# THE END OF THE "TWO SOLITUDES"?
# THE PRESENCE (OR ABSENCE) OF THE WORK OF FRENCH SPEAKING SCHOLARS IN CANADIAN POLITICS

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# The End of the "Two Solitudes"?
## The Presence (or Absence) of the Work of French Speaking
## Scholars in Canadian Politics[1]

It is useful to discuss the origins of this text that highlight the underlying problem it aims to discuss.  While I was Director of the School of Canadian Studies at Carleton University, I received a phone call from a colleague at the University of Ottawa.  One of his students wanted to take a course, taught in English, dealing with the broad question of French and English relations Canada.  The discipline (sociology, political science, history, literature) did not matter, as long as the theme was discussed.  After looking at the whole list of courses offered by my own University, I saw that there was none that fit this student's interests.   There were a few courses regarding Quebec politics, history, and literature, but none that focused specifically on the relations between French and English societies in Canada.  My first observation: in Ottawa, the "national" capital of Canada, it was impossible for a student to learn about one of the main aspects of Canada's social, cultural, and political life.

A few months later, I received a phone call from another colleague at Laval University in Québec city. He wanted to know which French-speaking authors in the social sciences were, to my knowledge, the most cited in English on questions about Canadian society.  This was an important query to which I had no response.  A quick look at the bibliographies of a half dozen book about Canadian politics left me further perplexed.  This brings me to my second troubling observation: in scientific works concerned with Canada, the research done by my francophone colleagues seemed almost ignored in English literature dealing with Canada.

These introductory remarks, although anecdotal, are the starting point for this research.  It should be said that the scope of this project is at once narrow and large.  In its narrowness, it is concerned with the presence of academic works of francophone scholars (which are written in either English or in French) within the work published in English in the field of Canadian politics.  The method does not seek to measure the dissemination of works written in French.  The focus will be less on the original language (although it will be present in our analysis) than on the problems of dissemination of works produced in the universe of French-speaking scholars in Canada.[2]  The focus is, thus, placed on the *producers* of knowledge, more than the language of dissemination.

This research is also narrow in that it focuses only on a particular aspect of the field of political science, "Canadian politics".  Excluded here, therefore, are works related

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[2] The universe of French-speaking scholars in Canada is not limited to French universities in Quebec.  It also includes the scholarship of French-speaking scholars working in universities outside of Québec (Université de Moncton, University of Ottawa, Royal Military College in Kingston etc.).  However, it excludes English-speaking scholars holding a position in French Universities.

to international politics, comparative politics, political philosophy, or political theory that are not in someway linked to the Canadian context.

But the research question underscores wider issues regarding the production and reproduction of a specific representation of the Canadian political community. It is not the supremacy of Anglo-Saxon culture that will be the focus of our attention here, but, more so, the sources used to identify questions and problems confronting the Canadian political community. Likewise, it is not a linguistic issue that will be addressed here (the fact being that a good number of French speaking scholars choose to publish in English rather than in French), nor that of the status of French in Canada. Our main concern will be, rather, the process of knowledge production and reproduction in a, so-called, multinational society.

In her inauguration speech in September of 2005, the new Governor General of Canada proclaimed the end of the "two solitudes":

> The time of the "two solitudes" that for too long described the character of this country is past. The narrow notion of "every person for himself" does not belong in today's world, which demands that we learn to see beyond our wounds, beyond our differences for the good of all. Quite the contrary: we must eliminate the spectre of all the solitudes and promote solidarity among all the citizens who make up the Canada of today. As well, we must make good use of our prosperity and our influence wherever the hope that we represent offers the world an extra measure of harmony. (Jean, 2005)

