the story was presented in each newspaper reflected and reproduced the "ideological confrontation in Taiwan society, i.e. unification with the mainland versus Taiwan independence" (410).

In the Iranian context, Shojaei and Laheghi (2012) compare various articles from *The Wall Street Journal* dated May 18, 2010 with their Farsi translations published in the newspaper *Jaam-e Jam* on May 19, 2010. Examining the texts under the concept of patronage and using lexicalization, some word choices were found to alter the intended meaning in the source texts. Examples included 'nuclear bomb' rendered as 'nuclear program' and 'make irrelevant' as 'defeated.' The authors conclude that ideology and patronage in the target culture work as control factors in the production of translations.

In a case study of the *BBC News*, Al-Hejin (2012) analyzed stories about Saudi women in Arabic and their renditions into Standard Arabic and English. The author claims that meanings in the source texts were "largely lost in domestication and selective appropriation" translation processes (330). For example, omissions in the English translations, including religious references, were found to be a strategy to appeal to Western audiences.

Examining articles from *The Guardian, Reuters* and *The Independent,* Aslani and Salmani (2015) compare corresponding Persian translations in the paper *Keyhan.* In their analysis of lexicalization, modality, presupposition and intertextuality, they

found that ideology influenced the translation of political news and generalize that the "news media is considered to be widely biased" (86).

3.2.1.1 *Canadian Media Translation*

Even though Canada is officially bilingual, the only officially bilingual province is New Brunswick. French is the official language of Quebec and, English, the rest of the provinces. Given that the country is divided along these linguistic lines, the "identity of the nation as 'bilingual' does not necessarily map onto the national identity of individuals" (Vessey 2016, 267). With the exception of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), moreover, most of the media in Canada are "privately-owned and need not support federal Canada, even if they are required to operate within it" (Vessey 2016, 36). This means individual newspapers in Canada are usually catering to a specific linguistic audience, whether Anglophone or Francophone. The following CDA-oriented studies underline how the two differing ideologies reveal themselves through the analysis of Canadian newspapers.

Using a corpus of French and English newspapers, Vessey (2016) examines the relationship between language ideologies and national identities in Canada. The findings suggest that both the French and English media employ devices that reinforce the stereotype that Canada consists of 'two solitudes.' The author is careful to point out, however, that this dichotomy is not reflective of the country's diverse linguistic population. With studies lacking on First Nations and minority groups, "there is considerable room for future research on the relevance of languages and nationalism in Canada" (Vessey 2016, 271).

While this chapter is centred on CDA, some studies outside—or not explicitly employing—this approach are worth noting in the Canadian context. In a smaller study, Vessey (2014) looks at the concept of 'mock language' through the analysis of

loan words in Canadian newspapers. Such a strategy "has to do with exploiting difference and contrasting it with a presumed homogeneous norm" (178). When referring to Quebec's national holiday, for example, the use of the French words '*nationale*' and '*fête*' were often surrounded by negative evaluations in the English newspapers. Vessey's research underlines that for Anglophones and Francophones, "rather than truly engaging the other language, Canadians sometimes use borrowed words to index belonging in specific linguistic and national communities" (2014, 187). These loans words were often devices used to reinforce stereotypes about French and English groups in Canada.

Even though Conway's (2011) research focuses on broadcast news, his analysis of CBC and *Radio-Canada* coverage of news events exposes the 'failure' of translation production in Canada. Examining the news reports about the constitution proposals, the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord, the author finds that different meanings were attributed to key terms in the amendments. The most contentious was the term used to refer to Quebec as a *'société distincte'* or 'distinct society.' Such terms were used vaguely in the documents themselves, however, the definitions provided by journalists demonstrate that translations in Canadian public service broadcasting were not politically neutral, perspective-free or transparent.

In another study on political speeches, Gagnon (2013) examines translations in Canadian newspapers between 1942 and 1995. From articles in the French media (*La Presse* and *Le Devoir)* and English media (*Gazette* and *Globe and Mail*), she concludes that journalists are cognisant of the differences between French and English versions of the speeches published by the government. This was evidenced in the commentary by journalists who noted differences between the versions of the speeches. Even then,

however, journalists were not able to recognize that the readership of the other language version belonged to a different culture from their own.

3.2.1.2 *Terminology Issues*

In the past few years, a debate has surfaced on whether the term 'translation' should be used when discussing newspaper translations. Since information from a source text is normally condensed and rearranged when presented in newspapers, some argue that 'transformation' is a more appropriate designation for this process (Kuo and Nakamura 2005), while others contend that 'trans-editing'—originally coined by Stetting (1989)—is the best way to describe meaning shifts in newspapers. Conway (2012) offers yet another term, 'cultural translation,' defined as an "explanation of how members of another community interpret an object or event" (266). Like Schäffner (2010) and Davier (2015), however, I agree that the terms need not be separated or prefaced with an adjective. Instead, the definition of 'translation' should be extended to include the textual transformations commonly found in news translation. These include the "selection, correction, verification, completion, development or reduction" that occurs when texts are transformed to suit news reports (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 57). As outlined below, the method for this study will follow a CDA-based model for analyzing translations.

3.3 **Methodology: CDA of Multiple Versions**

> "CDA is at its strongest in the direct comparison of different media accounts of the same event, demonstrating how language is a vehicle of covert interpretation in supposedly neutral reporting."
> –Kuo and Nakamura (2005, 396)

In his article "Linking Critical Discourse Analysis with Translation Studies," Al-Hejin (2012) categorizes translation research employing a CDA framework into three

methodological models (317–321): (1) translation as rewriting, where translations are seen as originals (2) translation as an intertextual chain, where translations pass through multiple stages and (3) translation as multiple versions, where the same source text is translated more than once into the same target language. Building on this classification, I will apply a CDA lens to the analysis of the social movement manifestos and party platforms under Model 3, which focuses on "***translation as multiple versions*** by conducting a comparative CDA of two or more translations of one text" (Al-Hejin 2012, 319, emphasis in original).

3.3.1 Data Selection

For the social movement manifestos, the choice of cases evolved from a preliminary data search. Focusing on the contemporary period, I used search engines Google and the WayBack Machine—an internet archive of websites—to find Quebec manifestos and their translations. Search terms included a combination of the English terms "manifesto," "Quebec" and "translation," and the French terms "*manifeste*," "*Québec*" and "*traduction anglaise.*" As a result of these queries, 42 online texts were found: 23 social movement manifestos and 16 full-text English translations (see Appendix A). Since there was a significant time gap between the publication of *Pour un Québec lucide*'s 2005 manifesto and a text published in 1981 (*Manifeste du Mouvement pour un Québec socialiste* [Manifesto of the movement for a socialist Quebec]), only manifestos released between 2005 and 2015—when this research project began—were included in the analysis.

To determine which of these contemporary manifestos were the most discussed—i.e., the most newsworthy—in the English media, the movement's name and manifesto title were entered into Canadian Major Dailies, a database of the local and national

newspapers across Canada. Using both French and English versions (if available), these names and titles were also cross-referenced in three other newspaper databases: CBCA Reference & Current Events, Eureka and Factiva. All of these archives are listed under York University Libraries' index of Canadian newspapers. Only articles that contained direct quotations or paraphrases from the manifestos were counted in the analysis.[1] An example of a paraphrase from the 2014 *Manifeste pour une évolution du statut juridique des animaux dans le Code civil du Québec* or *Manifesto for the Evolution of Animals' Legal Status in the Civil Code of Quebec* is presented in the following newspaper excerpt.

> [The manifesto] also states that likening animals to objects also means ignoring the current scientific knowledge.
>
> (Lia Levesque, *Western Star* (Corner Brook), April 30, 2014)

After totalling the numbers of articles for each text, the three most referenced manifestos in the English language publications were selected for analysis (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1
Manifestos Included in Analysis

Social Movement	Number of Articles and Newspapers	Number of Excerpts Referenced
Pour un Québec lucide	175 articles in 35 newspapers	51
Nouveau Mouvement pour le Québec	51 articles in 39 newspapers	21
Pour un Québec inclusif	33 articles in 9 newspapers	21

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[1] Paraphrased content was chosen through the use of words including 'says,' 'states' and 'reads.' Later analysis was conducted to determine whether quotes and paraphrases were translations of the French texts or taken from any existing English translations.

It was not necessary to differentiate between reports, opinions or editorial pieces because such categories "serve as part of the newspaper content to enhance, clarify and add to the news story" (Vessey 2016, 99).

For the party platforms, there were four provincial elections in Quebec during the period under examination: March 26, 2007, December 8, 2008, September 4, 2012 and April 7, 2014. To determine which platforms were the most discussed in the English media between 2005 and 2015, the following terms were searched in Canadian Major Dailies: "platform" AND ("Quebec election" OR "election in Quebec"). Qualifying the term "election" with "Quebec" was an attempt to eliminate articles that discussed federal elections during the same time period. As Figure 3.1 shows, the most results occurred in 2007, which makes sense given the events leading up to the province electing its first minority government since 1878. Thus, the election platforms created by the three major parties for the 2007 election were selected for analysis (see Table 3.2).

Figure 3.1
Canadian Major Dailies Results of Newspapers by Year for
"platform" AND ("Quebec election" OR "election in Quebec")
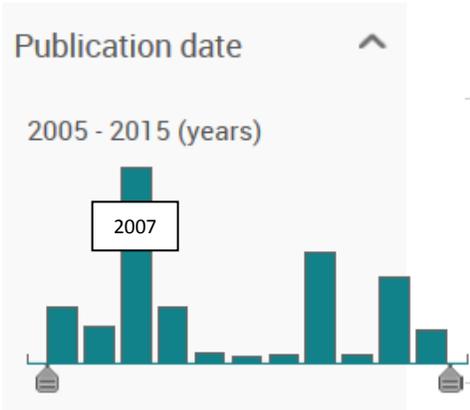
Table 3.2
Platforms Included in Analysis

Political Party	Number of Articles and Newspapers	Number of Excerpts Referenced
Action démocratique du Québec	75 articles in 22 newspapers	48
Parti libéral du Québec	20 articles in 9 newspapers	26
Parti Québécois	115 articles in 35 newspapers	36

While platforms from the other elections may have been more discussed than the PLQ's 2007 platform, for consistency, I focused on the platforms from the most debated election. Full-text versions of the platforms and any existing English translations were collected by accessing the archives on *La Société du patrimoine politique du Québec*'s website, the Poltext Project website and the WayBack Machine. Like the manifestos, only newspaper articles that referenced the content of the platforms were included in the analysis and these were found by accessing the same four databases: Canadian Major Dailies, CBCA Reference & Current Events, Eureka and Factiva.

Some of these manifestos and platforms were discussed on different media outlets (e.g., blogs, Twitter, etc.) and including such sources may shed further light on whether[1] and how ideology affects translation. That being said, ideologies behind news article production are easier to determine as they have been researched, particular related to the linguistic divide in Canada (see Freake 2011; Gagnon 2003; Gagnon 2013; Vessey 2014; Vessey 2016). Determining the underlying ideology of the producer

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[1] According to the majority of research, a translator's ideology inevitably affects the political texts they translate. In the cases where conclusions were inconclusive—see Mahdiyan, Rahbar and Hosseini-Maasoum (2013) and Puurtinen (2003)—the translators were not familiar enough with the source text and its surrounding context or were said to have inadequate translation and/or language skills.

of a webpage or Twitter account is a more difficult endeavour, especially as some posts remain anonymous. Additionally, during the time period under review, newspapers were seen as trusted and reliable sources of information. While readers expect reporting to be accurate, some of the shifts found in the excerpts demonstrate that the ideology of the news media plays a role when it comes to how information is presented. Searchable databases also provided a systematic way to retrieve the news articles.

3.3.2 Analysis of Features

As outlined in Chapter One, social movement manifestos and party platforms share common features. The goal of the methodological design in this study is twofold:

(a) test a method for comparing these two political texts (manifestos and platforms) and determine which features are prominent in each genre; and

(b) test a method for capturing shifts in persuasive features that may occur in the translation process.

After matching the quotes and paraphrases found in the newspapers with their corresponding excerpts in the full-text manifesto or platform, each excerpt was examined according to the distinctive features of manifestos discussed in Chapter One. Specifically, which of the following persuasive devices were present in the excerpts?

- categorization
- positioning (divided into three subcategories: time, location, issue)
- prophecy
- urgency
- war and siege metaphors

For categorization, all references to in-groups and out-groups were noted. Not all distinctions made between 'us' and 'them' are oppositional, as implied with the idea of againstness (Caws 2001, xxiii). As some of the examples demonstrate, relations between these groups can be considered neutral, or even, positive.

Corresponding excerpts from any full-text English versions or translations were also examined using these features. Did the translator add to, omit or alter any of these features found in the original, or source text, excerpts? In Translation Studies, explicitation occurs when "the target text explicates some features that are implicit in the source" (Munday 2008, 116), whereas implicitation is the opposite strategy. If a shift occurred, it was noted whether an addition, omission, explicitation, implicitation or a complete change had occurred through the translation process. While some translation choices may be ideologically motivated, the stylistic differences between languages must be taken into account when any comparison concerning language is performed. Translation shifts in the excerpts were assessed keeping the linguistic differences between French and English in mind.

The other features discussed in Chapter One—titles, 'high manifesto' and form— were also considered during the analysis. Additionally, I assessed two features outside the literature that may be appropriate to the study of manifestos and platforms: evaluations and figurative language.

By evaluations, I mean any language that expresses an opinion and points to bias in the text. Specifically, I assessed any "adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs that indicate positivity or negativity, possibility or impossibility, or veracity or falsehood of a statement" (Vessey 2016, 77). Examining such vocabulary would help identify the group or party's ideological stance on various issues. Party platforms, in particular,

"often contain evaluations of past behavior, whether of this party (normally positive) or its opponents (normally negative)" (Harmel 2016, 7).

Figurative language refers to terms and passages that are written using symbolic and metaphoric language. Recent attention has been paid to the persuasive effect of such language in political communication (Charteris-Black 2009) and this feature would likely be present among manifestos and platforms. The following excerpt from *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto presents an example of how metaphors can be used to persuade.

French version:	Au plan financier, le gouvernement du Québec fait figure d'un lourd albatros qui ne parvient pas à prendre son envol, notre dette publique par habitant étant la plus élevée du continent. (page 2)
English version:	In financial terms, the Québec government is like a bulky albatross that is unable to take flight, and our per capita public debt is the highest on the continent. (page 2)

By using non-literal expressions like 'bulky albatross,' the text may work to "arouse the emotions, the curiosities and the interests of the audience" (Al-Harahsheh 2013, 105–106). For the party platforms, figurative language could be of particular relevance, especially as Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps (2015, 66) found that "conceptual metaphors are present in all the Quebec [platforms]" they examined in the 1994–2014 period.

For the discussion chapters, therefore, the above features are grouped under three analytical themes:

(1) **Identity**: categorization, positioning (time, location, issue) and evaluations

(2) **Emotion**: prophecy, urgency, war and siege metaphors and figurative language

(3) **Physical**: title, 'high manifesto' and form

Identity refers to similarity within a community and difference from others. Emotion can be positive, neutral, or negative. Physical features set off some elements of the text as more or less important to the audience.

By examining additions and omissions related to the text's overall content, I also indicate whether journalists erroneously reported on issues. Since all the texts were available online, counts of links to the manifestos and platforms are included in the analysis to measure how transparent the articles were being about the documents. While some of these choices may be related to editorial policies and the use of newswires, they nonetheless contribute the readers' reception of the texts.

Charles Jencks (1997) explains that "[w]hen Karl Marx wrote *The Communist Manifesto* he was not trying to produce a piece of literature—nor interpret the world, as he said, but change it" (6). The focus of the analysis is not to judge whether one translation is of better quality than the others, but to "trace textual transformations in the translation process in order to investigate the extent to which these may be ideologically motivated" (Al-Hejin 2012, 317).

3.3.3 Context

Given that "texts exist in their social context" (Bánhegyi 2014, 140), it is important to investigate the circumstances around each text's production. In newspapers, full texts are normally summarized and "often accompanied by evaluative commentaries or editorials" (Schäffner 2010, 255). Examining these surrounding assessments can help uncover the ideology of the text producer. After establishing the background for each manifesto and platform, newspaper articles were assessed based on whether they held principally negative, positive or neutral views of the movements or parties. Following is an excerpt from a positively framed article about *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto.

> The authors of this brave report are to be congratulated for weighing into
> sensitive areas that most Quebecois would prefer be left untouched.
> (Ken Coates and Bill Morrison, *National Post*, October 20, 2005)

Conversely, in a negatively framed article, another author condemns the text.

> If there is ever an example of the utter intellectual bankruptcy of the
> Quebec elite, it is this latest manifesto on our future.
> (Iain B. Findleton, *Gazette*, October 22, 2005)

These two examples underline how the agenda of the text producer reveals itself through the context surrounding the translations. One criticism of CDA is that "[a]nalysts project their own political biases and prejudices onto their data and analyze them accordingly" (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000, 455–6). Taking this into account, I evaluated articles by focusing on connotations of words and terms that were outwardly positive or negative. In the example above, I counted 'brave' and 'congratulated' as positive words, while I considered the term 'intellectual bankruptcy' as negative. Articles were counted as neutral if the journalist(s) appears to be merely presenting the information to readers or included positive and negative statements about the text in equal measure.

In addition to this framing technique, articles were grouped by location, paper ownership and whether they were distributed locally or nationally. Using the Comparative Manifesto Project coding scheme as adapted by Birch and Crête (2014, 9—see Appendix B), each excerpt was also categorized by the issue(s) discussed. Overall, any connections by stance, location and issue were noted.

Findings from the text analysis were then consolidated with these contextual elements in an attempt to determine whether translation choices were ideologically motivated. Chapters Four and Five present the results from the analysis, and a final comparison of all texts is the subject of Chapter Six.

Analysis of Social Movement Manifestos

Now that the methodology for this study has been outlined, this chapter deals with the first type of political text—social movement manifestos. Given its ideologically explicit nature, this genre is "an exhortation to a whole way of thinking and being rather than a simple command or a definition" (Caws 2001, xxvii). As outlined in Chapter Three, from 2005 to 2015, the manifestos most discussed in the newspapers were the texts by:

- *Pour un Québec lucide* (2005)

- *Nouveau Mouvement pour le Québec* (2011)

- *Pour un Québec inclusif* (2013)

Coincidentally, the attention on the texts also occurs in chronological order, with *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto being the most newsworthy, followed by the manifesto of the *Nouveau Mouvement pour le Québec*, then *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s text.

4.1 *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto

4.1.1 Background Information

On October 19, 2005, eleven residents of Quebec and their figurehead, Lucien Bouchard—the first leader of the *Bloc Québécois* and a former leader of the *Parti Québécois*—published a manifesto entitled *Pour un Québec lucide* or *Clear-eyed vision of Quebec*. The manifesto was the most cited in the newspapers examined, likely because Bouchard was, and still remains, a recognizable Quebec personality. The document also benefitted from good timing; it was released around the 10th anniversary of the last referendum on sovereignty, for which Bouchard had been a prominent supporter of the 'Yes' side.

Considered a right leaning document in the political spectrum (Collette, Couture and Pétry 2008, 35; Vézina 2009, 47), *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto covers a range of issues—from education to hydroelectric power—but mostly avoids solutions. The authors seem more concerned with the current state of Quebec society and refer multiple times to the 'demographic decline' that threatens the province. The text remains influential even today: it touches on the common theme of Quebec's "survival as a distinct society, but ha[s] long elevated the debate well beyond the simple linguistic or ethnic dimension" (Bélanger and Doran 2013, 166).

The manifesto was surrounded by controversy as it ran counter to some Quebec norms. This is seen in excerpts like the following, where the authors are criticizing 'Quebeckers' for not being like the rest of the country and the continent.

