

du Québec à Montréal and Brazilian universities ; or even the "CANO" project of the "NORDPLUS" exchange program with the Nordic countries, a project whose launch has nevertheless been delayed.

THROUGH CANADIAN STUDIES

Québec studies have been able to penetrate foreign university programs in two manners : through Canadian studies or through French studies, which have been recently redefined, in numerous countries, as franco-phone studies. While these two perspectives have opened up an institutional route for Québec studies, they nevertheless each pose their own methodological and political problems. In some cases they have in fact proven to be genuine dead-ends.

If one excludes academics who hesitate before identifying themselves as "Canadianists" or as "Québecists" (especially sociologists, historians, specialists of social phenomena or of feminist questions, etc.), it becomes apparent

that “Québec studies overseas have for a large part developed within the international network of Canadian studies.”⁶⁰

The idea of “Canadian studies”, which gained ground during the 1970s and 1980s, preceded that of “Québec Studies” by about twenty years.⁶¹ Canadian studies⁶² responded to a federal nation-building strategy and to objectives of cultural diplomacy.⁶³ Canadian

60. Fernand Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 62 (our translation).

61. “A first centre for Canadian studies, financially backed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Business was inaugurated in September of 1975 at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.” (Fernand Harvey, *ibid.* [our translation])

62. Fernand Harvey notes the importance of the network of Canadian studies overseas: “In 2001, the number of Canadianists in the world reached 7000, united within 20 national or multinational associations connected to the International Council for Canadian Studies. [...] Furthermore, around thirty countries offered different university courses on Canada to some 150,000 students.” (Fernand Harvey, *ibid.* [our translation])

63. The wording of this policy was specified in a 1995 White book on foreign policy: see *Canada in the World*.

studies overseas benefited from considerable government and institutional grants,⁶⁴ in addition to the definite advantage of being largely practiced in English, the widely-spoken language of academics.

Rachel Killick stresses how much Québec's political position is echoed in the university field. For example, within the British Association for Canadian Studies one finds the "ambiguities of its situation within the Canadian federation, benefiting on the one hand from Canadian studies' increased visibility while maintaining its minority

Government statement, Ottawa, Foreign Affairs and International Business Canada, 1995.

64. Fernand Harvey estimates that "in 2001-2002, the total budget of the Management of International Academic Relations of the FAIBC for Canadian Studies overseas was \$5.2 million." (Fernand Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 62 [our translation]). We note that this budget of the federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Business moreover excludes budgets of cultural promotion overseas administered by the Canada Arts Council, the Canadian Heritage Ministry, and the embassies and consulates themselves.

position.”⁶⁵ Investing in these large associations certainly represents an advantage, but raises numerous problems. Overwhelmed by English-language studies, Québec studies must struggle to carve out a distinct presence and is only able to “maintain itself through insistence and perseverance.”⁶⁶ For example, Romey Borges recalls the 15th convention of the Indian Association for Canadian Studies (the largest Canadian Studies association in the world), over the course of which the delegation of Québécois “was confined to a parallel session that only five or six people attended.”⁶⁷ Certain academics have even preferred to leave these associations, since

65. Rachel Killick, *op. cit.*, p. 174 (our translation).

66. Elisabeth Lauridsen, “Des arpents de neige à partager. Les études québécoises en Scandinavie”, *Globe. Revue internationale d'études québécoises*, vol. 4, n° 2, 2001, p. 339 (our translation).

67. Romey Borges, “La nécessité d'exploiter et de valoriser l'intérêt croissant pour les études québécoises et franco-canadiennes en Inde”, *Globe. Revue internationale d'études québécoises*, vol. 4, n° 2, 2001, p. 343 (our translation).

they failed to find sufficient representation for French-language studies.

One must not however necessarily see this visibility problem as proof of ill will, which would take up the arguments of the Canadian-Québec question. Often, it is rather “through force of habit or indifference”⁶⁸ or yet for lack of knowledge of French, that Canadianists leave Québec in obscurity, even while seeking to negotiate a place for it, as modest as it might be. If in the case of India, its adherence to the Commonwealth in part explains the exclusively English image of Canada, and consequently, of Québec (as well as the marginalization of Québec studies within Canadian studies in India), it is less easily explained in the case of European countries, especially those which are French-speaking.