This comment reflects wishful thinking on the part of the Canadian Head of State, rather than an accurate sociological description of the relationship between the two "solitudes"? Nonetheless, the Governor-General raises an important issue in presupposing that there exists a reciprocal recognition between French and English Canadians. According to Jean-François Gaudreault-Desbiens, a jurist, the intention of the Governor General was to invite all Canadians to question their preconceived ideas about the way in which the two groups perceive and understand each other. He added that "if Canada still has to deal with the fabled 'two solitudes', it is not because Quebeckers resent what other Canadians do or want, or because Canadians outside Quebec wish ill to Quebeckers. It is first and foremost because there is very little communication between these two societies" (Gaudreault-Desbiens, 2005: 33-34). In other words, it is still necessary to be conscious of the presence of the "Other," or to have simultaneous interest in and intellectual curiosity towards what the Other has to offer.

It is science as social practice that lies at the heart of this analysis. And, the specificity of this analysis is not the presence of French in scientific or technical publications in Canada, nor the distribution of scholarship produced by scholars in francophone Universities, nor the issue of French as a language of communication, nor the hegemony exercised by English in the internationalization of knowledge (as done by Leclerc, 1988, or the studies of the *Conseil de la langue française*, for example). The object of this analysis is the presence of francophone Canadian scholarship in research published in English Canada on the topic of Canadian politics and society.

**Trivial Nationalism or the Production of "Meaning"**

In 1999, the publication of *Si je me souviens bien / As I Recall. Regards sur l'histoire* by the Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP) attempted to help bridge the gap that exists between the contradictory interpretations of history between French and English Canada. In the concluding chapter, political scientist John Meisel spoke of how he benefited from the intellectual and social advantages that stem from contact with the other cultural universe in Canada. He noted that "continuous contact enlarges the universes of both groups involved, which, in turn, encourages members to compare their own ideas and realizations to those of the others, and gives each party the opportunity to look anew upon the other" (IRPP, 1999: 406 – our translation). In sum, developing relations with people from other cultures allows one to broaden their horizons, ask questions which, otherwise, could not be posed, andbetter understand the other's representations and motivations.

No one would oppose the words of John Meisel. At the same time, however, it seems that four decades after the Commission on bilingualism and biculturalism, much of the proposed path has yet to be explored.

Research in social sciences is not performed in a vacuum. The way in which one understands, defines, conceives of, and refers to one's subject of analysist influences the knowledge produced. When the subject of inquiry is a society, the researcher, whether he/she wants to or not, may have in impact on how the society will evolve. Scholarly works contribute to current representation of society. They may also change it either by criticizing or reframing it. In this sense, the researcher is also an agent of change by the lens that he/she places on society. When, moreover, this society is his or her own, the social scientist helps to identify important issues we must pay attention to, and establish what the problems that we must linger over, and the solutions that can be applied to solve or manage problems or social tensions are.

What has just been said is by no means original. Sociology has always been acutely aware of the meaning of social reproduction, objectivity, the logic of scientific knowledge, etc. Sociology (from Max Weber, Thomas Kuhn, Robert K. Merton, Talcott Parsons to Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu) has invited critical research and analysis. In its discussion of the relationship between the researcher and his/her object of study, sociology recognizes itself as being inscribed in a particular social and intellectual context of which we must be fully conscious.

Neither is the focus of this research new. At the annual meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association (CSAA) held in Winnipeg in June 1970, sociologist Guy Rocher noted that researchers perceived expectations to which they attempt to respond. He added that these expectations centered around three modes of social interaction. The first mode refers to the fact that the production of knowledge constitutes a new form of capital used as a form of power and influence by those wishing to either support, reinforce, or contest contemporary authorities. The second mode of interaction is that of the researchers developing comprehensive analyses on issues that are socially controversial. These analyses are not done with a narrow empiricism, but reflect upon society in general. Finally, Rocher noted that sociologists (and, here we include political scientists) were increasingly called upon to share their knowledge as experts, as consultants and as intellectual leaders. Therefore, they not only seek to explain social,

political, economic issues  (as they define and analyze them obviously), but also to identify, inform, shape orientations, and respond to social issues deemed important.  They become, credible social actors whose conclusions are used by others to justify their respective points of view (Rocher, 1973: 270-272).