Example 4.1

French version:	La population québécoise s'accommode de cette situation de blocage parce qu'elle y trouve son aise. Les Québécois travaillent moins que les autres Nord-Américains; ils prennent leur retraite plus tôt; ils se paient des programmes sociaux plus généreux; dans leur vie privée comme collective, ils s'endettent jusqu'à la limite de leur carte de crédit. (page 6)
English version:	Quebeckers put up with this situation of thwarting change because they find it comfortable. They work less than other North Americans; they retire earlier, they benefit from more generous social programs; both individually and collectively, their credit cards are maxed out. (page 6)

Many also speculated that the publication of this manifesto was a signal that Bouchard wanted to create a new political party, though, more than 10 years later, he has not done so.

4.1.2 Analysis of Features

Since the French and English manifestos were released on the same day, they can be considered two language versions, or parallel texts, which are "original documents written in different languages, not translations" (Collette and Pétry 2014, 29). Without consulting the texts' producers, it would be difficult to determine if one version was written before the other or if they were produced in tandem. Following is a discussion of the differences between the two language versions, referencing the 51 excerpts cited in the newspapers (see Appendix C).

4.1.2.1 *Identity*

In terms of categorization, the 'us' in this case represents Quebec society seeking change and the 'them' are members of Quebec society content with the present situation, including the current government. While never explicitly stated in the document, it is implied the PLQ—the party in power at the time—is the group's main opponent. This can be discerned from statements in the manifesto criticizing the government, as seen in Example 4.11 below.

Of the 51 excerpts examined in the text, 44 contained examples of categorization. Between the language versions, 13 excerpts demonstrated additions to this feature in the English manifesto.

<div align="center">

Example 4.2

</div>

French version:	Nous avons raison d'être fiers de ce progrès, réalisé grâce à un modèle de société qui, somme toute, a bien fonctionné. (page 2)
English version:	We have every reason to be proud of our progress, achieved with a societal model that has served us well, all things considered. (page 2)

In the example above, there are two additions of categorization in the English version related to the in-group: '*ce progrès*' [this progress] becomes 'our progress' and '*a bien fonctionné*' [has worked well] becomes 'served us well.'

For positioning, while 37 references to specific time were found in the excerpts, only three shifts were noted between the language versions. In the 42 references to location, four were made more explicit in the English version.

Example 4.3

French version:	Le poids du français en Amérique , déjà minuscule, diminuera encore. (page 5)
English version:	The French fact in North America —already minuscule— will continue to dwindle away. (page 5)

'*Amérique*' [America] is made more specific as 'North America' in the English text. This same shift also occurs in the three other instances where location was made more explicit.

In every excerpt an issue or topic is discussed and, accordingly, this feature was found in all 51 excerpts. There were 10 instances where the issue was made more explicit in the English version.

Example 4.4

French version:	Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, on ne peut plus accepter que la majorité des jeunes Québécois sortant de nos maisons d'enseignement soient incapables de parler et d'écrire correctement l'anglais. (page 8)
English version:	In today's world, it is no longer acceptable that most young French-speaking Quebeckers graduating from our educational institutions cannot speak or write correct English. (page 8)

The addition of 'French-speaking' to 'Quebeckers' narrows the group the manifesto writers are referring to here, thereby making the issue more explicit in the English

version. By challenging the Quebec standard of endorsing the French language solely, this statement also illustrates why the manifesto was considered controversial.

Among the excerpts, 14 instances of alterations were also noted when it came to the issue discussed. In another excerpt related to education, a translation shift was noted between the two language versions.

Example 4.5

French version:	Une fois sur le marché du travail, les jeunes ne seraient tenus de rembourser leurs dettes d'études qu'en fonction de leurs ressources financières. (page 8)
English version:	Once they enter the workforce, graduates would be required to repay their student loans only as their financial resources allow. (page 8)

Arguably, such changes would not have a significant impact on the meaning, however, '*jeunes*' [youth] are not the same as 'graduates.' More precisely, not all youth are graduates, and not all graduates are youth. Since this change to 'graduates' may have been a correction, shifts like these suggest that the English version of the manifesto was produced after the French version.

For this manifesto, 36 excerpts presented evaluations; in two cases, this feature was added in or made more explicit in the English version, while in five others, the evaluation was removed or made more implicit.

Example 4.6

French version:	Nous ne doutons pas que le Québec ait les ressources pour combler son retard économique sur le reste du continent, assainir ses finances publiques, gérer convenablement son ralentissement démographique [...] (page 2)
English version:	We have no doubt that Québec has the resources to catch up economically with the rest of the continent, put its financial house in order, manage its demographic decline

[...] (page 3)

The '*convenablement*' [properly] that qualifies '*gérer*' or 'manage' is removed in the English version of this excerpt.

4.1.2.2 *Emotion*

While 29 references to making prophecies were noted in the excerpts, none of these instances were altered between language versions. Of the 35 instances of urgency among the excerpts, in three cases the English version was made to sound more urgent. However, there were also two cases where the English text was made less urgent.

In eight out of 22 cases where terms related to war and siege were present, the references were made more explicit in the English version.

Example 4.7

French version:	Nous n'avons pas de programme à vendre; nous importe davantage le changement d'attitudes qu'exigent les problèmes auxquels nous sommes confrontés. (page 7)
English version:	We have no program sell *(sic)*; we are more interested in the change in attitude needed to tackle our problems. (page 7)

Instead of '*les problèmes auxquels nous sommes confrontés*' [the problems we are facing], the English passage is more direct, stressing the need to 'tackle' the problems.

Recall that figurative language "involves the employment of words out of their usual use or their literal meaning in order to add beauty and emotion to the text" (Al-Harahsheh 2013, 107). In the 51 excerpts, 28 contained examples of this type of language. In three cases the symbolism was removed between the French and English versions, whereas in six excerpts it was added in.

Example 4.8

French version:	Il est donc fondamental de valoriser ces domaines et d'y investir la part la plus importante de nos ressources. (page 8)
English version:	It is therefore of fundamental importance to give priority to these fields and to invest the lion's share of our resources here. (page 7)

The standard '*la part la plus importante*' [the largest share] is made more poetic in the English version with the shift to 'lion's share.'

4.1.2.3 *Physical*

In both official language versions, the title of the manifesto is somewhat ambiguous; they do differ however.

Example 4.9

French version:	Pour un Québec lucide
English version:	Clear-eyed vision of Quebec

In the English version, the '*pour un*' [for a] is omitted, but the title is made more explicit with the addition of 'vision.'

Of the 17 places where characteristics of a 'high manifesto' were found, additions were made to four of them.

Example 4.10

French version:	Par ailleurs, la mondialisation de l'économie rend essentielle la maîtrise de plusieurs langues. (page 8)
English version:	In addition, with the globalization of the economy, mastery of several languages is crucial. (page 8)

While 'is crucial' is an appropriate rendition of '*essentielle,*' it is underlined in the English version and not in the French. As in Example 4.4, this excerpt highlights another controversial proposal related to language.

Only one instance of form—a bullet point—was found among the 51 excerpts and it was not altered between language versions.

4.1.3 Newspaper Translations

By far the most discussed manifesto—and text—in this study, *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto was referenced in 175 newspaper articles (see Appendix D) ranging from October 19, 2005 to May 10, 2014. Though most of the articles were dated just after the text was published, this is an unusual case given that the "manifesto genre is resolutely about what is new and what is now" (Alvarez and Stephenson 2012, 4). The manifesto's content appeared to resurface in the newspapers any time Bouchard did, especially around its first anniversary when the former politician was interviewed on the French language television station *TVA*.

The document had the most breadth compared to the other manifestos, being discussed locally in every province, one territory (the Yukon), an international paper and even twice by the CBC. As the *Montreal Gazette* was the only paper examined that is based in Quebec, it is not surprising that it published the most articles about the manifesto (45 articles) and referenced more of its content (41 of the 51 excerpts). Following the *Gazette*, the two national papers published 42 pieces about the text, the *Globe and Mail* with 22 articles and the *National Post* with 20 articles. After the *Toronto Star* (13 articles) and the *Ottawa Citizen* (9 articles)—publications based in the largest Canadian city and the country's capital—the other papers published between one and six articles about the manifesto.

Because both French and English versions of the manifesto were published on the same day, it is more than likely journalists were referencing the English version of the text. Given that "the process of news translation is not dissimilar from that of editing, through which news reports are checked, corrected, modified, polished up and prepared for publication" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 63), the practice should still be considered 'translation'—as discussed in Chapter Three—since shifts found in the newspapers exhibited such transformations. For newspapers supplying content from the English version, the case of *Pour un Québec lucide* does call attention to how newspapers add to, omit and alter texts of the same language.

4.1.3.1 *Opinion*

Most of the newspapers attempted to remain neutral on their opinion about the text (116 articles), though almost 30% (52 articles) spoke positively about the manifesto. Only seven negatively framed articles were found, with the *Leader Post*—a local paper in Regina, Saskatchewan—being the only publication to hold an overall negative view of the manifesto.[1]

4.1.3.2 *Issue*

Excerpts from the manifesto related to the 'Fabric of Society' and the economy were the most cited in the newspapers. This was followed by issues related to 'Welfare and Quality of Life,' with the least cited excerpts addressing the 'Political System' and 'Social Groups.' For a list of all domains and categories created by the Comparative Manifesto Project and adapted by Birch and Crête (2014, 9), see Appendix B. The number of excerpts cited generally correlated with the number of articles published by

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[1] If a newspaper published neutral and negative articles about the text in equal amounts, the overall view of the paper would be considered negative. In my opinion, the negative article would work against the neutrality in the other. In the example of the *Leader Post,* since the paper published one neutral article and one negative article, the overall opinion was deemed negative.

the paper, i.e., the more stories that appeared in the paper about the manifesto, the more of its content would be addressed. For the *Red Deer Advocate* and the *Kingston Whig-Standard,* however, many of the issues addressed in the manifesto were covered in one article. Conversely, the *Hill Times*—a paper based in Ottawa—only relayed the excerpt that discussed the national way of life, economic growth, promotion of the French language and referred to Quebec as a 'distinct society.' The *Financial Times* of London—the only international paper found in the databases—also referenced one excerpt about Quebec's debt.

4.1.3.3 *Analysis of Features*

To illustrate some of the differences between the manifesto and the newspapers, this section will present how features were altered in two of the excerpts cited. While examining typography as related to 'high manifesto' and form would have added to the analysis, the majority of the articles retrieved from the databases were in plain text format. This meant that some markers of font, size and accents were removed in the newspaper archives.

First, the most newsworthy excerpt in the manifesto discussed 'economic orthodoxy,' specifically reducing the public debt. This was referenced in 87 articles across 26 newspapers, of which 23 were positive, 63 neutral and one negative. The codes next to the articles below represent the author's opinion of manifesto: ↑ means positive, ↓ negative and ↔ neutral. Additionally, articles with the same or very similar wording are grouped together under each newspaper excerpt.

As noted above, since the language versions were published at the same time, the articles were likely citing content from the English document.

Example 4.11

French version:	C'est le cas de <u>l'allégement du fardeau de la dette publique</u>. À l'heure actuelle, le gouvernement du Québec consacre 16 % de ses dépenses au service de la dette, une part beaucoup plus importante que celle que supportent les autres gouvernements provinciaux. Seize pour cent, c'est 7 milliards par année, l'équivalent du budget de 12 des 21 ministères de l'État québécois. Si l'on ne parvient pas à diminuer ce fardeau, la précarité financière du gouvernement s'aggravera brusquement dès que les taux d'intérêt augmenteront. L'arithmétique est incontournable : avec une dette de 120 milliards, chaque augmentation d'un point des taux ajoutera, à terme, 1,2 milliard au service de la dette. Le gouvernement se trouvera forcé à réduire d'autant ses dépenses, même dans les domaines essentiels. (page 7)
English version:	One of these is <u>alleviating the burden of public debt</u>. The Québec government currently devotes 16% of its spending to servicing the debt, a much higher percentage than that borne by other provincial governments. This 16% represents $7 billion per year, equal to the budgets of 12 of the province's 21 ministries. If we do cannot reduce this burden, the government's precarious financial situation will worsen quickly once interest rates begin to rise. It's just a question of doing the math: for a debt of $120 billion, with each point that interest rates rise, an additional $1.2 billion will go to servicing the debt. The government will find itself forced to reduce its spending by as much, even in essential areas. (page 7)

In terms of identity, the *Gazette* adds in the categorization feature when referencing this excerpt in the two articles below.

Our public debt could become a black hole.

(Norman Webster, *Gazette*, October 22, 2005) ↑

Look at the manifesto's priorities: First, Quebec's public debt. It stands at $86 billion, and has kept growing despite the cozy fiction of "deficit zero." Even at current low interest rates, we pay almost $7 billion a year in interest on our debts. To pay down the debt, more revenue is needed.

(Anonymous, *Gazette*, October 23, 2005) ↑

56.

Instead of the 'Quebec government' being the owner and payer of the debt, as implied in the excerpt, the additions of 'our' and 'we' put more responsibility on the *Gazette*'s readers. This in-group addition makes sense given that the paper's audience is located in the province.

Some instances of alterations to the issue were noted in the newspapers.

> Quebec should take dramatic steps to reduce government spending, pay down the debt [...]
> (Ken Coates and Bill Morrison, *National Post*, October 20, 2005) ↑

> Such debt-reduction measures as spending cuts [...]
> (Don Macpherson, *Gazette*, January 20, 2007) ↔
> (Don Macpherson, *Leader Post*, January 23, 2007) ↔

While the manifesto does mention government spending, it only implies that the government might have to cut spending in the future if the debt is not reduced, not necessarily at the present moment. In other instances, the issue was made more explicit.

> Sixteen per cent of every tax dollar collected by Quebec today goes to service the provincial debt.
> (Joe McLaughlin, *Red Deer Advocate*, October 21, 2005) ↑

> The dissident Quebec manifesto acknowledges the economic drag of Quebec's debt, which is now so high that the province needs $7 billion a year in tax revenue to make its interest payments.
> (Neil Reynolds, *Globe and Mail*, October 25, 2006) ↔
> (Neil Reynolds, *Telegraph-Journal*, October 26, 2006) ↔

> [...] with interest payments eating up $7 billion a year, or 12.4 per cent of total government revenue [...]
> (Don MacDonald, *Gazette*, March 24, 2007) ↔

For evaluations, some articles misquoted the excerpt by inserting an assessment.

> Quebec therefore must address, right now, its "massive public debt," [...]
> (Richard Gwyn, *Toronto Star*, October 21, 2005) ↑
> (Richard Gwyn, *Guelph Mercury*, October 21, 2005) ↑
> (Richard Gwyn, *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 21, 2005) ↑

(Richard Gwyn, *The Guardian* (Charlottetown), October 26, 2005) ↑
(Richard Gwyn, *The Telegram* (St. John's), October 27, 2005) ↑

The same newspaper excerpt also appears without quotations in the following articles.

(Anonymous, *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 24, 2005) ↑
(Dene Moore, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 18, 2006) ↔
(Anonymous, *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 18, 2006) ↔

Though the word 'massive' does appear in the English version of the manifesto (on

page 7), it is in relation to education investments.

When it came to the features related to emotion, the most shifts in the newspapers

were related to additions of war and siege metaphors.

[...] proposes short-term elimination of the provincial debt [...]
(Hubert Bauch, *CanWest News*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Star Phoenix*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Vancouver Sun*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Times Colonist*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Windsor Star*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Ottawa Citizen*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch and Philip Authier, *Gazette*, October 20, 2005) ↓
(Philip Authier, *Gazette*, October 17, 2006) ↔
(Kevin Dougherty, *National Post*, October 18, 2006) ↔
(Kevin Dougherty, *Vancouver Sun*, October 18, 2006) ↔
(Kevin Dougherty, *Times Colonist*, October 18, 2006) ↔
(Kevin Dougherty, *Ottawa Citizen*, October 18, 2006) ↔
(Kevin Dougherty, *Edmonton Journal*, October 18, 2006) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Gazette*, October 20, 2006) ↔
(Anonymous, *Edmonton Journal*, October 20, 2006) ↔

[...] policy to attack Quebec's staggering public debt [...]
(Irwin Block, *Gazette*, December 24, 2005) ↔
(William Watson, *National Post*, October 21, 2006) ↑
(Andrew Duffy, *Ottawa Citizen*, June 26, 2006) ↔

[...] starting with an all-out assault on government debt [...]
(Anonymous, *Telegraph-Journal*, October 21, 2005) ↔
(Peter Black, *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal*, October 21, 2005) ↔
(Peter Black, *Kingston Whig-Standard*, October 21, 2005) ↔
(Peter Black, *Guelph Mercury*, October 27, 2005) ↔
(Peter Black, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 30, 2005) ↔

[...] tackle its runaway debt [...]

(Dene Moore, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, October 17, 2006) ↔

(Dene Moore, *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 18, 2006) ↔

(Anonymous, *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 18, 2006) ↔

(Don Martin, *Calgary Herald*, March 22, 2007) ↑

(Don Martin, *National Post*, March 22, 2007) ↑

(Don Martin, *Star Phoenix*, March 26, 2007) ↑

(Konrad Yakabuski, *Globe and Mail*, August 04, 2012) ↔

(Laurent Le Pierrès, *Chronicle Herald*, August 24, 2012) ↔

[...] slashing Quebec's debt [...]

(Jay Bryan, *Gazette*, October 22, 2005) ↑

[...] advocate aggressive debt reduction [...]

(David Johnston, *Gazette*, October 29, 2007) ↔

There were also additions to figurative language.

Our public debt could become a black hole.

(Norman Webster, *Gazette*, October 22, 2005) ↑

[...] soaring debt [...]

(Philip Authier, *Gazette*, October 17, 2006) ↔

(Kevin Dougherty, *National Post*, October 18, 2006) ↔

(Kevin Dougherty, *Vancouver Sun*, October 18, 2006) ↔

(Kevin Dougherty, *Times Colonist*, October 18, 2006) ↔

(Kevin Dougherty, *Edmonton Journal*, October 18, 2006) ↔

[...] tackle its runaway debt [...]

(Don Martin, *Calgary Herald*, March 22, 2007) ↑

(Don Martin, *National Post*, March 22, 2007) ↑

(Don Martin, *Star Phoenix*, March 26, 2007) ↑

[...] plunging the province deeper into debt.

(Don Macpherson, *Gazette*, May 19, 2007) ↔

[...] calling for urgent action to tackle the province's spiralling debt

(Konrad Yakabuski, *Globe and Mail*, August 04, 2012) ↔

The second excerpt of note was the most widely discussed and also the only

excerpt in the manifesto to explicitly address Quebec sovereignty. Being referenced in

70 articles across 28 newspapers, one of the most changes to the issue being discussed occurred in this excerpt.

Example 4.12

French version:	Certains membres de notre groupe sont favorables à la souveraineté, d'autres pensent que l'avenir du Québec sera mieux assuré au sein du Canada. (page 3)
English version:	Some members of our group are in favour of sovereignty, others believe that Québec's future will be better ensured within Canada. (page 3)

For the features related to identity, the issue does not change between the French and the English versions, however, of the 70 articles that referenced this point, almost half used terms other than 'sovereignty.'

separatists or separatism

(LuAnn LaSalle, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, October 19, 2005) ↑
(LuAnn LaSalle, *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal*, October 19, 2005) ↑
(Graham Fraser, *Toronto Star*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Anonymous, *The Guardian* (Charlottetown), October 20, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Daily News* (Halifax), October 20, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Guelph Mercury*, October 20, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Resource News International*, October 20, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 20, 2005) ↑
(Joe McLaughlin, *Red Deer Advocate*, October 21, 2005) ↑
(Lee Prokaska, *Hamilton Spectator*, October 21, 2005) ↔
(Michael Campbell, *Vancouver Sun*, October 22, 2005) ↑
(Norman Webster, *Gazette*, October 22, 2005) ↑
(Barry Cooper, *Calgary Herald*, October 26, 2005) ↔
(Barry Cooper, *Star Phoenix*, October 28, 2005) ↔
(Adam Daifallah, *National Post*, October 28, 2005) ↔
(Anonymous, *National Post*, April 05, 2014) ↑

secessionists

(Jeffrey Simpson, *Globe and Mail*, November 08, 2005) ↑

Some combined the two groups mentioned in the excerpt.

non-partisan

(Graeme Hamilton, *National Post*, October 20, 2005) ↔

60.