France, however, which has benefited, for around thirty years, from the best institutional relations with Québec, has witnessed a

68. Romey Borges, *ibid.* (our translation).

struggle between French-language and English-language studies, won until now by English-language studies. In effect, the coexistence of two areas of studies within Canadian studies, because they belong to two linguistic registers and come from two academic entities (Romance studies on the one hand and English or North-American studies on the other hand), means that studies on Québec and those on Canada create competition within these associations. It has even happened that France-Québec alliances have led the way to English-language studies, leaving little place for Québec studies.⁶⁹ Also, the competition between the languages and cultures follows trends which go beyond the

69. This situation is not new however. In the beginnings of Québec diplomacy in the 19th century, Québec thus preceded Canada, but was then supposed to leave Canada all the place. On this subject, see *La Tradition renouvelée. Les relations entre la France et le Canada depuis soixante années*, Paris, 1930, p. 7 and Daniel Chartier, "La représentation canadienne en France jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale. Un point de vue québécois", *op. cit.*

context which concerns us, and in face of which Québec is powerless.

This struggle is even observed in English Canada where Québec not only faces the competition with (English-)Canadian studies, but also with studies of “Canadian French-speaking communities in a minority milieu.”⁷⁰ In organizations where the advantage tips towards the francophones, a call to order is common. Here, it is sometimes a question of a Spanish newsletter which reserves too large a place for questions concerning Québec,⁷¹ there, of an (Irish) association which is not anglophile enough and which finds itself lectured. “In numerous countries,” David Parris writes, “the association of Canadian studies is dominated by specialists of English literature [...]. Our – one has often made this

70. Marcel Martel, “Regard sur les études québécoises au Canada anglais”, *Globe. Revue internationale d'études québécoises*, vol. 4, n° 2, 2001, p. 392 (our translation).

71. Carmen Mata Barreiro, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

remark to us and sometimes the reproach – is dominated by Québecists.”⁷²

Furthermore, a methodological difference exists between Québec studies and Canadian studies, linked to the use of the French language. Consequently, as the language of Québec studies remains mainly French, the majority of foreign Québecists belong to departments of literature, language or linguistics. Also, the multidisciplinary character of Québec studies is less pronounced than that of Canadian studies, which is also reflected in the scientific programming of centres. However, as Jean-Marie Klinkenberg writes, the thematic field of Québec studies “is nevertheless not narrow, the appropriate situation of Québec literature entails that the problematics of language and that of all broadcasting arts are incorporated into a group.”⁷³

72. David Parris, *op. cit.*, p. 196 (our translation).

73. Jean-Marie Klinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 89 (our translation).

As Québec studies become institutionalized, they end up detaching themselves from Canadian studies, or at least establishing their specificity within Canadian studies. In Spain, it is noted that “this separation, this process of decentralization proves profitable”⁷⁴ and opens the way for original comparative studies. In Italy, the Québec specificity is now recognized, “especially in literature”, while “the situation has evolved in a different manner in what concerns history and geography.”⁷⁵

In fact, the traditional academic structure, which separates the teaching of languages according to their historical belonging, leaves little room for the coexistence of (English language) Canadian and (French language) Québec studies. The rare cases in which this coexistence has succeeded, are due to struggles

74. Carmen Mata Barreiro, *op. cit.*, p. 155 (our translation).

75. Sergio Zoppi, *op. cit.*, p. 234 (our translation).

led by dedicated Québécois. If the Canadian studies network appears as a temptation for Québec studies, especially because they are better funded and already structured, they do not in any way ensure the continuity of programs related to Québec.

QUÉBEC STUDIES
AND FRANCOPHONE STUDIES :
CONVERGENCE AND PARALLELISM

If the position of Québec studies within Canadian studies poses the particular problem of linguistic integration among researchers, their position among francophone studies raises methodological issues which are just as restricting. Despite the youth and fragility of its academic position, Québec has often seen the Francophonie world as a natural framework for Québec Studies, capable of facilitating its integration in foreign academic structures. Consequently, at first glance, it provides "a conducive environment for the