Conscious of the role played by social science researchers, Guy Rocher invited francophone scholars to exercise more influence outside Québec by the quality, quantity, and the scope of their research.  Moreover, he noted that, with the exception of a few individuals who wish to communicate with the other universe, usually in a manner that he qualified as sporadic and superficial, a large majority of Canadian sociologists exclusively belong to their own linguistic universe (*Ibid*: 273).

This compartmentalization of the Canadian knowledge into two distinct linguistic universes is problematic in a society marked by its duality.  More than three decades ago, the fact that English-speaking scholars knew little of the works of French-speaking scholars was a source of frustration for the latter.  However, the manner in which researchers define and understood their object of analysis is more problematic in light of the three mode of social interactions identified by Guy Rocher.  When we consider knowledge production as social capital and the role played by the academics in the identification of social and political issues, the importance of who gets heard among scholars can no longer be taken for granted.  These factors deserve greater attention *because* those who contribute to produce and reproduce the dominant representation of the Canadian society (in government, media, and institutions of knowledge) do so partially, by ignoring an entire universe of scholarly work while seemingly not being fully aware that they are so doing.  French Sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant speak of a cultural imperialism in the form of a power to universalize a single historical tradition and misidentify things as such (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1998: 109). The question of (conscious or unconscious) exclusion of voices and concerns of one of the of the two core linguistic groups in Canadian society merits to be analyzed in more depth.

It is also important to highlight the normative character of this paper. The majority of works about nationalism emphasize how minority groups express and structure their identity.  On the other hand, what might be called "majority nationalism" is generally absent of the analysis.  For the most part, the culture, identity, and political tradition of the majority group is of lesser interest and rarely looked at as manifestation of nationalism.  Analysis of the modes of identity construction and expression of this nationalism remains to be done.  More and more, this majority nationalism, which conceived itself in terms of citizenship and patriotism, does not see itself as another form of nationalism (Resnick,1995; Jenson, 1998).  Despite all this, it constructs itself through a process of identity production and reproduction, of identification and articulation of "communal" problems, of mobilization of knowledge which influences the key players as well as the structures of power.  It is within this framework that the mode of construction of majority nationalism must be analyzed as an object of study.

The normative character of this research rests upon an *expectation* which seems legitimate.  To fully understand the social and political Canadian reality implies a deep awareness of its complexity.  It also implies that the researcher has the duty to take into consideration the works related to his/her object of research without systematically ignoring a significant proportion of scholarlywork, particularly emanating from a

different linguistic universe. If Canada, as a political community (and a national community, as is used widely in the vocabulary of English Canada), is composed of two global societies (to reclaim the terms of the Dunton-Laurendeau Commission), scholarly production related to it must reflect this reality if it wishes to be *inclusive* and *comprehensive*. Knowledge of the French language, at least the capacity to read it, constitutes a prerequisite for a complete and serious analysis of Canada. But there is more. It is also compulsary that Canadian scholars systematically look at the knowledge produced within the francophone scientific universe. That they seek to know what is published in English, certainly, but also in French. The paper will explore the presence (or the lack thereof) of reference to work done by French speaking scholars in the broad literature dealing with Canadian Politics.

This work rests upon two premises. The first is that francophone political scientists have not limited themselves to produce knowledge only about Quebec society. Their object of study is also inscribed within a much larger framework, notably that of Canadian society. Many are interested in political parties and elections, public policy in varied areas such as health, environment, public administration, immigration, security, feminism, social movemements, federalism, etc. In other words, French-speaking scholars produce knowledge allowing to better understand the social and political realities relevant to the whole of Canada. This general comment calls for a second. Let it not be presumed that the the work of francophone Canadian scholars is, *a priori*, qualitatively different from that of *English speaking Canadian scholars*. These works do not necessarily and by default shed a distinct light on issues analyzed. The second point rejects, therefore, all forms of ethnicism or essentialism found in these works. This does not exclude the fact that nuances can be different, but it neither presumes nor presupposes that.