(Konrad Yakabuski, *Globe and Mail*, November 30, 2005) ↔
(Martin Patriquin, *Toronto Star*, December 03, 2005) ↔
(Henry Aubin, *Gazette*, January 16, 2007) ↑
(Hubert Bauch, *Gazette*, March 01, 2009) ↔
(Laurent Le Pierrès, *Chronicle Herald*, August 24, 2012) ↔

bipartisan

(Jeffrey Simpson, *Globe and Mail*, November 08, 2005) ↑
(Jay Bryan, *Gazette*, October 22, 2005) ↑

transcend partisanship

(Anonymous, *Gazette*, October 23, 2005) ↑

Yes and No supporters

(Anonymous, *Gazette*, November 26, 2005) ↔

More than half of the articles also made the point 'others believe that Québec's future will be better ensured within Canada' more implicit by using the term 'federalist' or 'federalism.'

federalists or federalism

(LuAnn LaSalle, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, October 19, 2005) ↑
(LuAnn LaSalle, *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal*, October 19, 2005) ↑
(Hubert Bauch, *CanWest News*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Gazette*, October 20, 2005) ↓
(Hubert Bauch, *Vancouver Sun*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Times Colonist*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Windsor Star*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Ottawa Citizen*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Graeme Hamilton, *National Post*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Star Phoenix*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Ingrid Peritz, *Globe and Mail*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Graham Fraser, *Toronto Star*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Anonymous, *The Guardian* (Charlottetown), October 20, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Daily News* (Halifax), October 20, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Guelph Mercury*, October 20, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Resource News International*, October 20, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 20, 2005) ↑
(Irwin Block, *Gazette*, October 21, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Globe and Mail*, October 21, 2005) ↑
(Lee Prokaska, *Hamilton Spectator*, October 21, 2005) ↔
(Joe McLaughlin, *Red Deer Advocate*, October 21, 2005) ↑

(Norman Webster, *Gazette*, October 22, 2005) ↑
(Ian MacDonald, *National Post*, October 22, 2005) ↑
(Michael Campbell, *Vancouver Sun*, October 22, 2005) ↑
(Philip Authier, *Gazette*, October 23, 2005) ↔
(Anonymous, *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 24, 2005) ↑
(Jim Duncan, *Telegraph-Journal*, October 25, 2005) ↑
(Barry Cooper, *Calgary Herald*, October 26, 2005) ↔
(Barry Cooper, *Star Phoenix*, October 28, 2005) ↔
(Simon Sigal, *Ottawa Citizen*, October 29, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Sunday Herald*, October 30, 2005) ↑
(Jeffrey Simpson, *Globe and Mail*, November 08, 2005) ↑
(Hugh Anderson, *Gazette*, April 02, 2007) ↔
(Anonymous, *CBC News*, October 17, 2008) ↔
(Anonymous, *National Post*, April 05, 2014) ↑

For explicitation, 36 articles provided additional information.

[...] sovereigntists and federalists who deliberately avoided a position on constitutional options.

(Hubert Bauch, *CanWest News*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Vancouver Sun*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Times Colonist*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Windsor Star*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Ottawa Citizen*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch, *Star Phoenix*, October 20, 2005) ↔
(Hubert Bauch and Philip Authier, *Gazette*, October 20, 2005) ↓

[...] people who drafted the statement – both federalists and sovereignists *(sic)*

(Irwin Block, *Gazette*, October 21, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *Globe and Mail*, October 21, 2005) ↑
(Lee Prokaska, *Hamilton Spectator*, October 21, 2005) ↔
(Michael Campbell, *Vancouver Sun*, October 22, 2005) ↑
(Barry Cooper, *Calgary Herald*, October 26, 2005) ↔
(Barry Cooper, *Star Phoenix*, October 28, 2005) ↔
(Anonymous, *Sunday Herald*, October 30, 2005) ↑
(Anonymous, *National Post*, April 05, 2014) ↑

[...] members of both sides of the sovereignty debate in Quebec [...]

(Anonymous, *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 24, 2005) ↑

[...] bringing together sovereigntists and federalists, [...]

(Graeme Hamilton, *National Post*, October 20, 2005) ↔

[...] equally composed of leading federalists and sovereignists *(sic)*, and takes no position on that question.

<div align="right">(Ian MacDonald, National Post, October 22, 2005) ↑</div>

More importantly, it thumbs its nose at PQ orthodoxy by arguing that sovereignty is not a prerequisite to putting Quebec on the course of a brighter future.

<div align="right">(Chantal Hébert, Toronto Star, October 21, 2005) ↔</div>
<div align="right">(Chantal Hébert, Sunday Herald, October 23, 2005) ↔</div>

[...] the document Facal signed rejects the "profitable sovereignty" argument, which is that sending Quebecers' federal tax money to Quebec City is the magic wand that will make all the Quebec government's financial problems disappear.

<div align="right">(Don Macpherson, Gazette, October 22, 2005) ↓</div>
<div align="right">(Don Macpherson, Leader Post, October 25, 2005) ↓</div>

Most of these additions were related to the two sides—federalists and sovereigntists—coming together.

4.1.3.4 *Incorrect Additions, Omissions and Transparency*

In referencing the manifesto's content, six incorrect additions were made in the newspapers and four were related to the national way of life.

The document takes direct aim at a long list of the province's "taboos" [...]

<div align="right">(Ingrid Peritz, Globe and Mail, October 20, 2005) ↔</div>

We should get rid of policy taboos, they say.

<div align="right">(William Watson, Gazette, November 01, 2005) ↔</div>
<div align="right">(William Watson, Ottawa Citizen, November 01, 2005) ↔</div>

[...] seeking to "wake up" Quebec to a looming crisis [...]

<div align="right">(Graeme Hamilton, National Post, January 27, 2007) ↔</div>

The other two spoke about welfare limitation, specifically with regards to health care.

Such debt-reduction measures as [...] medical user fees [...]

<div align="right">(Don Macpherson, Gazette, January 20, 2007) ↔</div>
<div align="right">(Don Macpherson, Leader Post, January 23, 2007) ↔</div>

Even though these ideas are presented as quotes and paraphrases from the manifesto, no corresponding or similar words were found in the document. All of these incorrect additions appeared in articles that took a neutral stance on the text.

In terms of transparency, of the 175 articles examined, only 13 provided a link to the online texts, with five articles mentioning that both an English and a French version exist.

4.2 *Nouveau Mouvement pour le Québec* manifesto

4.2.1 Background Information

The second most newsworthy manifesto in the English media was published on August 16, 2011. With their text *'Brisons l'impasse'* [Let's break the deadlock], the *Nouveau Mouvement pour le Québec* [New movement for Quebec] (NMQ) wanted to bring attention back on to Quebec sovereignty, collecting signatures to enlist public support. Like *Pour un Québec lucide*, the group was headed by a former PQ member, Jocelyn Desjardins. Unlike Bouchard, however, Desjardins explicitly expressed her aim to separate Quebec from Canada in her group's manifesto.

Considered one of the more progressively oriented forms of the sovereignty project (Parenteau 2014, 235), the NMQ believed that current PQ leader, Pauline Marois, had moved away from the party's primary goal.

4.2.2 Analysis of Features

A complete English translation of the manifesto was not found, though 21 excerpts were cited in the newspapers. The section below will focus on the counts of features found in the French excerpts.

4.2.2.1 *Identity*

Of the 21 excerpts analyzed, 13 instances of categorization were found within. The group's main opponent is the PQ, as seen in the excerpt below.

Example 4.13

NMQ manifesto:	Aujourd'hui, le mouvement souverainiste n'en est plus un : il est un parti institutionnalisé. Si bien que le PQ se revendique désormais comme le seul porteur légitime de la « volonté d'un peuple ».
Literal translation:	[Today, the sovereignty movement is no longer one: it is an institutionalized party. So much so that the PQ now proclaim themselves as the sole legitimate carrier of the "will of a people."]

While some excerpts discuss Quebec's relationship with Canada, most of the categorization in the excerpts situates the PQ as the 'them' or out-group.

For positioning, six references to a specific time were found and 11 references to a specific location.

Example 4.14

NMQ manifesto:	C'est moyennant une promesse d'autonomie que le Québec a adhéré à la Constitution de 1867.
Literal translation:	[It is through a promise of autonomy that Quebec joined the Constitution of 1867.]

As in the example, the majority of the location references were related to Quebec. For the specific references to time, three pointed to historical dates (as above), and the other three to the present day.

More than half of the excerpts contained examples of evaluations: the majority spoke positively about Quebec and negatively about the PQ or Canada, as demonstrated in the following example.

Example 4.15

NMQ manifesto:	C'est l'idée de faire adopter ensuite un tel projet par l'Assemblée nationale et démocratiquement par un peuple québécois adulte et confiant en lui-même. De faire adopter ensuite par le gouvernement du Québec une loi constitutionnelle établissant la primauté de la Constitution du Québec librement décidée sur celle du Canada, arbitrairement imposée.
Literal translation:	[It is the idea to then adopt such a project by the National Assembly and democratically by a Quebec people mature and confident in themselves. To then adopt by the Government of Quebec a constitutional law establishing the primacy of the Constitution of Quebec freely decided over Canada's, arbitrarily imposed.]

A 'mature and confident' Quebec is ready to have its own constitution, which is preferable to Canada's 'arbitrarily imposed' one.

4.2.2.2 *Emotion*

Only one instance of prophetic language was found among the excerpts, and two markers of urgent language. One third of the excerpts (seven) contained militant language, as seen below.

Example 4.16

NMQ manifesto:	Il faut que ce soit entendu : malgré deux référendums, les fédéralistes québécois ont perdu leur bataille.
Literal translation:	[This must be heard: despite two referendums, the Quebec federalists have lost their battle.]

Six excerpts contained examples of figurative language.

Example 4.17

NMQ manifesto:	Le problème est que personne n'est dupe. Le postulat est que seule une crise avec le Canada ferait gonfler l'appui populaire à la souveraineté à des niveaux comparables à 1990, après la mort de l'Accord du lac Meech. Ce qui est

	visé est un rejet canadien. On espère un ressentiment, une réaction contre le Canada plutôt que l'affirmation de notre existence.
Literal translation:	[The problem is that nobody is fooled. The assumption is that only a crisis with Canada would swell popular support for sovereignty to levels comparable to 1990, after the death of the Meech Lake Accord. The aim was Canadian rejection. We're hoping for resentment, a reaction against Canada rather than the affirmation of our existence.]

While 'death' is also related to war and siege metaphors, it is symbolic here because it refers to the death of an inanimate object—the Meech Lake Accord. This type of personification is "used in political discourse to give a livable image as well as an expressive and emotive meaning" (Al-Harahsheh 2013, 111). As discussed in Chapter Two, the Meech Lake Accord was proposed to affirm Quebec within Canada, but the NMQ felt that its 'death' meant that Canada rejected the people of Quebec. Such a statement would elicit a strong emotion in this manifesto's intended audience.

4.2.2.3 *Physical*

The NMQ's manifesto title is more active than *Pour un Québec lucide*'s, stressing the need for action and speaking to the reader directly.

<div align="center">

Example 4.18

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NMQ manifesto:	Brisons l'impasse
Literal translation:	[Let us break the deadlock]

Only one example of a 'high manifesto' was found among the 21 excerpts and no instances of form.

4.2.3 Newspaper Translations

The contents of the NMQ's manifesto were only discussed for about two weeks after it was published—from August 16th to September 1st. Of the 51 total articles, the newswire *Postmedia News* published the most about the manifesto, with five articles. This was followed by the *National Post* (three articles) and two articles in each of the *Canadian Press NewsWire, Globe and Mail, Leader Post, Gazette, Ottawa Citizen* and *Windsor Star*. The majority of the newspapers only published one article on the contents of the manifesto. Like *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto, the text was discussed in the Yukon (*Whitehorse Star*), however, it was only picked up in six provinces, with most papers based in Ontario. Here, it is important to note that 20 newspapers owned by the conglomerate *Sun Media* published the same article, 19 of which were in Ontario and one in Alberta.

4.2.3.1 *Opinion*

As seen in Appendix E, no positively framed articles about the manifesto were found in the newspaper databases: 42 of the articles took a neutral stance on the manifesto, whereas nine were critical. Newspapers that had an overall negative view of the text included the two national papers—the *National Post* and the *Globe and Mail*—the *Gazette*, the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Leader Post* and one international newswire, *Agence France Press*.

4.2.3.2 *Issue*

All of the issues discussed in the excerpts were related to achieving sovereignty for Quebec, which may help explain why none of the English journalists held a positive view of the manifesto. For the most part, the more articles published by a paper, the more the manifesto's contents were discussed. There were some exceptions, however,

with the *National Post* proportionally not citing as many excerpts as the *Globe and Mail* and the *Gazette*. On the other end, the *Guelph Mercury*, the *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal* and the *Whitehorse Star* addressed more of the manifesto's content in their one neutrally framed article.

4.2.3.3 *Analysis of Features*

The most newsworthy excerpt in the manifesto was referenced in 38 articles across 34 newspapers: 33 neutral and five negative.

Example 4.19

NMQ manifesto:	Quant au Parti Québécois (PQ), il apparaît aujourd'hui usé, confus dans ses interventions et banalisé par le public et les médias à la moindre action qu'il pose.
Literal translation:	[As for the Parti Québécois (PQ), it appears today worn, confused in its interventions and trivialized by the public and the media to any action it takes.]

The 20 newspapers owned by *Sun Media* made the categorization more explicit in this excerpt.

The group accuses the opposition PQ of being "worn out and confused" about how to achieve sovereignty after two failed referendums.

(Brian Daly, *London Free Press*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Barrie Examiner*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Brockville Recorder and Times*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Brantford Expositor*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Chatham Daily News*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Kingston Whig-Standard*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *North Bay Nugget*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Niagara Falls Review*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Fort McMurray Today*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Orillia Packet & Times*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Owen Sound Sun Times*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Pembroke Daily Observer*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Peterborough Examiner*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Sarnia Observer*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Sault Star*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Simcoe Reformer*, August 18, 2011) ↔

(Brian Daly, *Stratford Beacon Herald*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Sudbury Star*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Woodstock Sentinel-Review*, August 18, 2011) ↔
(Brian Daly, *Welland Tribune*, August 18, 2011) ↔

With the exception of *Fort McMurray Today* in Alberta, all of these articles were published in Ontario. By adding the word 'opposition,' the journalist may have wanted to point out that NMQ are against the PQ even though there are both pro-sovereignty. In this translation, there is also explicitation in terms of the issue with the addition of 'how to achieve sovereignty after two failed referendums.'

In other articles, the same kind of explicitation is found.

[...] slams the Parti Quebecois as a spent force in the fight for independence.

(Anonymous, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, August 16, 2011) ↔
(Jonathan Montpetit and Sylvain Larocque, *Canadian Press*, August 16, 2011) ↔
(Jonathan Montpetit and Sylvain Larocque, *Cape Breton Post*, August 17, 2011) ↔
(Jonathan Montpetit and Sylvain Larocque, *Guelph Mercury*, August 17, 2011) ↔
(Anonymous, *Hamilton Spectator*, August 17, 2011) ↔
(Anonymous, *Whitehorse Star*, August 17, 2011) ↔
(Anonymous, *The News* (New Glasgow), August 17, 2011) ↔
(Anonymous, *The Guardian* (Charlottetown), August 17, 2011) ↔
(Anonymous, *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal*, August 17, 2011) ↔

The addition of 'independence' emphasizes the group's main goal. In the articles above, there are also additions of the war and siege metaphors 'force' and 'fight.' Even though the nine articles in the example above have the same wording, they do not belong to the same conglomerate. What is likely is that journalists took excerpts from the newswire (*Canadian Press NewsWire*) for their report.

4.2.3.4 *Incorrect Additions, Omissions and Transparency*

While translation shifts occurred in referencing some of the excerpts from the manifesto, journalists did not incorrectly add or omit any of the issues discussed. In the 51 articles examined, however, none provided a link to the online text.

4.3 *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto

4.3.1 Background Information

Following the contemporary debate around reasonable accommodation, the Quebec government, led by the *Parti Québécois* (PQ), put forward a proposal banning public employees from wearing religious items in 2013. The *Charte de valeurs* [Charter of values]—depicted as images in Figure 4.1—or Bill 60, was believed to be inspired by similar proposals in France (Chandler 2015). French law *no 2010-1192 du 11 octobre 2010 interdisant la dissimulation du visage dans l'espace public*, for example, stipulated that no person was permitted to conceal their face in public spaces. This was not the first time that the government of France had passed such measures; in 2004, a law restricting the wearing of religious symbols in public schools was passed. Like the proposed Charter, the *Loi sur les signes religieux dans les écoles publiques* did not prohibit the wearing of discreet religious signs.

Since the PQ lost to the Liberals in the provincial election of 2014, the *Charte de valeurs* never materialized. Before then, the party had continued to pursue the measure "despite its evocation of considerable opposition" (Chandler 2015, 13). Some of these opposition groups included *Pour un Québec inclusif* [for an inclusive Quebec], who created a manifesto outlining how the actions proposed by the current government would further segregate Quebec society. Simply titled 'Manifeste,' the manifesto was published on *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s website on September 10, 2013 with the goal to collect 12,000 signatures from Quebec residents equally opposed to the government's proposal. Not only were they able to reach this goal, they did it within five days of the manifesto being published ("Manifeste pour un" 2013).

Figure 4.1
Charter of Values Proposal

EXEMPLES DE SIGNES NON OSTENTATOIRES QUI SERAIENT PERMIS AU PERSONNEL DE L'ÉTAT
[Examples of non-ostentatious symbols allowed for government employees]

EXEMPLES DE SIGNES OSTENTATOIRES QUI NE SERAIENT PAS PERMIS AU PERSONNEL DE L'ÉTAT
[Examples of ostentatious symbols not allowed for government employees]

Source: Gouvernement du Québec (2013)

One day after the manifesto was released, an unofficial English translation was published by *Translating the printemps érable*, an online group of volunteer translators who promote "solidarity and the sharing of information" ("Manifesto" 2013). Posted on their website, the article entitled 'Manifesto for an inclusive Quebec' provided a link to *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s website with instructions to "[f]ollow link to original French post to sign the manifesto" ("Manifesto" 2013). While the translation contains some

grammatical errors, it initially gave potential Anglophone supporters in Quebec access to the manifesto's content.

Pour un Québec inclusif published their own English version of the manifesto on their website on September 15th. With the title 'English Version,' this official translation was made available on the same day the petition reached its goal of 12,000 signatures.

4.3.2 Analysis of Features

Referencing the 21 excerpts cited in the newspapers, the manifesto features in the French source text were compared to its two English translations: the official version by *Pour un Québec inclusif* and the unofficial version by *Translating the printemps érable*. In terms of frequency, more shifts occurred in the official translation than in the unofficial version, in particular for categorization, issue and figurative language.

4.3.2.1 *Identity*

Nine of the 21 excerpts contained examples of categorization, with three made more explicit in the official translation and one in the unofficial translation.

<div align="center">

Example 4.20

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French text:	Le Québec a toujours été une terre d'accueil chaleureuse où chacun a pu apporter sa contribution à la grande courtepointe sociale.
Official translation:	Quebec has for long been a warm and welcoming land where each person could contribute to our great social tapestry.
Unofficial translation:	Quebec has always been a warm and welcoming land where everyone could contribute to the greater social quilt.