**Methodological Considerations**

This research analyzes a statistically representative number of works published in English on issues dealing with Canadian politics and society between 1995 and 2005. Books were privileged over peer-reviewed journal articles because they constitute the outcome of a longer research process. They are more likely to be comprehensive in terms of the literature they refer to than journal articles that are, by definition more focused. Furthermore, this choice allows one to better circumscribe the field of analysis to major works on different aspects of Canadian politics and society that were published in Canada.

The sample consists of a total of 84 books (n) [79 specialized works and five recent introductory books to Canadian politics- please see appendices A and B]. They were all found on MUSE, the McGill University electronic catalogue. They were selected from a catalogue of the following publishers: University of Ottawa Press, McGill-Queen's University Press, University of Toronto Press, Oxford University Press, Garamond Press, Fernwood Publishing, Broadview Press, University of British Colombia Press. The total number of books dealing with Canadian politics published by the above presses is estimated to be around 300.

With respect to methodology, we must locate the analysis geographically and temporally. The research consisted of an elaboration of a list of publishers and works, the

collection, examination, and organization of the different data.  This was done in Montréal between the March 1 and April 10, 2006.

Both time and place constraints have had an impact on the way the research was led: certain books were not listed in MUSE, some were not available in libraries at the time of analysis, others were disregarded because they had used overly complex systems of referencing, and, therefore, required too much time to be treated properly. Nevertheless, considering the number and the diversity of books retained for this research, the number of publishing houses, their geographic distribution, and the total number of references, this study remains statistically accurate.

The bibliographies from each of the works selected from MUSE were photocopied. First, the number of references was counted, excluding newspaper articles, government documents and other official publications.  Following that, the references belonging to French authors were tabulated.

The data collected is statistically representative.  It represents approximately 30% of the books published in English by major publishers on issues related to Canadian politics.  This research includes more than 28,500 references.   It is important to mention that it is the number of references that was tabulated and the number of existing works. For example, the same book or article could have been referred to several times in different books, accounting for several entries.  On the other hand, if a reference appeared more than once in the same book or chapter, it was only counted once.  In other words, occurrences of *Ibid., loc. cit.,* and other references of the same nature, were disregarded.

## Analysis of the Results

### *Estimation of Knowledge Production*

It is important to first assess the scope of the universe of French speaking scholars in Canada.  There is no measure to know the exact number of scholarly publications by Political Scientists in Canada (books, book chapters, journal articles, etc.).   In the same manner, there are no tools allowing for an assessment of the proportion of publications by French-speaking scholars.  The available databases, like the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), are lacking in some respect as a source of information.  First, SSCI takes into account only articles published in peer-reviewed journals, despite the fact that seminal contributions are likely published in books.  Moreover, many academic journals are not included in this database.  Finally, there is an over-representation of academic journals published in English, and an under-representation of those published in other languages (Larivière et. al., 2005; Archambault et.al., 2006).  Hence, many important Quebec academics journals, such *Politique et Sociétés, Globe* and  *Recherches sociographiques,* to name a few, do not figure into the databases of referenced journals.

If it is impossible to know the exact proportion of publications from francophone scholars (outputs), it is certainly possible to infer an approximate proportion in looking at grants received (inputs) from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (see Table 1).  Quebec universities accounted for a quarter of research grants obtained between 1998 and 2005.  If we subtract those received by McGill (5.1%) and Concordia (2.3%), two English universities, but add those granted to the University of Ottawa (3.4%), which houses a number of French speaking scholars in the social sciences, the