The official translation contains an additional 'our,' while the unofficial translation renders '*la grande courtepointe sociale*' more literally as 'the greater social quilt.'

In the three instances of specific time found in the excerpts, two shifts occurred in the official English version: one reference was omitted and one was altered, as in the example above. The references to the time '*toujours*' [always] is rendered literally in the unofficial translation, but changed to 'for long' in the official one. When it came to this feature, no shifts occurred in the unofficial translation. Six excerpts contained references to a specific location—all but one related to 'Quebec'—and neither translation altered the references.

When it came to discussing the issue, five instances in the 21 excerpts were made more explicit in the official translation, compared to one in the unofficial translation.

<div align="center">

Example 4.21

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French text:	Rappelons que le port de signes religieux ostensibles devra être banni chez les fonctionnaires, […]
Official translation:	In brief, the Charter of Values would seek to ban government employees from wearing conspicuous religious symbols […]
Unofficial translation:	Recall that wearing conspicuous religious symbols is to be banned for officials, […]

In the official translation, '*Charter of Values*' is added into the sentence and this same shift occurs twice more in the excerpts examined.

The majority of the excerpts (18) contained evaluations, with two instances made more explicit in the official version and one in the unofficial version.

4.3.2.2 *Emotion*

Only three instances of prophetic language were noted among the excerpts, and no instances of urgency. Additionally, no translation shifts occurred with respect to these features.

Eight war and siege metaphors were found among the 21 excerpts, with additions occurring in both translations: two in the official, one in the unofficial.

Example 4.22

French text:	[...] un projet de charte qui imposera à une minorité de choisir entre sa conscience et sa survie, [...]
Official translation:	[...] the proposed *Charter of Values* would force minorities to choose between their conscience and their survival.
Unofficial translation:	[...] this draft charter has imposed upon a minority to choose between his or her conscience and his or her survival, [...]

In this example, '*survie*' is translated as 'survival' in both target texts, however, the official version changes '*imposera*' [will impose] to 'would force,' making the martial language more explicit.

One third of the excerpts contained examples of figurative language, with four instances removed in the official translation compared to one in the unofficial.

Example 4.23

French text:	Le véritable test de la laïcité est d'accepter à la fois la visibilité des différences et la nécessité d'un consensus au sujet de l'esprit de tolérance et d'impartialité qui doit gouverner nos interactions dans le respect de ces différences.
Official translation:	The real test for secularism is the acceptance of both visible differences and the need for consensus on the importance of tolerance and impartiality, which should govern our interactions while respecting our differences.

| Unofficial translation: | The real test for secularism is the acceptance both of the visibility of differences and of the need for consensus on the spirit of tolerance and impartiality which should govern our interactions respectful of these differences. |

In this example, the symbolic language of 'spirit' is retained in the unofficial translation, but rendered as 'importance' in the official one.

4.3.2.3 *Physical*

The title of the manifesto is the most ambiguous of all the texts examined, both in the original text and the official translation.

<div align="center">

Example 4.24

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French text:	Manifeste
Official translation:	English Version
Unofficial translation:	Manifesto for an inclusive Quebec

Since both texts were available on the movement's website, however, a banner displaying *'Pour un Québec inclusif'* informed readers of the group's name. The translator(s) of the unofficial version added the name of the movement into their title, rendering it literally in English.

Similar to the other two manifestos, the additional physical features were not prominent among the excerpts examined, with only two instances of 'high manifesto' noted and one instance of form.

4.3.3 Newspaper Translations

As the third most newsworthy social movement manifesto in this study, *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto was referenced in 33 articles in nine newspapers and

discussed over a period of about a year from September 13, 2013 to October 14, 2014. Like the NMQ manifesto, the text was most cited in the newswire *Postmedia News*, with 11 articles. There were eight articles in the *Montreal Gazette*, four in *Canadian Press NewsWire*, three in the *Globe and Mail* and two in the *National Post*. Besides the national papers and newswires, the text was only discussed locally in three provinces outside Quebec.

4.3.3.1 *Opinion*

Most of the newspapers took an impartial view of the manifesto, with 27 articles being neutrally framed. Though two publications, the *Globe and Mail* and *Canadian Press NewsWire*, held an overall positive view of the manifesto's contents.

4.3.3.2 *Issue*

With the exception of one excerpt about sovereignty—the second most referenced in the newspapers—all other excerpts were related to 'underprivileged minority groups,' specifically protecting the rights of those who wear visible religious symbols. Similar to the other manifestos, the more articles in the newspaper, the more excerpts from the manifesto tended to be addressed; though some exceptions were found regarding the national papers. While the *Globe and Mail* only published three articles about the manifesto's contents, the paper discussed nine of its excerpts, which was more than addressed in the eight articles from the *Gazette*. The *National Post*, on the other hand, only addressed one point in the manifesto across two articles and, surprisingly, it was not the one about sovereignty.

4.3.3.3 *Analysis of Features*

In examining the newspapers, it is difficult to say whether some journalists were providing their own translations or citing excerpts from one of the full English

translations. Since few translation shifts were found in the most referenced excerpt, to illustrate some of the changes to the features, the second most cited excerpt—the only one that addressed sovereignty—is presented below.

Example 4.25

French text:	**Nous rassemblons des souverainistes, des fédéralistes et des « agnostiques » quant à l'avenir constitutionnel du Québec.**
Official translation:	**We count among us both separatists and federalists, as well as others with no firm position on Quebec's constitutional future.**
Unofficial translation:	Among us are separatists, federalists and "agnostics" with regards to the constitutional future of Quebec.

Before discussing the newspaper translations, there are some significant shifts between the French text and the full English texts. Both official and unofficial translations chose to translate '*souverainistes*' [sovereigntists] as 'separatists.' There is also more explicitation in the official translation when it comes to the issue addressed. In the unofficial text, the translators have chosen to translate '*agnostiques*' literally as 'agnostics,' and both appear in quotations. This term usually refers to persons who neither believe nor disbelieve in the existence of a deity. In the official translation, this vague term is made more explicit, being rendered as 'others with no firm position' as it specifically relates to 'Quebec's constitutional future.' The addition of 'both' in the official translation also works to make the issue more explicit, emphasizing that 'separatists and federalists' are usually on opposing sides when it comes to political issues in Quebec.

This excerpt was referenced in 12 articles across eight newspapers, with two being positively framed, nine neutral and one negative. While two articles published by

Postmedia News followed the full English translations and used the term 'separatists,' the other articles chose to use 'sovereigntist' or to group the members together.

> [...] academics and professionals from across the political spectrum, this non-partisan Manifesto [...]
>
> (Anonymous, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, September 18, 2013) ↑

> [...] a citizen-led group that assembles Quebecers from across the political spectrum [...]
>
> (Celine Cooper, *Postmedia News*, December 20, 2013) ↔
>
> (Celine Cooper, *Gazette*, December 23, 2013) ↔
>
> [...] federalist and sovereigntist academics, professionals and citizen groups banded together [...]
>
> (Rhéal Séguin *Globe and Mail*, January 14, 2014) ↑

> [...] a mix of federalist and sovereigntist voices [...]
>
> (Sidhartha Banerjee, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, January 17, 2014) ↔
>
> (Anonymous, *Hamilton Spectator*, January 17, 2014) ↔
>
> (Anonymous, *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal*, January 18, 2014) ↔
>
> (Anonymous, *Red Deer Advocate*, January 18, 2014) ↔
>
> (Anonymous, *Western Star* (Corner Brook), January 18, 2014) ↔
>
> (Andy Blatchford, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, January 20, 2014) ↔

Note that the idea of 'agnostics' is also removed in the majority of these articles.

4.3.3.4 *Incorrect Additions, Omissions and Transparency*

Of the 33 articles examined, eight provided a link to the online texts, with three articles specifically providing the link to the official English version:

> More information about Québec inclusif is at quebecinclusif.org/manifeste-2/english/
>
> (Marian Scott, *Postmedia News*, November 27, 2013) ↔
>
> (Marian Scott, *Gazette*, November 28, 2013) ↔

> To read and sign the Manifesto for an Inclusive Quebec go to:
> http://quebecinclusif.org/manifeste-2/english/
>
> (Anonymous, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, Sep 18, 2013) ↑

Compared to the other two manifestos, the newspapers were being the most transparent about *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s text, with almost a quarter of them encouraging readers to access the contents themselves.

4.4 **Discussion**

4.4.1 Analysis of Features

The features most present among the manifesto excerpts were related to identity, followed by those targeting emotions and the physical features.

Demonstrating categorization, manifestos "generally pos[e] some 'we,' explicit or implicit, against some other 'they,' with the terms constructed in a deliberate dichotomy" (Caws 2001, xx). For *Pour un Québec lucide* and *Pour un Québec inclusif*, the main opponent or the 'them' was the current government. With *Pour un Québec lucide* implicitly addressing the PLQ in 2005 and *Pour un Québec inclusif* explicitly the PQ in 2013, these social movements are "naming a social order, dominant group, or institution that is responsible for a community's problems allow[ing] members to forge a commonality in shared suffering" (Summers 2013, 25–6). In the NMQ's case, the 'them'—the PQ—was not in power in 2011, however, the social movement was nonetheless addressing a dominant group relative to their own.

Examples of categorization were in found in the majority of *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto, in more than half of the NMQ's excerpts and the least in *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto. In terms of differences between translations and language versions, the most common shift for *Pour un Québec lucide* and *Pour un Québec inclusif* was to make categorization more explicit in the English text. Producers of the full English versions may have used this feature more frequently, particularly when it came to in-

group references, as a way to persuade their audience to identify more with the social movement.

For positioning, the majority of the *Pour un Québec lucide* excerpts contained instances of time, whereas few examples of this feature were found in the other two manifestos. In terms of location references, most of the excerpts in *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto presented this feature. About half of the NMQ's manifesto excerpts and less than a third of *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s excerpts mentioned specific locations. While some shifts to time and location occurred between the French and English texts of the *Pour un Québec lucide* and *Pour un Québec inclusif* manifestos, they were not frequent.

In terms of translation shifts to the issue discussed, a difference between official and unofficial English texts emerged. In the excerpts, the most common shift in the official English version of *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto and the official English translation of *Pour un Québec inclusif* was to make the issue addressed more explicit. With the unofficial translation of *Pour un Québec inclusif*, however, two issues in the excerpts were made more implicit, while only one was made more explicit. This explicitation strategy in the official texts may work to clarify the ideas for Anglophones who may not be as familiar with the Quebec-centric issues discussed in the manifestos: the main problem of 'demographic decline' in *Pour un Québec lucide* and the *Charte des valeurs* controversy in *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s text.

Since the unofficial translation of *Pour un Québec inclusif* contained fewer examples of translation shifts than the official translation, it can be said that this translation was more faithful to the original French manifesto. Producers of the official English text may have employed explicitation in higher proportion because their goal was persuasion. This was also true in terms of categorization: the official translation

contained more additions to this feature. The group responsible for the unofficial translation, *Translating the printemps érable,* was created to "balance the English media's extremely poor coverage of the student conflict in Québec by translating media that has been published in French into English" ("Manifesto" 2013). Given this purpose, the unofficial text could be seen as performing an informative function, i.e., "the primary aim of this translation is to make the original English text available to readers in a different language" (Ayyad 2012, 256). Since the unofficial translators did ask readers to sign the petition, however, it is clear that all three texts in this case were produced to gain support for the manifesto.

Many examples of evaluations were found in the excerpts of all three manifestos. Between the French and English versions, *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto removed some of these assessments, while a couple instances of additions were noted in the English texts of *Pour un Québec inclusif*.

For emotion, most of the excerpts from the *Pour un Québec lucide* manifesto contained prophetic and urgent language, whereas there were very few instances in the other two manifestos. References to war and siege were found in less than half of the *Pour un Québec lucide* excerpts, and about a third of the excerpts for both the NMQ and *Pour un Québec inclusif*. There was a tendency, however, to make this feature more explicit in the English version and translations. This could again be an attempt to persuade Anglophones by appealing more to their emotions.

Examples of figurative language were also found among the excerpts, with *Pour un Québec lucide* tending to make this feature more apparent in their English version and translators of *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto removing it in their English translations.

All of the manifesto titles were vague, meaning they did not reveal the aims of the social movement. Examples taken from the other contemporary Quebec manifestos (see Appendix A) demonstrate how reading only the title can reveal the ideology of the movement:

- *Manifeste pour une décroissance conviviale*/Manifest for a Convivial Degrowth (2008);

- *Manifeste pour un Québec pluraliste*/Manifesto for a Pluralist Quebec (2010);

- *Manifeste des professeur.e.s pour la protection de la démocratie et du droit de protestation étudiants*/ Professors' Manifesto for the protection of democracy and the right of student protest (2012);

- *Manifeste pour une évolution du statut juridique des animaux dans le Code civil du Québec*/ Manifesto for the Evolution of Animals' Legal Status in the Civil Code of Quebec (2014); and

- *Le manifeste de la Tendance marxiste internationale au Québec contre l'austérité*/ International Marxist Tendency Quebec's manifesto against austerity (2015)

A manifesto "may declare in its title its new stance […] or it may be blank as a tabula rasa" (Caws 2001, xxiv) and the titles of the three manifestos in this study appear to fall somewhere in between this division. Additions in the English version of *Pour un Québec lucide* and the unofficial translation of *Pour un Québec inclusif* made the titles slightly more explicit.

While one third of the *Pour un Québec lucide* manifesto excerpts contained elements of a 'high manifesto,' with four additions to its English version, this feature was not very present in the excerpts of the other manifestos. For all the texts, elements of form were found twice, once in *Pour un Québec lucide* and once in *Pour un Québec inclusif*.

From the text analysis, it emerged that *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto conforms most closely to the conceptual definition of a manifesto. Besides form, all the

features discussed in the literature (see Chapter One) as well as the additional features, evaluation and figurative language, were present in the excerpts examined. Translation shifts in the manifestos may have been strategies used to persuade the English speaking audience, particularly in the official translations.

4.4.2 Newspaper Translations

In the news articles, *Pour un Québec lucide's* text was the most newsworthy among the manifestos, both in the number of articles published and time period covered. This may be explained by two factors: first, the manifesto stirred controversy as it essentially called for a reform to the Quebec model; second, because of Lucien Bouchard's popularity in the Canadian political realm. Many believed he wished to run for office again and, given his former connections to sovereignty causes, the English media found it peculiar that his manifesto would consider the issue not relevant to the debate (see Example 4.12).

The NMQ manifesto was discussed more than the *Pour un Québec inclusif* manifesto, though the latter was referenced in the newspapers over a greater time period. In contrast to *Pour un Québec lucide*, whose manifesto was most cited in the *Gazette*, the two manifestos were most cited by the newswire *Postmedia News*. This may signal that national and local papers not did deem the manifestos as newsworthy as the one produced by Bouchard's group. The *Gazette*, however, published more articles about *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto than the NMQ's. If the *Charte des valeurs* proposal became a law, it would directly affect the paper's readership and it is fitting that the *Gazette* would want to report on counter arguments.

The overall opinion for all the manifestos was neutral, though no positive articles about the NMQ's manifesto were found. Given that the movement calls for a more

explicit form of sovereignty, it follows that the English media would not frame this proposal in a positive light. This is particularly evident in the country's two national papers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*, which held overall negative opinions about this manifesto.

Since their position on minority rights closely follows the Canadian ideology of multiculturalism, it is surprising that *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto was not more positively framed by the English newspapers. This could be explained by sections in the manifesto that were disapproving of the media, as seen below.

Example 4.26

French text:	D'entrée de jeu, le fait que le gouvernement désigne les rares demandes d'accommodements comme responsables d'une crise sociale en dit long sur le travail accompli par certains des chroniqueurs médiatiques les plus en vue de la province.
Official translation:	From the outset, the fact that the government considers a handful of isolated cases of requests for accommodation in the workplace as indicative of a social crisis speaks volumes about the work accomplished by some of the province's most prominent media columnists.
Unofficial translation:	From the outset, the fact that the government calls on the few requests for accommodation as being responsible for a social crisis speaks volumes about the work done by some of the province's most prominent media columnists.

While it is not clear whether the group is referring to French or English media outlets in Quebec, criticisms like these could be the reason journalists were not overtly positive about *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto. This did not seem to be an issue for one national paper—the *Globe and Mail*—however, as it published only positive articles about the manifesto's contents.

Pour un Québec lucide's manifesto covered a range of topics and newspapers tended to focus on the excerpts most critical of Quebec society. In terms of the

number of articles, the most newsworthy topic was the province's debt. Though, more newspapers covered the only excerpt addressing sovereignty. This was similar to the case of *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto, whose second most referenced excerpt was related to the national question. Since the NMQ manifesto promoted the separation of Quebec from Canada, all of its excerpts were about sovereignty.

Among the newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* referenced more excerpts from the NMQ manifesto proportional to other papers. This may have worked to create a more complete picture of the text for readers. In contrast, the *National Post*, the other national paper, covered less about this manifesto as well as that of *Pour un Québec inclusif*. This paper may have been more interested in *Pour un Québec lucide*'s text because of the fit between their right leaning ideologies.

For the more newsworthy excerpts, shifts to the identity features were the most notable in the newspaper translations or versions in the case of *Pour un Québec lucide* and possibly *Pour un Québec inclusif*. In discussing the sensitivity around terminology, Edwards (2009) notes that "the word 'sovereigntist' quickly came to replace 'separatist' in the Quebec-nationalist lexicon" (38). When referencing excerpts from the two manifestos, some of the newspapers changed the issue by shifting the idea of 'sovereignty' to 'separatism.' As this shift was also found in the official and unofficial English translations of *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto, the use of a more contentious term may be a strategy to appease Anglophone readers, who generally do not support the sovereignty movement. Since journalists were either providing their own translations of *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s excerpts or referencing of one the English translations, it is hard to know if the use of one term over the other was a deliberate decision.

Shifts to the identity features were also found among the newspaper translations of the NMQ manifesto. Categorization as well as the issue addressed was made more explicit in the newspapers owned by the conglomerate *Sun Media*.

Additions in terms of war and siege metaphors were noted in some of the newspaper translations of the *Pour un Québec lucide* and NMQ manifestos. These inclusions may have worked to elicit emotions in readers by presenting the movements as more militant.

A number of incorrect additions were found in the newspapers in the case of *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto. As Bouchard was interviewed by various news outlets after the manifesto was published, journalists may have confused statements he made with the content of the manifesto.

For the counts related to transparency, no links were provided in the newspapers that discussed the NMQ manifesto. Only 13 articles directly connected readers to *Pour un Québec lucide*'s text, while the newspapers were relatively more transparent about *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto.

Analysis of Party Platforms

The features used to examine the social movement manifestos will now be applied to the analysis of the party platforms, a genre associated with more implicit ideology. As outlined in Chapter Three, the platforms most discussed in the newspapers were those related to the Quebec provincial elections of 2007. Before proceeding to the findings from the text analysis, some background information about the election is provided below.

5.1 **2007 Quebec Elections**

In 2007, history was made in Quebec: for the first time in 129 years, the province elected a minority government. For decades, the two major parties, the *Parti libéral du Québec* (PLQ) and the *Parti Québécois* (PQ), had fought over the province's national question—the PLQ being federalist and the PQ sovereigntist. The political system transformed with the breakthrough of a fringe party, the *Action démocratique du Québec* (ADQ). While similar parties had won seats in the National Assembly during past elections, the ADQ was able to attract enough voters to become the official opposition on March 26, 2007. The likely reason for the ADQ's success is that it "sought something of a middle ground on the sovereignty question, attacking the two larger parties for their seeming obsession with the issue" (Allan and Vengroff 2009, 127).