**Table 1**
**Recipients of SSHRC by Province – 1998-1999 to 2004-2005**

| Province | Nombre* | | Amount | | Average Amount |
| | N | % | $ | % | ($) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Atlantic | | | | | |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 344 | 0,95% | 16 385 739,13 | 1,47% | 47 632,96 |
| Prince Edward Island | 66 | 0,18% | 1 408 530,00 | 0,13% | 21 341,36 |
| Nova Scotia | 1 189 | 3,27% | 28 764 037,66 | 2,58% | 24 191,79 |
| New Brunswick | 549 | 1,51% | 13 778 093,69 | 1,24% | 25 096,71 |
| *Sub Total: Atlantc* | *2 148* | *5,91%* | *60 336 400,48* | *5,42%* | *28 089,57* |
| Québec | | | | | |
| Québec | 9 211 | 25,36% | 290 997 099,94 | 26,13% | 31 592,35 |
| *Sub Total : Québec* | *9 211* | *25,36%* | *290 997 099,94* | *26,13%* | *31 592,35* |
| Ontario | | | | | |
| Ontario | 14 034 | 38,64% | 431 880 081,71 | 38,78% | 30 773,84 |
| *Sub Total: Ontario* | *14 034* | *38,64%* | *431 880 081,71* | *38,78%* | *30 773,84* |
| Prairies | | | | | |
| Manitoba | 782 | 2,15% | 24 494 014,14 | 2,20% | 31 322,27 |
| Saskatchewan | 616 | 1,70% | 17 429 880,57 | 1,57% | 28 295,26 |
| Alberta | 2 626 | 7,23% | 92 884 763,71 | 8,34% | 35 371,20 |
| *Sub Total: Prairies* | *4 024* | *11,08%* | *134 808 658,42* | *12,11%* | *33 501,16* |
| British Columbia | | | | | |
| British Columbia | 4 255 | 11,72% | 146 914 120,37 | 13,19% | 34 527,41 |
| *Sub Total: British Columbia* | *4 255* | *11,72%* | *146 914 120,37* | *13,19%* | *34 527,41* |
| North | | | | | |
| Yukon | 2 | 0,01% | 32 686,00 | 0,00% | 16 343,00 |
| North West Territories | 4 | 0,01% | 65 000,00 | 0,01% | 16 250,00 |
| *Sub Total: North* | *6* | *0,02%* | *97 686,00* | *0,01%* | *16 281,00* |
| Elsewhere in Canada | | | | | |
| Elsewhere in Canada | 1 648 | 4,54% | 31 560 468,00 | 2,83% | 19 150,77 |
| *Sub Total: Elsewhere in Canada* | *1 648* | *4,54%* | *31 560 468,00* | *2,83%* | *19 150,77* |
| Exterior of Canada | | | | | |
| Exterior of Canada | 991 | 2,73% | 16 934 616,99 | 1,52% | 17 088,41 |
| *Sub Total: Exterior of Canada* | *991* | *2,73%* | *16 934 616,99* | *1,52%* | *17 088,41* |
| **Total** | **36 317** | **100,00%** | **1 113 529 131,91** | **100,00%** | **30 661,37** |

Source: Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada
http://www.ost.uqam.ca/CRSH/Resultat.aspx (Consulted May 2, 2006)

proportion of total grants obtained by francophone researchers in Canada is estimated to be between 20 and 25 %. Although this proportion encompasses all disciplines, it is reasonable to assume that the situation is relatively identical for Political Science. Finally, even if this study is concerned with all francophone Canadian scholars, and not only Quebec ones, this proportion seems reliable. The number of French speaking scholars in Anglophone universities on a Canadian scale probably corresponds to the number of Anglophone professors in francophone institutions. Let it be noted that, for the purpose of this study, it is more important to get an *approximate rather than* exact figure.

In sum, it is plausible to think that the production of knowledge by French-speaking scholars in the field of political science represents between a fifth and a quarter of all intellectual production in Canada in this field. The assessment of the under or over representation of francophone scholarly work is not an easy task. For instance, a mechanical approach would expect that, in order to be just and equitable, at least 20 % of all references should link to French speaking scholars. However, we must also take into consideration that works cited lists are not only made up of Canadian authors. Even if a book studies a Canadian issue, theoretical frameworks often borrow from approaches developed by foreign authors (American, British, German, French, etc.) Moreover, Canadian issues are often put into comparative perspectives, adding references to foreign authors. One can, therefore, expect that the Canadian scholars (francophones *and* non-francophones) would be under-represented in the measure of bibliographies that include works by non-Canadian authors. Hence, the issue here is one of proportion and level.

*Systemic and Chronic Under-Representation*

The sample is made of (n) 79 books, published between 1995 and 2005, for a total of 26 040 references. Of this number, 1962 refer to francophone Canadian authors, which makes up 7.5 % of the total references. Since all the books do not count an equal number of references, it is important also to calculate an average of averages per book to obtain a similar result: 7.7 %. This percentage, however, also reflects a relatively low number of works (n = 9) in which the number of francophone references is relatively high due to the nature of the subject of inquiry: questions tied to Canadian and Quebecois nationalism, constitutional politics and Quebec politics (Appendix C).

It is important, therefore, to account for the *median* that underscores the "thematic effect." In this case, the median falls at 4.9 percent. For a more objective analysis, the books that dealt to a large extent to Quebec were excluded from the database (listed in Appendix B). In this case, the average and the median were respectively 6 and 4.4 %.

Of the total sample (n = 79), twenty were edited books in which at least one chapter was written, or co-written, by a francophone author (Appendix D for the list of chapters). Since the aim of this research is to measure the degree of usage of francophone scholarship, references to chapters written by francophones were not counted. When these references were subtracted to keep only those works by non-francophone authors, the average and the median became 6.3 and 4.4 % respectively.

*Thus, francophone Canadian scholars made up around FIVE percent of bibliographical references in scholarly books published in Canada between 1995 and 2005 dealing with Canadian politics and society.*

The opposite however is not true. Francophone authors who published a chapter in edited books (n = 37) made frequent reference to their anglophone counterparts, for an average of 44.4 % and a median of 38.2 %.  Without surprise, eight chapters (21 %) dealt specifically with Quebec issues.  The tendency of francophone authors to refer to works of other francophone scholars does not reveal itself by the topic under scrutiny.  Although references to the works of scholars not belonging to the same universe were predominant (with a median of 71.8 percent), one notes a greater usage of the works produced by scholars inscribed within the same linguistic universe.  All in all, while the works of francophone scholars help to bridge the two intellectual traditions, the same cannot be said of non-francophone scholars who refer little (around 5 percent) to the knowledge produced by francophones.

**Table 2**
**Language of Referenced Texts**

|  | English | % | French | % | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Non-Francophone Authors Referring to texts produced by Francophone scholars in:** | 1068 | 55.1 | 869 | 44.9 | 1937 |
| **Francophone Authors Referring to text by Francophone scholars in:** | 479 | 52.6 | 432 | 47.4 | 911 |
| **Total** | 1547 | 54.3 | 1301 | 45.7 | 2848 |

Also compiled was data relative to the language in which the texts referred to were written (Table 2).   There exists little variation between francophone authors who contributed to a chapter in English in an edited book, and non-francophone authors.  On average, a little more than half (54%) of texts refereed to by the two linguistic groups were published in English.

Table 3 illustrates the type of publications that are referred to.   Close to three quarters of referenced works were books.  Does publishing an article in a refereed journal published outside Quebec increase the chance of a French-speaking author being referenced?  Data shows that around 50 % of these journal articles were published in Quebec.  Francophone authors who published chapters in edited books accounted for 33 % of journal articles outside Québec, while the proportion for non-francophone authors was 25 percent.  In other terms, francophones refer more often than non-francophones to articles published in academic journals outside of Québec.  Without surprise, the majority of articles referred to (more than 75 %) were published in Canada, of which the majority was in Québec.