This chapter begins with the textual analysis of the party platforms for the three major parties and any existing full-text translations. Because most of the newspaper articles appeared during the election campaign, with some articles discussing more than one platform, they are presented together.

5.2 *Action démocratique du Québec* (ADQ)

5.2.1 Background Information

Three months before the provincial election, the *Action démocratique du Québec* (ADQ)—led by Mario Dumont—published its election platform on December 12, 2006. While the ADQ did eventually release an English version on March 9, 2007, this was only a few weeks before election day. A quick overview of this official translation reveals some inconsistencies when compared to the original French text. The opening letter from Dumont[1] and the table of contents were omitted in the English translation. The editing was also not equivalent: formatting varied throughout the document (as seen in the analysis of the physical features below) and some information was missing, as demonstrated in the following excerpt.

Example 5.1

French text:	Réintroduire l'agriculture et le domaine agroalimentaire dans la politique économique comme secteur de croissance en misant sur la relève, la formation, le développement des produits du terroir et la recherche. (page 21)
English translation:	Re-introduce within our economic policies the growth sectors of agriculture and agro-foods by focusing on the need for seasonal workers, training, and the development of (page 19)

The English sentence cuts off, leaving '*produits du terroir et la recherche*' [local products and research] untranslated. Overall, the translation of the platform was not as polished as the original French version.

Examining the 48 excerpts referenced in newspapers, text analysis through the manifesto features uncovered some significant changes between the French and

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[1] While this does not appear in the pdf document, there was an English translation of the letter available on the ADQ's website.

English documents. Specifically, in the English platform, issues were made more explicit, urgency was removed as well as some of the physical features. For counts of features and shifts in the platforms, see Appendix G.

5.2.2 Analysis of Features

5.2.2.1 *Identity*

Of the 48 excerpts examined, 21 contained examples of categorization with most of these relating to 'us,' the ADQ. Between the French and English texts, translation shifts seem to balance out as there were six instances where categorization was made more explicit, whereas five were made less explicit. In the excerpts, three 'them' groups were identified: those outside Quebec (namely Ottawa and 'other provinces') in three instances, the PLQ in two instances and the PQ once. These were not altered between the French platform and English translation.

While location was significant in that references appeared 25 times in the excerpts, there were little changes between the French and English versions of the platform. When it came to positioning by issue—a feature occurring in all 48 excerpts—12 excerpts were made more explicit for the English audience.

<div align="center">Example 5.2</div>

French text:	» **DONNER UN SOUTIEN ACCRU À LA CULTURE.** Reconnaître les grandes réussites du milieu culturel, autant ici, au Québec, qu'ailleurs dans le monde, et ce, en apportant un soutien accru au secteur de la culture. Notamment, l'ADQ entend financer directement les créateurs plutôt que la bureaucratie et reconnaître véritablement leur statut. (page 7)
English translation:	**INCREASING SUPPORT TO ARTS AND CULTURE** Recognize our cultural accomplishments in Quebec, as well as around the world, by committing funds to support all areas of cultural endeavour. The ADQ intends to offer

direct support to the creative and inventive sectors of our society, rather than the bureaucratic, in recognition of their true status. (page 5)

The English translation specifies that 'funds' will be given to 'all areas' including the 'inventive sectors.' Additions like these signal that the English text may be more concrete than the French.

The issues addressed were also altered between language versions. Of the 48 excerpts examined, there were 12 instances where the issue was changed between French and English. Most significant was the shift from '*autonomie*' [autonomy] into other terms.

Example 5.3

French text:	C'est donc fort de ces consensus qu'un gouvernement adéquiste entend porter les attentes et les aspirations des Québécois : plus d'autonomie politique, économique et culturelle et ce, dans l'ensemble canadien. (page 4)
English translation:	So it is with consensual strength that an ADQ government expects to bring Quebecers' expectations and aspirations to greater political, economic and cultural heights, and this within the Canadian ensemble. (page 2)

Outside of the excerpts, this modification to '*autonomie*' occurs two more times in the platform. As noted in the discussion of the newspaper translations below, these changes may have been motivated by the media's criticism of the word 'autonomy.'

Evaluations were notable throughout the text (37 instances), though there were few significant shifts between the French and English versions.

5.2.2.2 *Emotion*

When it came to features related to emotion, references to war and siege appeared 18 times and prophetic language twice. There were no significant shifts noted, however,

the only two occurrences of urgent language in the platform were removed in the English translation.

Example 5.4

French text:	» **DÉFENDRE NOS CHAMPS DE COMPÉTENCES.** Utiliser tous les moyens à notre disposition pour contrer l'intrusion fédérale à l'intérieur de nos champs de compétences exclusifs, compétences où nos droits sont souverains au sens même de la Constitution canadienne. (page 5)
English translation:	Defend our exclusive areas of jurisdiction against any Federal intrusion into spheres protected by our sovereign Constitutional rights. (page 3)

While there are other omissions here in relation to categorization and location, the urgent nature of the text—'*Utiliser tous les moyens à notre disposition*' [Use all means at our disposal]—has been removed in the English platform.

Figurative language only appeared twice in the excerpts and, in the English translation, there was one addition and one omission.

5.2.2.3 *Physical*

Both the titles of the French text and the English translation appear in French.

Example 5.5

French text:	Une vision. Un plan. Une parole *Un plan A pour le Québec* [A vision. A plan. A word A plan A for Quebec]
English translation:	**Au Québec, on passe à l'action** [In Quebec, we are taking action]

They also conveyed two different ideas: by addressing the in-group and calling for action, the English appears is more persuasive than the French. Since the English version was also the ADQ's campaign slogan, this may explain its directness.

Of the 48 excerpts examined, 41 contained markers of a 'high manifesto' and 41 contained elements considered to be form. Between the texts, 29 of the examples of form, namely bullet points, did not appear in their corresponding English excerpt (see Examples 5.2 and 5.4). With four markers of 'high manifesto' also removed (capitalization), this suggests that the target text producer overlooked the stylistic features.

5.3 *Parti libéral du Québec* (PLQ)

5.3.1 Background Information

The *Parti libéral du Québec* (PLQ) with leader Jean Charest released its election platform on February 16, 2007—two months after the ADQ's French platform. An official English translation was made available a few days later (on February 19th) and both documents were published just before the election call on February 21st. The English media referenced 26 points from the platform—almost half that of the ADQ references. Examining these excerpts for translation shifts mostly revealed shifts to identity features, with explicitation in terms of categorization and implicitation for evaluations.

5.3.2 Analysis of Features

5.3.2.1 *Identity*

The PLQ platform contained many examples of categorization, with 23 instances found in the 26 excerpts. The majority of these were addressing party supporters by using the words '*notre*' or '*nos*' [our] and '*nous*' [us]. Most of the references to the 'them' group were about criticizing the PQ (four instances) or the ADQ (two instances). In the only example where the 'them' referred to Canada (see Example 5.18), the party is

actually proposing that Quebec become more like average Canadian provinces through raising tuition fees.

Of the 23 excerpts that contained categorization, in eight cases, this feature was made more explicit.

Example 5.6

French text:	a) **Promouvoir un accord de libre-échange transatlantique avec l'Europe.** L'Union européenne, aujourd'hui forte de 27 pays membres, a déjà conclu un accord de libre-échange avec le Mexique et le Chili, et est en négociation avec le Mercosur. Il s'avérerait avantageux pour le Québec de profiter de cette ouverture afin de diversifier ses marchés d'exportation et ses sources d'investissement. (page 51)
English translation:	a) **Promote a free-trade agreement with Europe.** The European Union, with 27 members, has already reached a free-trade agreement with Mexico and Chile, and is in negotiations with Mercosur. It would be profitable for Quebec to benefit from this openness to diversify our export markets and sources of investment. (page 51)

In the English translation, the addition of 'our' directly includes the party's 'us' or in-group.

When it came to positioning, 13 instances referring to a specific time and 18 referring to a specific location were observed in the 26 excerpts. Three of the location references were removed in the English translation, as seen in the example below.

Example 5.7

French text:	Nous compléterons notre plan d'investissement de 100 millions de dollars d'ici 2009 pour embaucher 1000 intervenants dont des psychologues, des psychoéducateurs et des orthophonistes qui travailleront dans les écoles du Québec auprès des élèves en difficulté. (page 27)
English translation:	We will add to our $100-million investment plan between now and 2009 by hiring 1000 more psychologists, psycho-educators and speech therapists to work in schools with

children having difficulty. (page 27)

Present in all 26 excerpts, the issue addressed was made more explicit in four instances and more implicit in six. In terms of alterations in meaning, five cases were noted.

Example 5.8

French text:	Nous avons investi en éducation trois fois et demie plus dans les quatre années de notre mandat que le PQ dans ses neuf ans de pouvoir. (page 8)
English translation:	During the first three years of our term we invested three times more money in education than the PQ did in its nine years in power. (page 8)

In the English translation, '*trois fois et demie*' [three and a half times] becomes 'three times.' This calculation is likely related to the shift in time from '*quatre années*' [four years] to 'three years.' For the audience of the French text, this strategy may work to make the party appear more accomplished. A similar shift is observed in the following excerpt.

Example 5.9

French text:	5
	LES IMPÔTS À LA MOYENNE CANADIENNE
	Nous maintenons l'objectif de ramener les impôts des Québécois au niveau de la moyenne canadienne.
	Nous avons fait plus de la moitié du chemin dans notre premier mandat, nous nous rendrons à destination dans le second. (page 16)
English translation:	5
	TAX RATES AT THE CANADIAN AVERAGE
	We maintain the goal of matching Quebec income taxes with Canadian averages. We are halfway there after our first term and we will meet the target in our second term. (page 16)

The English translation 'halfway' for '*plus de la moitié*' [more than half] makes it appear that the PLQ is less successful in English than in French.

Evaluations were observed 22 times, with three cases where this feature was removed in the English translation.

Example 5.10

French text:	Nous avons diminué les impôts des Québécois. Pas autant qu'on aurait voulu, c'est vrai, mais autant qu'on a pu. Nous avons aussi créé un fonds pour réduire le poids de notre dette. (page 4)
English translation:	We have reduced income taxes for Quebecers. Not as much as we would have liked but as much as we could. We also created a fund to reduce our debt load. (page 4)

The PLQ's admission of '*c'est vrai*' [it's true] has been omitted in the English translation.

5.3.2.2 *Emotion*

The platform excerpts contained seven references to prophetic language, three urgent markers—with one instance removed in the English text—and four war and siege metaphors. For prophecies, the one shift counted between the French and English excerpts relates to Examples 5.8 and 5.9 above.

Example 5.11

French text:	4 **RÉDUCTION DU POIDS DE NOTRE DETTE** Entre 2007 et 2012, le Fonds des générations aura accumulé plus de 4 milliards \$. **En 2025, le Fonds des générations aura accumulé plus de 32 milliards \$ et le poids de notre dette aura été réduit à 25 % de notre PIB.** (page 16)
English translation:	4 **REDUCING OUR DEBT LOAD** From 2007 to 2012 the Generations Fund will accumulate

> more than $4 billion; **by 2025 it will be $32 billion and our debt load will have been reduced to 25% of GDP.** (page 16)

The '*plus de 32 milliards $*' [more than $32 billion] projects more achievement than the '$32 billion' found in the English translation. Both in the present (positioning) and future (prophecies), the French text contains examples of the PLQ having more success. Without examining the entire platform, however, it would be difficult to say whether this is a recurring strategy.

Figurative language was not prominent in the excerpts, as it only appeared three times.

5.3.2.3 *Physical*

The French title of the platform and its English translation conveyed the same idea.

Example 5.12

French text:	S'UNIR POUR RÉUSSIR LE QUÉBEC DE DEMAIN [Coming together to achieve a successful Quebec of tomorrow]
English translation:	TOGETHER WE CAN BUILD A SUCCESSFUL FUTURE FOR QUEBEC

Though, with the addition of 'we can build,' the English version is more direct than the French.

In terms of formatting, 19 of the 26 excerpts contained examples of a 'high manifesto' and 11 contained form. None of these were altered in translation, as demonstrated in Examples 5.6, 5.9 and 5.11 above and 5.18 below. Unlike the ADQ's platform, the PLQ's French and English texts matched in style, format and, even, by page number.

5.4 *Parti Québécois* **(PQ)**

5.4.1 Background Information

The *Parti Québécois* (PQ), led by André Boisclair, was the last party to adopt its platform, releasing only a French version on February 24th. This is not to imply that the party never offered information in English. Before the election, in fact, clicking an 'other languages' tab on the PQ's website—strangely enough in Russian—would lead to information provided in English, Spanish and Portuguese (Gagnon 2013, 601–602). According to website captures from the WayBack Machine, this tab seems to have disappeared and the website became French only again just before the platform was released.[1]

Providing their own translations, the English media referenced 36 points in the platform. Since no official, or even full, translation of the platform is available, the section below will focus on counts of features found in the French text. References to location and evaluations were the most apparent in the excerpts examined.

5.4.2 Analysis of Features

5.4.2.1 *Identity*

When it came to the idea 'us' and 'them,' 11 instances were found among the 36 excerpts. This was the least, proportionally, between the three platforms. In the majority of these examples, the PQ used the word '*nous*' [us] or explicitly referred to themselves as the '*Parti Québécois.*' In one instance, the 'them' group referred to PLQ, in another the '*gouvernement canadien*' [Canadian government], wheras another derided the '*camp du Non*' [the No camp/side] when referring to 1995 referendum on

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[1] The last archive capture to show the other languages tab is dated February 20, 2007.

Quebec independence. It is notable that all of the out-groups mentioned support federalism.

As with the other platforms, all 36 excerpts discussed an issue. Five excerpts mentioned a specific time, while 17 referenced a specific place.

Example 5.13

French text:	Le vote des Québécois en faveur de l'accession du Québec à la souveraineté obligera l'Assemblée nationale et le gouvernement du Québec à poser des gestes visant à faire accéder de façon ordonnée le Québec au statut de pays. (page 9)
Literal translation:	[The vote of Quebec citizens in favour of the accession of Quebec to sovereignty will require the National Assembly and the Government of Quebec to take action to make Quebec achieve country status in an orderly way.]

In the excerpt above, there are four references to 'Quebec,' which is also the case with the majority of the other instances found during the analysis.

Evaluations were noted in almost two thirds (22) of the excerpts.

Example 5.14

French text:	Un gouvernement du Parti Québécois :
	• abolira, dans les deux ans suivant l'élection, la taxe sur le capital (celle qui nuit le plus à l'investissement) pour toutes les entreprises, à l'exclusion de celles du secteur financier ; (page 16)
Literal translation:	[A Parti Québécois government
	• will abolish, within two years after the election, the tax on capital (the most harmful to investment) for all companies, excluding those in the financial sector;]

5.4.2.2 *Emotion*

The platform excerpts contained no elements related to prophetic language, four urgent markers and six war and siege metaphors. Figurative language was also not prominent in the excerpts examined, as it only appears once.

5.4.2.3 *Physical*

The French title of PQ platform appeared to address its audience directly, similar to the English titles of the ADQ and the PLQ.

<div align="center">

Example 5.15

</div>

French text:	**Reconstruisons Notre Québec**
Literal translation:	[Let us rebuild our Quebec]

The concept of 'building' also appears in the English version of the PLQ platform.

Like the ADQ and PLQ platforms, the majority of the PQ excerpts contained stylistic markers, with elements of form in 28 instances—mostly bullet points as seen in Example 5.14—and 'high manifesto' features in three instances.

5.5 **Newspaper Translations**

A total of 177 newspaper articles about one or more of the platforms were found in the databases: ranging from December 23, 2006—almost two weeks after the ADQ released its French platform—to January 16, 2008, when the new PQ leader Pauline Marois was getting ready to propose changes to the party's old platform.

5.5.1 ADQ

The ADQ platform was discussed in 75 articles across 22 newspapers (see Appendix H), locally in every province and one territory (the Yukon). The *Montreal Gazette*—the

major English language daily in Quebec—published the most articles about the manifesto (17 articles) and referenced more of its content (35 of the 48 excerpts). Following the *Gazette*, the two national papers published 23 articles about the text, the *Globe and Mail* with 14 articles and the *National Post* with nine articles. After the *Ottawa Citizen* (nine articles) and the *Toronto Star* (six articles), the other papers published between one and two articles about the platform.

5.5.1.1 *Opinion*

Of the 75 articles that referenced the ADQ platform, 38 held a negative opinion about the party's proposals. While there were some positively framed stories (seven articles), no newspaper presented an overall positive view of the party. In fact, the majority of the newspapers (15 out of 22) were negative overall, with 12 papers only publishing negative reports. The remaining seven publications held an overall neutral view of the text, including the *Gazette* and the *National Post*.

5.5.1.2 *Issue*

Most of the excerpts from the platform fell under the domains of 'Welfare and Quality of Life' and 'Fabric of Society'—see Appendix B for coding scheme. Fewer excerpts (about four each) were related to the political system and the economy. About half of the local papers referenced only one excerpt, which addressed the Quebec question as seen in Example 5.16 below. Some, however, choose to relay more content from the platform relative to the other newspapers. Notably, articles in the *Edmonton Journal*, *The Guardian* (Charlottetown), and the *Calgary Herald* chose to discuss more than just the 'autonomy' issue in one story.

5.5.1.3 *Analysis of Features*

The most referenced excerpt in the manifesto was about Quebec nationalism, being discussed in 29 articles across 17 newspapers. Of these, one article was largely positive (*Globe and Mail*), three neutral and 25, the majority, negative.

Example 5.16

French text:	» **DÉSIGNER LE QUÉBEC COMME « ÉTAT AUTONOME DU QUÉBEC ».** Inscrire dans la constitution du Québec l'appellation « État autonome du Québec » afin de mieux définir, pour nous-mêmes et pour les autres peuples, la nation québécoise. (page 5)
English translation:	» **DESIGNATE QUEBEC AS "AUTONOMIST STATE OF QUEBEC"** Inscribe within the Quebec Constitution the wording 'Autonomist State of Quebec,' so as better to define Quebec entity for ourselves and for others. (page 3)

Between the French text and the English translation published by the ADQ, there are some notable shifts related to categorization. How the in-group is labelled is altered: '*la nation québécoise*' [the Quebec nation] has been changed to 'Quebec entity' and '*peuples*' [peoples] has also been removed.

As this excerpt highlights, the party's platform called for a more autonomous Quebec within Canada and this appeal was met with criticism from many English language newspapers. Since the official English translation was released almost three months after the French text, this may have influenced the target text producers' decision to remove some of the more controversial terms found in the original platform, including '*autonomie*' [autonomy] as seen in Example 5.3 and '*nation*' here.

Like the analysis in Chapter Four, the symbols next to the articles denote their stance on the platform: ↑ means positive, ↓ negative and ↔ neutral. Articles with the same or almost identical wording are also presented together.

In the newspaper translations, some rendered the excerpt above more faithfully.

> In the ADQ platform, for instance, Dumont proposes renaming his province "the Autonomous State of Quebec," partly "to better define, for ourselves and for other people , the Quebec nation ."
>
> <div align="right">(Susan Riley, The Province, March 28, 2007) ↓</div>
> <div align="right">(Susan Riley, Edmonton Journal, March 28, 2007) ↓</div>
> <div align="right">(Susan Riley, Ottawa Citizen, March 28, 2007) ↓</div>
> <div align="right">(Susan Riley, Star Phoenix, March 29, 2007) ↓</div>
> <div align="right">(Susan Riley, The Guardian (Charlottetown), March 29, 2007) ↓</div>
> <div align="right">(Susan Riley, Windsor Star, March 31, 2007) ↓</div>

Before the translation was released, in the two articles that referenced this excerpt, one translated '*autonome*' as 'autonomous' and the other left the French term in.