**Table 3**
**Works Referenced to Francophone Scholars by Type and Place of Publication**

| Non-francophones | % | QC | % | ROC | % | UK | % | USA | % | EURO | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Books | 1523 | 77.3 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Articles | 447 | 22.7 | 239 | *53.5* | 115 | *25.7* | 23 | *5.1* | 49 | *11.0* | 21 | *4.7* |
| **Total** | 1970 | 100 | | | | | | | | | | |

**Francophones**

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Books | 700 | 76,8 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Articles | 211 | 23.2 | 107 | *50.7* | 70 | *33.2* | 7 | *3.3* | 19 | *9.0* | 8 | *3.8* |
| **Total** | 911 | 100 | | | | | | | | | | |

*Few Voices*

Finally, this research shows that certain French authors were referred to more often than others.  As shown in Table 4, twelve scholars, all male, make up more than 30% of all references of the sample (584 out of 1962 references).  Nonetheless, it is necessary to look at the table with caution.  Firstly, if this study had analyzed all books in Canadian politics over last ten years (about 300), the list of authors cited the most often would have been quite different.  Moreover, when books or journal articles were co-authored, only the first name cited was noted in order to avoid counting the same article more than once.

**Table 4**
**Principal Authors Referred to**

| | Referenced by Non-Francophones | Referenced by Francophones | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 12 First Authors | 309  (53%) | 275  (47%) | 584   (100%) |
| Others | 740  (54%) | 638  (46%) | 1378 (100%) |
| **TOTAL** | **1049** | **913** | **1962** |

This table also shows that non-francophone made only 53.5 % of all references to francophone Canadian authors (1049 out of 1962 references).  Interestingly, they made

reference to the same dozen authors as their francophone colleagues. In other words, a relatively limited number of francophone authors have influenced, in the course of the last ten years, the analysis of social and political problems in Canada. Taking account of the small number of francophone authors regularly cited, it is not possible to identify a global trend. Each of them illustrates a singular trajectory. Of the twelve, five are more often referred to by non-francophones rather than francophones, while another five are in the reverse situation, and the remaining two referred to equally by scholars of both languages.

**Table 5**
**Principal Authors Referred to, Single or in Collaboration**

|  | In Collaboration With Anglophone(s) | In Collaboration with Francophone(s) | Single | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 First Authors | 214 (36.6%) | 87 (14.9%) | 283 (48.5%) | 584 |
| Others | 116 (8.4%) | 166 (12.0%) | 1096 (79.5%) | 1378 |
| **TOTAL** | **330 (16.8%)** | **253 (12.9%)** | **1379 (70.3%)** | **1962** |

One must ask if collaborating with non-francophone colleagues increases one's chances of being referred to in literature. As illustrated in Table 5, no clear tendency can be shown in this regard. Again, the small number of authors gave way to particular trajectories. It is possible to indicate that the three most referenced French speaking scholars belong to pan-Canadian networks, and are, proportionally, the ones who most often co-author texts with English scholars. This collaboration has clearly contributed to their status within the profession among non-francophone scholars. Alone, they comprised 13% of francophone references. Nevertheless, with few rare exceptions, it does not seem that collaborating with a non-francophone colleague increases one's chances of being cited: all together, around 70% of referenced texts were single authored.

*Introduction to "Canadian" Politics*

Finally, five recent introductory books in Canadian politics (Appendix B) were analyzed for a total of 2 726 references. This data appears sufficiently significant to be able to draw up a certain number of observations. The aim of singling out introductory books is to assess the extent to which the perspectives of francophone scholars are integrated within the general understanding of the Canadian political realities such as those taught at the undergraduate level in Canadian universities.

Introductory books play an important role in the discipline for three reasons. First, they contribute to reproduce the way in which the scientific field is structured. For example, at the end of each chapter of three of these five books, contained lists of "Further readings," "Selected readings" or "Selected Bibliography", revealing the

structuring character of introductory works. Second, these lists allow students of Canadian politics to identify authors and works that "define" the main problems in the field and the terms in which they are defined. Finally, these introductory books socialize new generations of students who, some more than others, will go on to contribute to the discipline. More importantly, the training of these students prepares them to become social and political actors in their own associations, political parties, interest groups, political institutions, and private enterprises. Their university training gives them the analytical tools permitting them to understand social and political reality on which they will eventually have a certain influence, as active players, or, more simply, though no less importantly, as citizens. This is why the presence (or absence) of certain perspectives and issues is not trivial.

The results obtained for this category of books are similar to those that characterize the literature as a whole. On average, only 4% of references refer to francophone Canadian scholars (taking into account the small number of books, the variation with the median is small, the latter had 3.6 %). Among the so-called "suggested readings" lists, the proportion is exactly the same, being 4.1 % (or 47 of 1135 suggested titles). This data is particularly significant because the lists of suggested readings are limited to works written by Canadian authors.

Overall, the contributions of francophone Canadian scholars to the field of "Canadian" politics seem very marginal when introductory books onCanadian politics are taken into account.

**Conclusion**

Far from having passed, as were the wishes of the new Governor General, the time of the "Two Solitudes" still defines the English Canadian intellectual tradition. Although it is possible to estimate the contribution of francophone scholars as being between 20 and 25% of all knowledge produced in Canada, their work is not taken into account in a similar proportion to the works published by non-francophone scholars on Canadian politics and society.

As was suspected from the beginning, the production and the reproduction of knowledge, from introductory textbooks to specialized studies, ignore an important portion of scholarly works. In a certain way, this situation resonates with the phenomenon of systemic discrimination defined as being "neither explicit, nor voluntary, nor even conscious or intentional, but revealed within a system [that] , most often, underscores a type of management founded on a certain number of preconceived notions, usually implicit, pertaining to diverse groups, and understanding and comprising a number of practices and customs that perpetuate a situation of inequality with respect to members of the targeted group" (Legault, 2002 – our translation). Systemic discrimination is likely anchored in a form of cultural imperialism that is pernicious because it ignores the process at play.

This study clearly demonstrates that power relations are also exercised in the field of science. The fact of ignoring, or worse, excluding a significant proportion of scholarly works in the analysis and understanding of Canadian reality is problematic in many regards: it produces a biased representation of social reality, and leads to tendencies to universalize the research questions of the dominant group, thereby marginalizing a group

of scholars systemically discriminated against, while contributing to a disproportional increase of the influence of scholars who already serve as the social actors through which public authorities define both problems and solutions before them.   In short, this phenomenon illustrates the manner in which representations of social and political reality are constructed in Canada, as the point of view of francophone scholars is only rarely taken into consideration.  When it is taken into account, it is often only by a handful of intellectuals. The production of knowledge about Canada is both limited and biased.  The dominant discursive universe fosters itself, for reasons needing to be elaborated upon.  It shows itself to be minimally open, sensitive, or conscious of the presence of a significant body of literature.

This research does not adequately measure, nor does it strive to,  prejudices experienced by francophone Canadian scholars (in terms of access to pan-Canadian and foreign networks among other things).  It does, however, reflect an absence of recognition of their contribution to the advancement of knowledge.

The prescriptions placed by Guy Rocher in 1970 have been largely followed.   In the course of the last decades, francophone scholars have published hundreds, if not thousands, of studies.  It seems that the quality, number, and dissemination of these works have had little to do with whether they were referred to or not.  Language could be an explanatory factor., but serves,  , however, as a poor excuse for any researcher whose object of study is the social and political reality of Canada.

During the Quebec Referendum on sovereignty in 1995, a federalist slogan proclaimed: "My Canada includes Quebec".   More than ten years later, it is difficult to rethink it without a certain level of irony, regret, deception, or lucidity, depending on one's political sentiments.

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