> The ADQ program promises […] changing our name to "l'Etat autonome du Quebec," […]
>
> <div align="right">(Anonymous, Gazette, January 27, 2007) ↓</div>

While the addition of 'our' may signal that the writer is identifying with Quebec—which makes sense given the article was published in the *Gazette*—leaving part of the excerpt in French could be related to mock language, which works to "mak[e] speakers of other languages not only an out-group, but also the subject of humour or derogation" (Vessey 2014, 178). By keeping '*l'Etat autonome du Quebec*' in French, the journalist—who holds a negative opinion about the ADQ platform—may be signalling that the proposal should not to be taken seriously in English Canada. This is further highlighted when the author goes to speculate how the proposal would be received in a majority English speaking community in Quebec: "We look forward to watching Mayor Stuart of Montreal West, for example, try to sell this to his voters."

After the translation was released, all but two (out of the remaining 27) used 'Autonomous State of Quebec' instead of the ADQ's official translation 'Autonomist State of Quebec.' Journalists may not have been made aware of the existence of the

English version and, as months had passed, may have not thought to look for one on the ADQ's website.

5.5.1.4 *Incorrect Additions, Omissions and Transparency*

Three incorrect additions were found in the newspapers, all in negatively framed articles. In contemporary Quebec politics, religious accommodation continues to garner attention from politicians and the public, as outlined in Chapter Two. During 2006, the debate began to intensify and, naturally, the matter became important during the 2007 election campaign. Platforms tend not to cover 'hot' topics (Mercenier, Perez, and Reuchamps 2015, 54) and, following this pattern, the ADQ decided to avoid this issue in their document. One journalist, however, erroneously says that it did:

> But [Dumont's] pointed Christmas wishes in the Assembly, and a promise in the ADQ election platform to impose limits on accommodation, signal his intention to keep the issue alive in the new year.
> (Don MacPherson, *Gazette*, December 23, 2006) ↓

Gazette readers would assume that the ADQ wants to formally take a position on the reasonable accommodation of religious minorities. Before the platform was released in December 2006, Dumont said he felt this debate "had gone too far" (Wong 2011, 149). While it is possible that the journalist was confounding statements made by the party leader with the content of the platform, it is an incorrect addition related to the document.

The other two inaccurate additions to the issues addressed in the platform dealt with Quebec nationalism.

> The document is heavy on rhetoric about rejecting "submission to Canada" and affirming Quebec's "sovereign rights."
> (Graeme Hamilton, *National Post*, March 28, 2007) ↓

But his party, the *National Post* blurted out after the election,
[...] It wants to [...] fight "submission to Canada" [...]
<div align="right">(John Robson, Ottawa Citizen, March 30, 2007) ↓</div>

The ADQ platform contains no mention of "submission to Canada"—nothing even close. Rather than verifying the content of the platform, Robson trusts Hamilton's quotes and, in effect, transmits the error to his readership. Even though these articles were published after the election, this incorrect addition would likely influence how readers of the *National Post* and the *Ottawa Citizen* view the ADQ's opinion about the Canadian Federation.

Related to decentralizing the municipal government in Montreal, an incorrect omission was also found in a *Gazette* article.

> The other striking thing about the program is that it makes no mention of agglo autocracy, the issue that works so well for Dumont in the island's suburbs and the South Shore. The omission raises the question of how important the issue is for the party.
>
> <div align="right">(Henry Aubin, Gazette, January 4, 2007) ↓</div>

Readers are led to believe that the ADQ has overlooked this important issue, when in fact, their platform resolves to abolish the councils and the tax associated with agglomeration.

<div align="center">Example 5.17</div>

French text:	» **ABOLIR LES CONSEILS D'AGGLOMÉRATION ET LA TAXE D'AGGLOMÉRATION.** L'ADQ abolira les conseils d'agglomération créés par le gouvernement Charest et rétablira le principe d'un compte de taxe unique. (page 25)
English translation:	**ABOLISHING THE AGGLOMERATION COUNCILS AND THE AGGLOMERATION TAX.** The ADQ will abolish the Agglomeration Councils created by the Charest government and re-establish the principle of a single tax bill. (page 23)

About two months later, however, the same journalist praises the ADQ's stance on decentralization.

> The ADQ has gone farthest: Its 3-month-old platform includes a pledge to abolish all agglo councils in Quebec [...]
>
> <div align="right">(Henry Aubin, Gazette, March 1, 2007) ↑</div>

Aubin goes on to suggest that this proposal "shows respect for these towns," which is quite the opposite opinion of his former article.

Astonishingly, only one author made the link to the platform available:

> Dumont also insisted the ADQ platform is "crystal clear" on Quebec's future, but as we noted just this week in this space, that's nonsense. (Judge for yourself at www.ADQ.qc.ca).
>
> <div align="right">(Anonymous, Gazette, January 27, 2007) ↓</div>

Also surprising is the fact that they held a negative view of the party at the time.

These negative articles about the ADQ may have played a part in Anglophone voter decisions, however, analysts have come to the conclusion that the party was essentially "drawing support of Francophones who were neither soft nationalist or moderately federalist" (Allan and Vengroff 2009, 133).

5.5.2 PLQ

Of all the texts in this study, the PLQ platform was the least cited: in 20 articles across nine newspapers (see Appendix I). Like the ADQ platform, the *Gazette* published the most articles (eight) on the document. Outside the national papers, the platform's content was not widely discussed—only locally in Quebec, Ontario and Alberta—though, it was referenced in one international paper.

5.5.2.1 *Opinion*

The nine newspapers held an overall neutral view of the platform; the one positive and one negative article were each found in the *Gazette*.

5.5.2.2 *Issue*

The majority of the excerpts addressed 'Welfare and Quality of Life,' while others focused on the economy. Proportionally, the *National Post* referenced the most of the platform's content, with 14 excerpts referenced in just one article. Given that this report was published on February 17th—just before the release of the official English platform—the paper was most likely aiming to provide translations of some excerpts for their Anglophone audience.

5.5.2.3 *Analysis of Features*

The most referenced excerpt in the manifesto was about 'welfare state limitation,' specifically raising tuition fees. Since the Quiet Revolution, education funding policies "have been characterized by a concern about increased accessibility to post-secondary education as a means of contributing to the economic, cultural and social development of Québec society as a whole" (Maroy, Doray and Kabore 2014, 197). As it ran counter to this ideal, the PLQ proposal was the most debated in the newspapers. It was referenced in 15 articles across all nine newspapers, of which 14 were neutral and one was negative.

Example 5.18

French text:	c) **Nous ajusterons les droits de scolarité dans le réseau universitaire,** à chaque année pendant la période 2007–2012, en les élevant, par crédit, d'un montant qui équivaut à 50 $ par session pour 15 crédits (100 $ pour deux sessions de 15 crédits). Le gel des droits de scolarité en vigueur depuis 14 ans est devenu intenable. Il nuit au recrutement et à la rétention des meilleurs professeurs et chercheurs, et handicape le développement concurrentiel des infrastructures de recherche. Cette situation ne sert ni les étudiants, ni les institutions, ni le Québec. Avec cet ajustement modéré, les droits de scolarité dans les universités québécoises, qui sont actuellement à 33 % de la moyenne canadienne (1 668 $ par année au Québec,

	5046 $ dans le reste du Canada) demeureront, et de loin, les moins chers du continent. (page 30)
English translation:	c) **We will adjust tuition fees at universities** by raising them $50 per session (session of 15 credits) over the 2007–2012 period. The 14-year-old tuition freeze has become untenable. It interferes with recruiting and retaining the best professors and researchers, and handicaps the competitive development of research infrastructure. This is no benefit to students, institutions or Quebec. Our tuition fees are currently only 33% of the Canadian average ($1668 a year in Quebec, $5046 in the rest of Canada), and even with this moderate adjustment they will remain by far the lowest on the continent. (page 30)

Between the French text and English translation, there is one addition of categorization ('our'), one reference to location is omitted ('*québécoises*') and the issue is made more implicit with the omissions of '*à chaque année*' [each year], '*par crédit*' [per credit] and '*100 $ pour deux sessions de 15 crédits*' [$100 for two sessions of 15 credits].

In the newspapers, most articles condensed the excerpt, making the issue less explicit.

> About the only people Mr. Charest risks alienating with his platform are university students, who would see a 13-year freeze on tuition end if the Liberals are re-elected. The Liberals propose to increase fees by $100 a year over the next five years, which would still leave Quebec tuition well below the national average. The average annual tuition in Quebec is $1,668, one third the average of $5,046 in the rest of Canada.
>
> (Graeme Hamilton, *National Post*, February 17, 2007) ↔

> […] election platform yesterday, calling for an end to the province's 13-year tuition freeze […] University tuition would rise by $100 a year – "That's $2 a week," the Liberal premier said – for five years, for a total of $500 more for tuition by 2012.
>
> (Kevin Dougherty, *Gazette*, February 17, 2007) ↔

The Quebec Liberal Party's vow to hike tuition fees by $500 over five years, lifting a 13-year-tuition freeze, [...] Announced yesterday as part of the Liberal Party's election platform, the tuition hike is expected to add $100 million to university coffers,

(Catherine Solyom, *Gazette*, February 17, 2007) ↔

More controversially, Charest is also pledging to raise university tuition fees – frozen since 1994 – that are among the lowest in Canada. Over the course of a second mandate, Quebec's Liberals would hike the fees by $500, a pledge that has angered student groups and raises the spectre of protests and strikes like those that dogged Charest during 2005, forcing his government to back down on a plan to cut the loans and bursary program.

(Sean Gordon, *Toronto Star*, February 18, 2007) ↔

And they approved the end of a 13-year tuition freeze. University fees will rise $100 a year for five years, adding $500 to current fees, which average $1,600.

(Anonymous, *Edmonton Journal*, February 18, 2007) ↔

It matters not that Mr. Charest's proposal of a $100 increase in tuition in each of the next five years will still leave students in Quebec paying less than half the national average in 2012.

(Konrad Yakabuski, *Globe and Mail*, February 24, 2007) ↔

But in a minority, the combined opposition could easily veto Charest's plan to phase in a $500 university tuition fee increase over five years.

(Kevin Dougherty, *Gazette*, March 25, 2007) ↔

Almost all articles remained faithful to the French platform by noting the $100 increase that is missing in the official English translation, with five making the issue more explicit by providing the total ($500) for the increase over the five years. Since some of these shifts occurred after the official English translation was released, this signals that journalists may have been providing their own translations of the platform. In terms of shifts to time references, three articles reported the length of the freeze differently from the platform—13 years compared to 14 years.

5.5.2.4 *Incorrect Additions, Omissions and Transparency*

For incorrect omissions in discussing the platform's content, one article claims that the PLQ has avoided the constitutional debate.

The platform is silent on Quebec's constitutional demands, a point mentioned by a reporter during a news conference.

(Graeme Hamilton, *National Post*, February 17, 2007) ↔

However, as seen in the excerpt below, the PLQ does address this issue in its platform.

Example 5.19

French text:	Encore aujourd'hui, la plate-forme *Affirmation, Autonomie, Leadership* (le rapport Pelletier, 2001) demeure la base de notre position politique et constitutionnelle sur le fédéralisme canadien. (page 70)
English translation:	The platform *Affirmation, Autonomy, Leadership* (Pelletier Report, 2001) remains the basis of our political and constitutional position on Canadian federalism. (page 70)

Even though this can be considered indirect—as the PLQ is referring to a plan published in 2001—the platform is certainly not 'silent.' In fact, page 70 continues with a list of six objectives that aim to "to increase Quebec's progress within the Canadian federal system, and there promote its autonomy and national character."

Transparency did not appear to be important for journalists as none of the articles provided links to the French and English platforms, both of which were available on the party's website.

5.5.3 PQ

The PQ's platform was the most newsworthy during the 2007 election: 115 articles published in 35 newspapers (see Appendix J). Like the ADQ and PLQ platforms, the *Gazette* discussed the text more in relation to other papers, with 25 articles. The *Globe and Mail* published 12 articles, followed by the *National Post* and the *Ottawa Citizen*, each with 10 articles. The platform's contents were widely discussed, being published in local papers across all provinces, one territory (Yukon) and two international papers. For this text another English daily from Quebec was found in the databases:

The Chronicle (West Island) based in Montreal. Additionally, this was the only case of the platforms where an article from *CBC News* was found.

5.5.3.1 *Opinion*

Like the NMQ's manifesto, no positively framed articles were found about the PQ's platform. Even though 52 negative articles were published about the platform, most of the newspapers held an overall neutral view. Eleven papers only published negative reports on the platform, including the *Toronto Star* with four articles.

5.5.3.2 *Issue*

About one third of the excerpts cited in the newspapers were related to sovereignty. The remainder discussed 'Welfare and Quality of Life' issues, followed by the economy and the political system. In terms of their number of articles to number of excerpts ratio, the *Gazette, Globe and Mail* and *Ottawa Citizen* were similar. Compared to these newspapers, however, articles in the *National Post* referenced less of the platform's content.

5.5.3.3 *Analysis of Features*

The most referenced excerpt in the PQ platform, and this entire research project, was about Quebec nationalism. This proposal was addressed across 34 newspapers in 95 articles, of which 49 were neutral and 46 negative. The newspapers were quick to point out what was missing from the platform—the word 'referendum.'

<div align="center">

Example 5.20

</div>

French text:	Le Québec est une nation qui a les moyens de ses ambitions, et un gouvernement du Parti Québécois est résolu à tenir une consultation populaire sur la souveraineté le plus tôt possible durant son premier mandat. (page 7)

Literal translation:	[Quebec is a nation that has the means to achieve its ambitions, and a Parti Québécois government is committed to hold a popular/public consultation on sovereignty as early as possible during its first term.]

Among the election platforms, the party's word choice in this excerpt was the biggest problem for the newspapers, even more so than the ADQ's use of 'autonomy.' After the platform was released, many articles criticized the PQ's decision.

> […] the PQ dropped the word "referendum" from its campaign platform. The platform, unveiled Saturday in a hotel north of Montreal, calls for a PQ government to hold a "public consultation" on Quebec sovereignty during its first mandate.
>
> (Andy Blatchford, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, February 24, 2007) ↓
> (Anonymous, *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal*, February 24, 2007) ↓
> (Andy Blatchford, *The Telegram* (St. John's), February 25, 2007) ↔
> (Andy Blatchford, *Daily News* (Halifax), February 25, 2007) ↓
> (Anonymous, *Sunday Herald*, February 25, 2007) ↔

In these articles, a location reference is added in, underlining that these are issues related to Quebec. While Blatchford's article was considered negative in the *Canadian Press NewsWire*, the *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal* and the *Daily News*, for the articles in *The Telegram* and the *Sunday Herald*, the journalist removed the following sentence: "But as someone once said about roses, a referendum by any other name would smell just as sweet to Boisclair […]." These two reports were deemed neutral because the negative evaluation was removed in publication.

In some articles, there were additions of war and siege metaphors.

> Rather than simply accept that the majority of Quebecers want to remain part of Canada, the PQ platform released this weekend says a PQ government will hold a "public consultation on sovereignty" after taking power. The word referendum is nowhere in sight.
>
> (Anonymous, *Vancouver Sun*, February 27, 2007) ↓
> (Anonymous, *Calgary Herald*, March 1, 2007) ↓

In two others, the journalists chose 'independence,' whereas the platform uses the term 'sovereignty.'

112.

The Parti Quebecois platform promises a "public consultation" on independence if it wins the March 26th election.

(Anonymous, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, February 25, 2007) ↔

[...] talked instead of a "public consultation" about independence .

(David Ljunggren, *Reuters News*, March 22, 2007) ↔

Observant of the nuances, one author calls attention to the party's shift in terminology over time.

True, he might be forced onto the defensive after the PQ adopted its platform on the weekend, and he twice exposed himself to ridicule.
First, the party that got us to speak and write about sovereignty rather than independence or separation now is trying to phase in the expression "popular consultation " in place of "referendum ."

(Don MacPherson, *Gazette*, February 27, 2007) ↓

In translating the controversial term, some journalists choose 'popular' instead of 'public.'

For the first time in its 25-year history, the Parti quebecois is dropping the word referendum from its lexicon, replacing it with the easier to sell and swallow term "popular consultation ." [...] Specifically, the platform says that if elected March 26, a PQ government "resolves to hold a popular consultation on sovereignty as soon as possible within its first mandate."

(Authier, Bauch and Dougherty, *CanWest News*, February 25, 2007) ↓
(Authier, Bauch and Dougherty, *Ottawa Citizen*, February 25, 2007) ↓
(Philip Authier, *Calgary Herald*, February 25, 2007) ↓
(Philip Authier, *Gazette*, February 25, 2007) ↓
(Philip Authier, *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 25, 2007) ↓

Others left the term in French.

But now the marketing wizards in Andre Boisclair's Parti quebecois have decided to eschew the R-word. If the PQ is elected we'll have "une consultation populaire ," rather than a referendum. They might as well have put a big sign on Boisclair's bus: "We think you're all morons."

(Anonymous, *Gazette*, February 27, 2007) ↓

Should André Boisclair become premier of Quebec, we will not have to go through a "referendum," but rather a "consultation populaire ." Great!

[...] If given the chance -- as Mr. Boisclair said, though his party's platform does not -- the PQ will again take us through this terribly destructive path of disunity.

Referendum, consultation populaire, whatever: No, thanks!

(Daniel Johnson, *Globe and Mail*, February 27, 2007) ↓

As noted in some of the newspaper excerpts about the ADQ platform, because this strategy only appeared in negative articles, it could be related to mock language. By choosing not to translate the term into English, the journalists are keeping the PQ's proposal at a distance and, through the surrounding evaluations, signalling it is a trivial idea.

Before the election ended, some papers reported on the 'referendum' as though the term did appear in the document.

Mr. Charest warned the PQ election platform commits the province to a unilateral declaration of independence -- bringing back memories of the bitter 1995 referendum campaign.

He said the PQ fully intends to hold a quick referendum, negotiate a year with Ottawa, and then unilaterally declare independence.

(Rhéal Séguin, Heather Scoffield, Ingrid Peritz,
Globe and Mail, February 27, 2007) ↔

It is that of a political party that says on Page One of its electoral platform that all the choices it proposes are transcended by the one to have a referendum as rapidly as possible and sovereignty."

(Elizabeth Thompson, *Gazette*, March 05, 2007) ↓

The PQ's program calls for a referendum as soon as possible if the party forms the next government.

(Les Perreaux, *Canadian Press NewsWire*, March 06, 2007) ↔
(Anonymous, *Daily News* (Halifax), March 07, 2007) ↔

And Mr. Boisclair was saddled with a platform promising a rapid referendum, something only the most diehard separatists were craving.

(Graeme Hamilton, *National Post*, March 13, 2007) ↓

And while Mr. Boisclair abided by the party program by promising to hold a referendum on independence "as soon as possible" within a PQ mandate, he did so without apparent conviction.

(Konrad Yakabuski, *Globe and Mail*, March 17, 2007) ↓

What counts most against the PQ is its ⟨referendum⟩ on sovereignty.

> (Henry Aubin, *Gazette*, March 24, 2007) ↔

The party hard-liners who wrote the 2007 election program, calling for a ⟨referendum⟩ as soon as possible, could conclude Boisclair was too soft in selling the option.

> (Kevin Dougherty, *Gazette*, March 25, 2007) ↔

Mr. Boisclair's inability to connect with Quebecers meant that his promise to hold a ⟨referendum⟩ "as soon as possible" after being elected was not taken too seriously by federalists.

> (Anonymous, *Resource News International*, March 26, 2007) ↔

Similar articles also appeared after the election.

The PQ fought the campaign with the most radically separatist platform of its history. Mr. Boisclair committed to hold a ⟨referendum⟩ "as soon as possible" in his first mandate.

> (Graeme Hamilton, *National Post*, March 27, 2007) ↓

PQ leader Andre Boisclair said after the party finished third in last week's election, with 26 seats in the 125-seat National Assembly, that Quebec voters were telling the PQ they don't want a ⟨referendum⟩ as soon as possible, as the party program proposed.

> (Kevin Dougherty, *Gazette*, April 04, 2007) ↔

Even after the PQ elected Pauline Marois as their new leader, some journalists continued to refer to '*consultation populaire*' as 'referendum.'

She becomes the PQ's seventh leader and has already vowed to shelve a key platform item by striking a promise to hold a sovereignty ⟨referendum⟩ "as soon as possible" once the party regains power.

> (Sean Gordon, *Toronto Star*, June 27, 2007) ↓

The first thing to come off the books is the promise the PQ used in the last election campaign stating that, if elected, the PQ will hold a sovereignty ⟨referendum⟩ "as soon as possible," within a first mandate.

> (Philip Authier, Kevin Dougherty, Marianne White, *Gazette*, January 16, 2008) ↔

Anglophone readers who missed the earlier debate about the terms may have assumed that the word 'referendum' does in fact appear in the PQ's platform.

5.5.3.4 *Incorrect Additions, Omissions and Transparency*

The incorrect addition was also related to Quebec nationalism; one author from the *Toronto Star* provided a quote that is not in the platform.

> A PQ government, if elected March 26, would also change the law governing referendums to prevent the "repetition of irregularities" that sovereignists *(sic)* believe were committed by federalists in Quebec in 1995. The amendment would ensure "the principle of equity between those who are taking part in the referendum."
>
> (Allan Woods, *Toronto Star*, February 25, 2007) ↓

While 'repetition of irregularities' does appear in the platform as '*répétition des irrégularités*' (on page 8), the details of the amendment do not. The journalist may have taken the quote from another document, however, placing it so close to the quote from the platform may lead readers to believe both are direct quotations from the same document. Additionally, since the second quote contains the word 'referendum,' it may work to misinform the English audience, as in some of the examples presented above.

Only three articles made the link to the platform available and, like the one article that supplied the ADQ website link, they held a negative view of the party at the time. Two of the articles by the same journalist additionally pointed to the lack of other language versions.

> It's right there on page 8 of the roadmap (available, in French only, at PQ.org under the prominently displayed, and environmentally green, "Feuille de route"):
>
> (Brigitte Pellerin, *Ottawa Citizen*, March 01, 2007) ↓
> (Brigitte Pellerin, *Times Colonist*, March 01, 2007) ↓

The other article that provided the link to the PQ's website appeared in the *Gazette*.

5.6 **Discussion**

5.6.1 Analysis of Features

Similar to the social movement manifestos, identity features were significant in the party platform excerpts, whereas features related to emotion were not as present. Contrary to findings from the manifestos, most notably, physical features were substantial amongst the platform excerpts.

In terms of categorization, a peculiar finding emerged from the analysis of the platforms. The closer the party leaned towards federalism, the higher the proportion of categorization features, with the majority of the PLQ excerpts containing 'us' and 'them' rhetoric. Considered to fall between the federalism–sovereignty spectrum, the "ADQ took its position in this debate with an alternative centred on autonomy as a way to defend the interest of Quebec's economy and identity" (Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps 2015, 62). Almost half of the ADQ excerpts contained examples of categorization, while they were found in less than one third of the PQ excerpts. This pattern may not be consistent, however, as the NMQ manifesto—with its ideology explicitly centred around sovereignty—contained less instances of categorization in its excerpts compared to the excerpts of *Pour un Québec lucide*, who explained that taking sides on sovereignty was not essential to their goals (see Example 4.11).

The most noteworthy translation shifts for categorization occurred between the PLQ's French platform and its English translation, with more than one third of the 23 instances made more explicit. Through additions of 'our' and 'we,' all of these shifts were related to the in-group.

While specific references to time were only found in half of the PLQ excerpts, this was still in higher proportion than the ADQ and PQ platforms. The same was true of location references, which occurred in more than two thirds of the PLQ excerpts

compared half of the ADQ and PQ. In terms of translation shifts, there was a slight tendency for location references to be removed in the English translations of the ADQ and PLQ platforms.

Between the French and English texts, the issue discussed was made more explicit in 25% of the ADQ excerpts. Conversely, the same proportion was found in the analysis of the PLQ excerpts, with the issue made more implicit in the English translation. Both the ADQ and the PLQ altered the issue being addressed in their excerpts, again about one in four times.

Evaluations were present in most of the platforms, with the PLQ excerpts containing this feature in a higher proportion than the other parties. For translation shifts, there was a small tendency for evaluations to be removed in the English version of the PLQ platform.

Compared the ADQ and PQ platforms, the excerpts from the PLQ platform contain the most instances of identity features, with categorization made more explicit in the English translation. In these instances, the party was directly addressing its Anglophone audience by using the words 'us' and 'our.' This approach could be related to the party's federalist stance. Generally, and in later platforms, the PLQ "continued to avoid [the Quebec question] [...], stating that this debate would represent a pathway to division" (Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps 2015, 63). The PLQ wants the Quebec population to come together and the use of such identification features may be a strategy aimed at uniting rather than dividing their audience.

Urgent, prophetic and figurative language were not frequent among the platform excerpts, though the PLQ make use of prophecies in a higher proportion than the ADQ and the PQ.

The ADQ platform contained the most instances of war and siege metaphors, which appeared in 18 of its 48 excerpts. For Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps (2015), these types of metaphors were "mainly identified in the [platforms] of the opposition from 1994 to 2012 (ADQ/CAQ and PQ) and in 2014 (PLQ and CAQ)" (66). Although references to war and siege were not prominent in the PQ excerpts, during the 2007 elections, the ADQ was the most marginal of the three parties. In this way, they could be considered closer to a social movement who use militant language in their manifestos as a way of "advocating for aggressive confrontation to a social system" (Summer 2013, 102). As seen in the analysis of the categorization feature, the ADQ's 'them' included Canada and the PLQ—both of which support the dominant ideology of federalism.

The titles of the platforms were vague, though this could be related to the fact that the texts cover a range of issues and it is unlikely that the party would be able to sum up its entire ideology in a few words. While the ADQ did not provide an English title for their Anglophone audience, this title addresses the audience more directly, which is similar to the PLQ's English title and the PQ's title.

All of the titles contained the word '*Québec*' or 'Quebec,' whereas the title of the PQ platform and the English title of the PLQ also conveyed the idea of 'building.' Research on Quebec platforms have uncovered that, in the contemporary period, building metaphors have "been used more by governing parties, while the journey metaphor can be traced back to the parties in opposition" (Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps (2015, 65). Even though this is not necessarily the case with the platform titles for the 2007 election, a journey metaphor is seen in the subtitle of the platform for the PQ— the party in direct opposition to the incumbent PLQ. '*Feuille de route*' [Roadmap] appears just after the PQ's title and it relays the idea of a journey.

The other physical features, 'high manifesto' and form, were prominent among the excerpts examined, though, in the PQ excerpts, only three instances of form were found. In terms of differences between French and English versions, the only significant finding was related to the ADQ's English translation, which removed most of the elements of form and some of the 'high manifesto' features that appeared in the French text. This was likely because the translation appeared to be produced in haste with little proofreading, as principally demonstrated in Example 5.1.

5.6.2 Newspaper Translations

For the 2007 elections, the PQ's platform was considered the most newsworthy in the English newspapers examined. The ADQ platform was the second most discussed, followed by the PLQ's text. Given that the election outcomes would directly affect its readership, it is logical that the *Gazette* would publish the most articles about all three platforms.

No positively framed articles about the PQ platform were found among the articles—with 11 newspapers publishing only negative articles—and most of the newspapers held an overall negative opinion about the ADQ platform. These two parties are not supporters of Canadian federalism: the PQ being for Quebec sovereignty and the ADQ wanting more autonomy for Quebec within Canada. On the other side, most of the articles about the platform of federalist leaning PLQ were neutral.

One reason for the difference in overall opinions for the national papers in the case of the ADQ platform—the *Globe and Mail* being negative and the *National Post* neutral—is the latter's right leaning ideology. The publication may have somewhat favoured the party because "Dumont has strongly supported Prime Minister Harper's

budget and his commitment to a better federal/provincial balance in terms of the collection and distribution of revenues, family child credits, and cuts in sales taxes" (Allan and Vengroff 2009, 126). At the time of the election, at the federal level, the *Conservative Party of Canada* with leader Stephen Harper was in power. The following excerpt from the *National Post* underlines this ideological connection.

> [The ADQ's platform] favours school choice, private alternatives in health care, and lower taxes. It even quotes the Fraser Institute (three times!) on Quebec's growth-hampering fiscal policies.
>
> (William Watson, *National Post*, February 22, 2007) ↑

The journalist praises the party for referencing studies by the Fraser Institute, a "market-oriented think [tank]" (McNutt and Marchildon 2009, 229). In the article, Watson avoids the party's contentious 'autonomy' issue and focuses on the promises about education, healthcare and lower taxation which he states are "the fairest and most efficient way to stimulate investment." By publishing articles that are in favour of the ADQ's right aligned proposals, the *National Post* is reinforcing its own ideology—fundamentally that of conservatism.

For the ADQ and PQ platforms, excerpts addressing Quebec nationalism were the most newsworthy. The most referenced excerpt in the PLQ platform, conversely, was about making the province more like the rest of Canada through raising tuition fees. While the *National Post* referenced more excerpts from this text relative to other publications, the paper was likely providing translated excerpts before the PLQ released their official English translation.

Examining the most discussed excerpts in the newspapers revealed that some translation shifts found in the official English texts may have been deliberate. As Examples 5.16 and 5.18 demonstrate, translations provided by newspapers were more faithful than official translations of the same excerpts in the ADQ and PLQ platforms.

For the PQ, on the other hand, journalists may have purposefully included the word 'referendum' in their reports, a word the party intentionally avoided in their platform. Similarly, by leaving terms in French, some newspapers may have been mocking the proposals in the ADQ and PQ platforms while distancing themselves from ideologies more or less linked to Quebec sovereignty.

Because politicians give speeches and interviews during an election, the incorrect additions and omissions found in the newspaper articles were likely due to journalists confounding statements made by party leaders with the content of their platforms. What is most noteworthy, however, is that for all the parties at least one addition or omission was related to the national question.

Analysis of Manifestos and Platforms

As the principal aim of this thesis is to test a methodology for analyzing translation shifts, this chapter begins with a discussion of the persuasive features used to describe the social movement manifestos and party platforms as well as their full English translations. This is followed by a presentation of common findings from the excerpts discussed in the newspapers.

6.1 Analysis of Features

Highlighted in Chapter One, the fundamental ideology of a manifesto can be seen as more explicit than that of a platform. Presumably, it would be easier to translate a document whose ideology is at the surface rather than one whose alignment has to be uncovered. This distinction between the text genres did not necessarily reveal itself in the manifestos and platforms examined in this study. What was more significant was how the rhetorical features were used to analyze these texts and their translations.

Since some "social movements rely on translation" (Mezei, Sherry, and von Flotow, 17), the existence of an official English translation points to the movement or party wishing to gain votes or support from an Anglophone audience. This is likely why English versions of the NMQ's manifesto and the PQ's platform were not produced. Their ideology of Quebec sovereignty is not generally advocated in English Canada.

From the context surrounding *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto, it is possible that differences in ideology between the movement and *Translating the printemps érable*—the producer of the unofficial translation—were minimal. The manifesto and its translations shared the goal of uniting Quebec residents against the PQ's proposal. While examining situative-agentive elements may have uncovered the "potential causal interconnections between sociocultural conditions and the individual translation

events," the fact that the two English translations of the manifesto were created days apart within in the same context also points to them being "ideologically compliant" (Baumgarten 2007, 69).

In terms of the identity features, the language of 'us' and 'them' was useful in examining both text genres. For the texts with two complete language versions, the majority of translation shifts added to or made categorization more explicit in the English version or translation. While this finding is counter to prior research that pronoun use is more important in French texts (Bánhegyi 2008; Gagnon 2006), the political speeches in these studies addressed a Canada-wide audience. This may explain why terms related to 'Canada' were considered significant in English versions. For the manifestos and platforms in this thesis, all full-text French and English documents were created specifically for Quebec residents. Producers of the English texts may have used references to 'us' and 'them' more frequently as a way to persuade the province's Anglophone community.

Many instances of time were found in excerpts of *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto. These were related to historical dates as well as forecasting events. Specific references to time were also found in half of the PLQ's platform excerpts: the majority of which were signalling accomplishments the party had achieved during their first term in office.

Though not very prevalent in *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto, references to specific locations were significant in all the other texts. Since most of these references were specifically lemmas of 'Quebec,' this underlines that identification with place is an important element of Quebec politics. In fact, Mercenier, Perrez, and Reuchamps (2015) have noted that "in Quebec, all the parties use Quebec in their name" (66). This holds true for the manifestos examined in this study as well as the majority of those

listed under Appendix A. There may have been fewer references to location in the *Pour un Québec inclusif* excerpts because the movement was mainly referring to the protection of minority rights in the province.

Evaluations were prominent among all of the excerpts but, for translation shifts, no connections emerged between the manifestos and the platforms. Groups that removed this feature in their English text—*Pour un Québec lucide* and the PLQ—could have been attempting to appear less biased. This may relate to their frequent use of time references, which places more emphasis on facts, e.g., specific dates, as opposed to opinions.

In terms of features related to emotion, *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto was the only text with a significant amount of prophetic language, even across language versions. This might be due to the nature of the document, which contains the most features related to social movement manifestos, but also touches on many issues in the way of a party platform. The document serves mostly as a warning to Quebec society and does not offer many direct solutions to the problems raised. Like prophecies and specific time references, *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto was also the only text in which urgent language was prevalent. This could again be related to the manifesto's purpose—to raise an alarm.

Combative language related to war and siege was most prominent in the social movement manifestos, though the excerpts from the ADQ platform also contained a significant number of these references. One explanation could be that, as the fringe party, the ADQ lacked the legitimacy and authority of established parties like the PLQ and the PQ. Given this marginal status, the party may have been acting like a social movement and employing more martial language.

In the manifestos, the most common translation shift to this feature was to add in or make militant metaphors more explicit. This strategy could relate to the additions of categorization, which may have been used to attract more Anglophone supporters to the movement. In other words, such strategies could have been aimed at persuasion through identification and eliciting the readers' emotions.

Figurative language was more prevalent among the social movement manifestos, which tend to "mint new metaphors, in an attempt to persuade" (Jencks 1997, 11). Through the process of translation, *Pour un Québec lucide*'s English manifesto was made more poetic, while *Pour un Québec inclusif* toned this feature down in its official English translation.

The titles of the documents were ambiguous and the party or movement's motives were not explicitly expressed through them. The other physical features, 'high manifesto' and form, were more significant in the analysis of the party platforms. This could be due to the length of the documents: with the ADQ's French platform being 27 pages, the PLQ's 80 pages and the PQ's 24 pages long. For journalists looking to report on the texts, and likely not having time to read them in their entirety, the sections in bold or in bullet form more likely stood out. The social movement manifestos in this study were much shorter texts: *Pour un Québec lucide*'s French text 10 pages, the NMQ's 14 pages—the majority of which are signatures—and *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s five pages.[1] Journalists may have been able to read the manifestos completely as they only comprised a few pages. Differences between language versions in terms of these physical features were mainly found in the ADQ's platform, whose English translation may have been produced without much proofreading.

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[1] Page counts for the manifestos of the NMQ and *Pour un Québec inclusif* were calculated from pdf versions at their websites. All of the platforms and *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto were already in pdf format and were available for download on their websites.

Without analyzing the full texts and their corresponding English versions or translations, it would not be possible to generalize about how many features appear and are altered in translation. This is particularly true of the party platforms, whose excerpts appear to have been chosen based on the physical features of text. That being said, a secondary goal of this thesis project is to investigate how translation can be used to reinforce stereotypes. Since the general public tend not to read platforms, it would rely on information presented by the mass media. Excerpts from the manifestos and platforms chosen by the newspapers, consequently, come to represent the entire contents of the documents.

6.2 **Newspaper Translations**

The most newsworthy text in this study was *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto. This was likely because some of its recommendations contradicted the norms in Quebec society (see Examples 4.1, 4.4 and 4.10). Usually a manifesto's aim is to provoke its audience and this is "generally in a spirit of a one-time only moment" (Caws 2001, xxiii). Unlike the other texts, however, this document was discussed for many years after it was published.

The PLQ's platform was considered the least newsworthy, followed by *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto. As the PLQ is more in line with federalism and *Pour un Québec inclusif* with multiculturalism, their texts conformed to dominant English Canadian ideologies and, as a result, were not as controversial as the other manifestos and platforms examined.

Given that their ideology is explicitly against the dominant Canadian ideology of federalism, pro-sovereignty movements and parties—like the NMQ and the PQ—were not framed positively in the English newspapers. Texts produced by these groups may

not have been considered relevant to the newspapers' Anglophone audience. While *Pour un Québec inclusif* endorse the Canadian institution of multiculturalism, the groups' criticisms of the media may have affected how journalists treated their manifesto.

For the NMQ, the conglomerate *Sun Media* published 20 articles with the same wording and, consequently, the same opinion about the manifesto. Even though this suggests that newspaper ownership affects which articles are published and how they are framed, this is not the case with the *Leader Post*. When *Pour un Quebec lucide*'s manifesto was published and during the 2007 elections, the paper was owned by *CanWest Publishing*. By the time the NMQ manifesto was released, the conglomerate *Postmedia News* had acquired the *Leader Post*. Since the paper's overall opinion of any of the texts it referenced was negative, this indicates that its ownership had no influence on the content of its articles. The same may be true of articles published in the *National Post* which, though owned by the same two conglomerates, held differing opinions to the *Leader Post*. These findings suggest that there may be no connection between newspaper content and conglomerate (Pritchard, Brewer, and Sauvageau 2005, 293),

Compared to other papers, the right leaning *National Post* tended to publish more content from texts whose proposals supported its own values—like those of *Pour un Québec lucide* and the ADQ. The newspaper may have presented more of the PLQ platform, however, because it was supplying information before the party released its official English translation.

The *Gazette* appeared to take the most notice of manifestos and platforms that would directly affect its audience. It paid much less attention to the texts of fringe movements like the NMQ.

The most newsworthy excerpt in the majority of texts addressed the national question: the most discussed for the NMQ, ADQ and PQ, the second for *Pour un Québec inclusif* and the most widely discussed for *Pour un Québec lucide*. Given that the PLQ is a federalist party, the English newspapers likely did not find its stance newsworthy.

Some of the literal translations in newspapers drew attention to the differences between the original French texts and their full English translations, namely in *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto as well as the ADQ and PLQ platforms. The shift to more or less controversial terms may indicate strategies used to appeal to English Canadians, e.g., using 'separatism' instead of 'sovereignty.' Additionally, by leaving terms and phrases in French, journalists may have been using mock language to highlight their negative opinions.

Incorrect additions and omissions were also mostly related to the national question and, in the case of additions, were likely ideas communicated by politicians during speeches or interviews. Because *Pour un Québec inclusif*'s manifesto presented a pro-multiculturalism stance, it is likely the reason the English newspapers were the most transparent about their text relative to others.

6.3 **Future Research**

Apart from examining the manifestos, platforms and the translations in their entirety, the question of text genres and newspaper translation could be expanded to include other dimensions. Using statistical software specifically designed for corpus linguistics such as NVivo or SPSS, for example, would allow for more detailed and comprehensive correlations to be found amongst the data. More explanation may be found by studying correlations between:

- journalists

- newspapers

- conglomerates

- places of publication

- opinions

- issues being addressed

- translation shifts

Further analysis related to diachronic differences could also be considered. As discussed in Chapter Three, ideologies tend to evolve over time. It would follow, then, that a journalist's opinion about a party or movement can also shift over time (see Example 5.17). Additionally, the use of the word 'referendum' (Example 5.20) was a shift made by some of the newspapers in referring to the PQ, especially as time elapsed between the platform's publication and the election. These two examples suggest that accounting for time may help explain opinion and translation shifts.

In terms of text genres, cases where social movements become political parties could contribute to the study of rhetorical features in manifestos versus platforms. Soon after *Pour un Québec lucide*'s manifesto was released, a manifesto was created by a group counter to Lucien Bouchard's. While many assumed that the former politician would form a political party after the publication of his group's manifesto, it was in fact this counter movement, *Pour un Québec solidaire* (For a Quebec Based on Solidarity), that went on to become *Québec Solidaire*, a new political party "based on popular and national sovereignty grounded in general principles of solidarity with the oppressed and exploited" (Fidler 2012, 157). Comparison between the manifestos of *Pour un Québec lucide* and *Pour un Québec solidaire* may also be worthwhile because

the "frequent extension of movements beyond their originating moment often produces texts more interesting than those dating from the moment itself" (Caws 2001, xxviii).

Future critical discourse studies could examine the liminal nature of Quebec in the contemporary Canadian context. The idea that discourse occurs mainly between dominant and non-dominant groups needs to be expanded in systems of more complex social relations. Consider that the Quebecois are in many ways subordinate to English Canadians, yet dominant vis-à-vis minority groups in Quebec. Challenging the binary view of power relations implicit in Critical Discourse Analysis may uncover how this duality affects translation.

On a broader scale, political translation studies in Canada often focus on periods where interest in Quebec politics is heightened, as is the case with this research project. During politically stable periods, however, would the idea of 'two solitudes' still be reflected in translated discourse?

CONCLUSION

This research has underlined how media discourse works to reinforce the idea that Canada still consists of 'two solitudes.' Rather than challenge existing stereotypes about Quebec politics, newspapers generally reiterate them. In their translations and discussions about Quebec manifestos and platforms, English newspapers across the country tend to frame the province as though its primary focus is sovereignty. This is not to say that biases about English Canadians do not exist in the French media. However, there is a marked significance in the fact that, as the dominant discourse, the English media has more power to shape attitudes and opinions. As long as these conventions are not challenged, there will continue to be conflict between the country's two linguistic groups.

As a methodological contribution, the main objective of this project was to test a methodology for examining persuasive features as they apply to both manifestos and platforms, with additional attention on how these are shifted between French and English texts. The most important finding was related to identity features which were prominent in both text genres and tended to be made more explicit in English translations. While this runs counter to previous research on other political texts, including Canadian speeches, the difference in the importance of pronouns may be related to the intended audience of the text: Anglophones in Canada versus Anglophones in Quebec only.

Similar to other Critical Discourse Analysis studies about ideology and translation, the findings suggest that the ideology of the translator does in fact expose itself in the translation process. In the analysis of the manifestos and platforms, the ideology of the English Canadian media revealed itself in their opinions about the texts and in their fascination with the national question. While there were cases where these

factors were related to the paper's left–right alignment, the ideology was mainly centred around the federalist–nationalist divide.

When Premier Couillard announced the publication of the PLQ's constitutional policy one month before Canada's 150th birthday, the English media was generally not pleased. There was an indication, however, that Canadians outside Quebec may be willing to move beyond stereotypes. A headline from the *Globe and Mail* read "Unfinished Business: Couillard has done Canadians a Favour by Reminding them that Constitutional Reconciliation with Quebec is Critical to their Future." Such opinions are an encouraging sign that discourse may be evolving towards cooperation between the country's two linguistic groups. Recent attention to the problems faced by First Nations groups in Canada—a topic discussed in the PLQ document—could be one reason why citizens are more willing to move beyond perceived differences.

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TEXTS EXAMINED

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APPENDIX A:
List of Contemporary Quebec Manifestos

Manifesto Title	Year	English version/translation
Pour un Québec lucide	2005	Clear-eyed vision of Quebec (***official***)
Pour un Québec morbide	2005	n/a
Manifeste – pour un Québec solidaire	2005	Manifesto for a Quebec based on solidarity (***official***)
Manifeste pour une décroissance conviviale	2008	Manifest for a Convivial Degrowth (***official***) Quebec Movement for convivial degrowth (***unofficial***)
Pour un Québec laïque et pluraliste	2010	n/a
Manifeste pour un Québec pluraliste	2010	Manifesto for a Pluralist Quebec (***unofficial***)
Manifeste pour un plan numérique québécois	2010	Manifesto: A Digital Framework for Quebec (***official***)
Brisons l'impasse: Manifeste du NMQ	2011	n/a
manifeste pour un printemps érable	2012	Manifesto for a Maple Spring (***unofficial***)
Le manifeste Contre²	2012	The manifest (***official***)
Manifeste pour une démocratie ouverte	2012	n/a
Nous sommes avenir: Le manifeste de la CLASSE	2012	Share our future: The CLASSE Manifesto (***official***)
Manifeste des professeur.e.s pour la protection de la démocratie et du droit de protestation étudiants	2012	Professors' Manifesto for the protection of democracy and the right of student protest (***official***)
Manifeste pour un Québec Moderne	2013	n/a
Manifeste de la Génération Nationale	2013	n/a
Manifeste (Pour un Québec inclusif)	2013	English Version (***official***) Manifesto for an inclusive Quebec (***unofficial***)
Uni-e-s contre la francophobie	2014	n/a
Manifeste pour une évolution du statut juridique des animaux dans le Code civil du Québec	2014	Manifesto for the Evolution of Animals' Legal Status in the Civil Code of Quebec (***official***)
Manifeste pour sortir de la dépendance au pétrole	2014	n/a
Manifeste du CARRÉ NOIR	2014	The Black Square Manifesto (***unofficial***)
Pour un Québec numérique libre et ouvert	2014	n/a
Manifeste pour tirer profit collectivement de notre pétrole	2014	Manifesto in favour of developing our oil for everyone's benefit (***official***)
Le manifeste de la Tendance marxiste internationale au Québec contre l'austérité	2015	International Marxist Tendency Quebec's manifesto against austerity (***official***)

Comparative Manifesto Project Coding Scheme, Adapted by Birch and Crête (2014, 9)

Table 3: Collective Manifesto Project Categories adapted for Canada and Quebec*

Domain 1: External Relations

101 Foreign Special Relationships: positive
102 Foreign Special Relationships: negative
103 Anti-Imperialism (G)
104 Military: positive (D)
105 Military: negative (G)
106 Peace (G)
107 Internationalism: positive (G)
108 European Community: positive
109 Internationalism: negative
110 European Community: negative

Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy

201 Freedom and Human Rights (D)
202 Democracy (G)
203 Constitutionalism: positive (D)
204 Constitutionalism: negative

Domain 3: Political System

301 Federalism (decentralization)
    3011: Provincial Decentralisation
302 Centralisation
    3021: Provincial Centralisation
303 Governmental and Administrative
    Efficiency
304 Political Corruption
305 Political Authority (D)

Domain 4: Economy

401 Free Enterprise (D)
402 Incentives (D)
403 Market Regulation (G)
404 Economic Planning (G)
405 Corporatism/ Mixed Economy
406 Protectionism: positive (G)
407 Protectionism: negative (D)
408 Economic Goals
409 Keynesian Demand Management
410 Economic Growth: Positive
    4101 Regional development
    4102 Metropole (city) development

411 Technology and Infrastructure
412 Controlled Economy (G)
413 Nationalisation (G)
414 Economic Orthodoxy (D)
415 Marxist Analysis
416 Anti-Growth Economy (Pro-Alternative
    economic growth): Positive

Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life

501 Environmental Protection: Positive
502 Culture and sport: Positive
503 Equality and social justice: Positive
504 Welfare State Expansion (G)
505 Welfare State Limitation (D)
506 Education Expansion (G)
507 Education Limitation

Domain 6: Fabric of Society

601 National Way of Life: positive (D)
    6011 Quebec Nationalism
    6012 Defence/promotion of French
602 National Way of Life: negative
603 Traditional Morality: positive (D)
604 Traditional Morality: negative
605 Law and Order: Positive (D)
606 Civic Mindedness: Positive (D)
607 Multiculturalism: positive
608 Multiculturalism: negative

Domain 7: Social Groups

701 Labour Groups: positive (G)
702 Labour Groups: negative (D)
703 Agriculture and Farmers: Positive
704 Middle Class and Professional Groups
705 Underprivileged Minority Groups
706 Non-Economic Demographic

000 No meaningful category applies
001 Not to be coded (used for titles)

*Codes used in the RILE scale are identified either as G (gauche [left]) D (droite [right]).

APPENDIX C:
Social Movement Manifestos – Counts of Features and Translation Shifts

		MANIFESTOS											
	Feature	Pour un Québec lucide (2005)				Nouveau Mouvement pour le Québec (2011)	Pour un Québec inclusif (2013)						
		TOTAL Excerpts (out of 51)	Official English			TOTAL Excerpts (out of 21)	TOTAL Excerpts (out of 21)	Official English			Unofficial English		
			Added/ more explicit	Omitted /more implicit	Changed			Added/ more explicit	Omitted /more implicit	Changed	Added/ more explicit	Omitted /more implicit	Changed
I D E N T I T Y	Categorization	44	13	5	3	13	9	3	0	0	1	0	0
	Positioning time	37	1	1	1	6	3	0	1	1	0	0	0
	location	42	4	3	3	11	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	issue	51	10	3	14	21	21	5	2	4	1	2	3
	Evaluation	36	2	5	0	16	18	2	0	0	1	0	0
E M O T I O N	Prophecies	29	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Urgency	35	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	War and siege references	22	8	3	2	7	8	2	0	0	1	0	0
	Figurative language	28	6	3	5	6	7	0	4	0	0	1	0
PH YIS CAL	'High manifesto'	17	4	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Form	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0

APPENDIX D:
Pour un Québec lucide – **Newspaper Articles**

NEWSPAPER	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	OPINION			NUMBER OF EXCERPTS CITED (out of 51)
		positive	neutral	negative	
Montreal Gazette	**45**	11	*30*	4	41
Globe and Mail	**22**	7	*15*	0	27
National Post	**20**	8	*11*	1	39
Toronto Star	**13**	5	*8*	0	25
Ottawa Citizen	**9**	1	*7*	1	26
Guelph Mercury	**6**	*3*	3	0	23
Canadian Press NewsWire	**5**	1	*4*	0	26
Kitchener-Waterloo Record	**4**	*3*	1	0	20
Telegraph-Journal (NB)	**4**	1	*3*	0	19
Winnipeg Free Press	**4**	0	*4*	0	15
Calgary Herald	**3**	1	*2*	0	20
Star Phoenix	**3**	1	*2*	0	22
Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal	**3**	1	*2*	0	21
Vancouver Sun	**3**	1	*2*	0	16
CBC News	**2**	0	*2*	0	7
Chronicle-Herald	**2**	0	*2*	0	8
Daily News (Halifax)	**2**	*1*	1	0	11
Edmonton Journal	**2**	0	*2*	0	7
The Guardian (Charlottetown)	**2**	*2*	0	0	14
Hamilton Spectator	**2**	0	*2*	0	8
Leader Post	**2**	0	1	*1*	10
Postmedia News	**2**	0	*2*	0	2
Sunday Herald	**2**	*1*	1	0	7
Times Colonist	**2**	0	*2*	0	11
CanWest News	**1**	0	*1*	0	13
Evening News (New Glasgow)	**1**	0	*1*	0	6
Financial Times (London)	**1**	0	*1*	0	1
Hill Times	**1**	*1*	0	0	1
Kingston Whig-Standard	**1**	0	*1*	0	14
Moncton Times & Transcript	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Red Deer Advocate	**1**	*1*	0	0	19
Resource News International	**1**	*1*	0	0	5
Telegram (St. John's)	**1**	*1*	0	0	9
Whitehorse Star	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
Windsor Star	**1**	0	*1*	0	10
TOTAL	<u>**175**</u>	52	116	7	

APPENDIX E:
Nouveau Mouvement pour le Québec – **Newspaper Articles**

NEWSPAPER	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	OPINION			NUMBER OF EXCERPTS CITED (out of 51)
		positive	neutral	negative	
Postmedia News	**5**	0	*4*	1	12
National Post	**3**	0	1	*2*	5
Canadian Press NewsWire	**2**	0	*2*	0	10
Globe and Mail	**2**	0	1	*1*	4
Leader Post	**2**	0	1	*1*	5
Montreal Gazette	**2**	0	1	*1*	9
Ottawa Citizen	**2**	0	1	*1*	8
Windsor Star	**2**	0	*2*	0	1
Agence France Press	**1**	0	0	*1*	5
Barrie Examiner	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Brantford Expositor	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Brockville Recorder and Times	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Cape Breton Post	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
Chatham Daily News	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Edmonton Journal	**1**	0	*1*	0	1
Fort McMurray Today	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
The Guardian (Charlottetown)	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
Guelph Mercury	**1**	0	*1*	0	8
Hamilton Spectator	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
Kingston Whig-Standard	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
London Free Press	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Niagara Falls Review	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
North Bay Nugget	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Orillia Packet & Times	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Owen Sound Sun Times	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Pembroke Daily Observer	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Peterborough Examiner	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Reuters News	**1**	0	*1*	0	1
Sarnia Observer	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Sault Star	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Simcoe Reformer	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Stratford Beacon Herald	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Sudbury Star	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
The News (New Glasgow)	**1**	0	*1*	0	3
Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal	**1**	0	*1*	0	10
Toronto Star	**1**	0	0	*1*	2
Welland Tribune	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Whitehorse Star	**1**	0	*1*	0	10
Woodstock Sentinel-Review	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
TOTAL	**51**	**0**	**42**	**9**	

Pour un Québec inclusif – Newspaper Articles

NEWSPAPER	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	OPINION			NUMBER OF EXCERPTS CITED (out of 21)
		positive	neutral	negative	
Postmedia News	**12**	0	*11*	1	9
Montreal Gazette	**8**	0	*8*	0	8
Canadian Press NewsWire	**4**	*2*	2	0	8
Globe and Mail	**3**	*3*	0	0	9
National Post	**2**	0	*2*	0	1
Hamilton Spectator	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
Western Star (Corner Brook)	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
Red Deer Advocate	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
TOTAL	<u>**33**</u>	**5**	**27**	**1**	

Party Platforms – Counts of Features and Translation Shifts

PLATFORMS									
	Action démocratique du Québec				**Parti libéral du Québec**				**Parti Québécois**
Feature	**TOTAL Excerpts (out of 48)**	**Official English**			**TOTAL Excerpts (out of 26)**	**Official English**			**TOTAL Excerpts (out of 36)**
		Added/ more explicit	**Omitted /more implicit**	**Changed**		**Added/ more explicit**	**Omitted /more implicit**	**Changed**	
IDENTITY Categorization	**21**	6	5	1	**23**	8	2	0	**11**
Positioning time	**2**	0	0	0	**13**	1	2	1	**5**
location	**25**	2	3	0	**18**	1	3	0	**17**
issue	**48**	12	6	12	**26**	4	6	5	**36**
Evaluation	**37**	2	1	0	**22**	0	3	1	**22**
EMOTION Prophecies	**2**	1	0	0	**7**	0	0	1	**0**
Urgency	**2**	0	2	0	**3**	0	1	0	**4**
War and siege references	**18**	2	1	1	**4**	0	0	0	**6**
Figurative language	**2**	1	1	0	**3**	0	1	0	**1**
PHYISCAL 'High manifesto'	**41**	0	4	3	**19**	0	0	0	**3**
Form	**41**	0	29	0	**11**	0	0	0	**28**

APPENDIX H:
ADQ – Newspaper Articles

NEWSPAPER	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	OPINION			NUMBER OF EXCERPTS CITED (out of 48)
		positive	neutral	negative	
Montreal Gazette	17	1	*9*	7	35
Globe and Mail	14	2	5	*7*	19
National Post	9	2	*5*	2	23
Ottawa Citizen	9	0	3	*6*	25
Toronto Star	6	2	*3*	1	6
Canadian Press NewsWire	2	0	1	*1*	7
Star Phoenix	2	0	0	*2*	13
Windsor Star	2	0	0	*2*	13
Guelph Mercury	1	0	*1*	0	6
Telegraph-Journal (NB)	1	0	0	*1*	1
Calgary Herald	1	0	*1*	0	11
Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal	1	0	0	*1*	1
Chronicle-Herald	1	0	0	*1*	1
Daily News (Halifax)	1	0	0	*1*	1
Edmonton Journal	1	0	0	*1*	13
The Guardian (Charlottetown)	1	0	0	*1*	13
Western Star (Corner Brook)	1	0	0	*1*	1
Times-Herald (Moose Jaw)	1	0	0	*1*	1
Province	1	0	0	*1*	4
Resource News International	1	0	*1*	0	1
Winnipeg Free Press	1	0	*1*	0	1
Whitehorse Star	1	0	0	*1*	6
TOTAL	**75**	**7**	**30**	**38**	

PLQ – Newspaper Articles

NEWSPAPER	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	OPINION			NUMBER OF EXCERPTS CITED (out of 26)
		positive	neutral	negative	
Montreal Gazette	**8**	1	*6*	1	15
Globe and Mail	**3**	0	*3*	0	6
Canadian Press NewsWire	**2**	0	*2*	0	6
Ottawa Citizen	**2**	0	*2*	0	6
National Post	**1**	0	*1*	0	14
Toronto Star	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Edmonton Journal	**1**	0	*1*	0	2
Financial Times (London)	**1**	0	*1*	0	1
Guelph Mercury	**1**	0	*1*	0	5
TOTAL	<u>**20**</u>	**1**	**18**	**1**	

PQ – Newspaper Articles

NEWSPAPER	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	OPINION			NUMBER OF EXCERPTS CITED (out of 36)
		positive	neutral	negative	
Montreal Gazette	**25**	0	*13*	12	31
Globe and Mail	**12**	0	*7*	5	14
National Post	**10**	0	*6*	4	6
Ottawa Citizen	**10**	0	5	*5*	14
Canadian Press NewsWire	**7**	0	*5*	2	12
Edmonton Journal	**5**	0	*3*	2	4
The Guardian (Charlottetown)	**4**	0	*3*	1	6
Toronto Star	**4**	0	0	*4*	6
CanWest News	**3**	0	*2*	1	3
Guelph Mercury	**3**	0	*2*	1	11
Calgary Herald	**2**	0	0	*2*	3
Daily News (Halifax)	**2**	0	1	*1*	1
Leader Post	**2**	0	1	*1*	2
Star Phoenix	**2**	0	1	*1*	4
Telegram (St. John's)	**2**	0	*2*	0	7
Telegraph-Journal	**2**	0	*2*	0	2
Windsor Star	**2**	0	*2*	0	3
CBC News	**1**	0	*1*	0	4
Chronicle (West Island)	**1**	0	0	*1*	1
Evening News (New Glasgow)	**1**	0	0	*1*	3
Financial Times (London)	**1**	0	0	*1*	1
Journal-Pioneer (Summerside)	**1**	0	0	*1*	1
Kitchener-Waterloo Record	**1**	0	0	*1*	4
Lethbridge Herald	**1**	0	*1*	0	3
Province	**1**	0	*1*	0	3
Red Deer Advocate	**1**	0	0	*1*	4
Resource News International	**1**	0	*1*	0	1
Reuters News	**1**	0	*1*	0	1
Sunday Herald	**1**	0	*1*	0	1
Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal	**1**	0	0	*1*	5
Times Colonist	**1**	0	0	*1*	2
Vancouver Sun	**1**	0	0	*1*	1
Western Star (Corner Brook)	**1**	0	*1*	0	3
Whitehorse Star	**1**	0	*1*	0	3
Winnipeg Free Press	**1**	0	0	*1*	3
TOTAL	**115**	**0**	**63**	**52**	