Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien

Im Auftrag der
Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien
herausgegeben von

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36. Jahrgang 2016

WiBeR

Articles appearing in this Journal are abstracted and indexed in
HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE.

Einzelpreis 19,80 €

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.dnb.de abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

ISSN 0944-7008
ISBN 978-3-95786-061-3

Redaktion und Lektorat: Dr. Michael Friedrichs, Lektorat Französisch: Dr. Doris G. Eibl

Editorial

2015 stellte die Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Kanadastudien das spannungsreiche Thema „Mehrheiten und Minderheiten in Kanada und Quebec" in den Mittelpunkt der Diskussionen. Dabei bildete nicht so sehr die komplexe Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Quebec und dem ‚rest of Canada' den Schwerpunkt der drei Sektionen, sondern vielmehr stellten diese den Ausgangspunkt für die Auslotung multipler Marginalisierungs-, aber auch Identifizierungsprozesse dar. Zwar basieren nur die ersten vier Aufsätze dieser Ausgabe sowie der Forumsbeitrag auf Vorträgen zum breit gefächerten Diskussionsfeld der Jahrestagung 2015, die Frage des Verhältnisses gesellschaftlicher Mehrheiten und Minderheiten durchzieht jedoch alle Beiträge der vorliegenden Nummer der ZKS und ist somit als eine übergreifende thematische Klammer zu sehen.

Die Artikel von Manon Tremblay, Stefan Brandt und René Schallegger widmen sich aus unterschiedlichen disziplinären Perspektiven und anhand sehr unterschiedlicher Materialien der Frage nach queeren Repräsentationen. In „Citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais et politiques publiques au Canada: réflexions autour de la notion d'« homofédéralisme »" diskutiert Manon Tremblay die gleichberechtigte Teilhabe von Schwulen und Lesben in Kanada anhand dreier Achsen: einer zeitlichen (1969-2005), einer föderalen mit Blick insbesondere auf regionale Unterschiede und einer politischen, die konkrete Maßnahmen in den Mittelpunkt stellt. Für die beobachtete zweigleisige föderale Dynamik – einheitliche Vorgaben bei regional diversifizierten Umsetzungen – schlägt sie den Begriff des ‚Homoföderalismus' vor.

Stefan Brandt analysiert in „'Not a Puzzle So Arbitrarily Solved'. Queer Aesthetics in Alice Munro's Early Short Fiction" Erzählstrategien Munros, die er als „queer aesthetics" bzw. „queer sensibility" charakterisiert. Munro, so das Argument, nutze das Konzept ‚queer' im ursprünglichen Sinne des OED, um komplexe und diverse Identitäts- oder Verhaltensmöglichkeiten auszuloten; dabei könne ‚queer' hier Homosexualität implizieren, sei aber nicht darauf festgelegt. Das in diversen Formen Deviante wird als „geheimes Zentrum der Erzählung sowie darüber hinaus als Modell der individuellen Selbstinszenierung definiert" (Brandt) und erlaubt so nicht nur einen neuen Blick auf Munros Prosa, sondern auch eine weitergehende Auslotung der Möglichkeiten queerer Konzepte.

René Schallegger greift in seinem Beitrag „Game Changers – Representations of Queerness in Canadian Videogame Design" die hitzige Diskussion über die Darstellung von Diversität in Videospielen auf, deren Heftigkeit er als Ausdruck eines Spannungsfeldes von einem homogen imaginiertem Publikum und einer de facto Diver-

sifizierung der *gamer community* versteht. Die Diversifizierung dargestellter Identitäten mit Blick auf Geschlecht, Sexualität, Ethnie oder *ability* und die Entwicklung inklusiver Spieledesigns dürfen dabei keine Erscheinung des *indie*-Sektors bleiben, sondern müssten sich im Mainstream des Videogaming etablieren. Dabei spielten kanadische Firmen eine entscheidende Rolle. Schallgegger illustriert in seiner Analyse von *Dragon Age: Inquisition* (2014) des kanadischen Entwicklers BioWare die Möglichkeiten inklusiven Spieledesigns, das im konkreten Fall – z. B. in seiner Repräsentation von ‚post-queerness' – zudem eng mit kanadischen Identitätspolitikdiskursen und einer Inszenierung von kanadischem nationalen Selbstverständnis verknüpft sei.

Während sich die drei genannten Beiträge auf die Gegenwart und auf unterschiedliche Auslotungen queerer (Repräsentations-)Politik konzentrieren, widmet sich Konrad Gross einem wichtigen Segment der Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts: dem historischen Roman. In „*Les Canadiens* as a Minority: The Politics of Representing the End of *La Nouvelle France* in 19th Century Anglophone Historical Novels" fokussiert er auf drei kurz vor und nach der Gründung des *Dominion* publizierte historische Romane (Rosanna Leprohons *The Manor House of De Villerai von* 1859/60; William Kirbys *The Golden Dog* von 1877; und Gilbert Parkers *The Seats of the Mighty* von 1896), in denen Schriftsteller der (anglophonen) Mehrheitsgesellschaft vor dem Hintergrund demographischer Verschiebungen und in Anknüpfung an die Geschichtsschreibung der Zeit die Eroberungsgeschichte Quebecs national vereinnahmen – wenn auch ideologisch durchaus unterschiedlich in der Art und Weise, wie franko-kanadische und assimilationskritische Sichtweisen sowie pro-britische Haltungen eingesetzt und zur Positionierung genutzt werden.

Die folgenden drei Beiträge konzentrieren sich auf die Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte und kulturellen Repräsentation der *black community* in Quebec und Kanada, wobei sie insbesondere auch deren Einbettung in transnationale historische Prozesse in den Blick nehmen. Nele Sawallisch setzt sich in ihrem Aufsatz „Trudel's Legacies: For a Critical Understanding of Slavery in Quebec" mit der Wirkung der 2013 erschienenen englischen Ausgabe von Marcel Trudels einflussreicher Studie *L'Esclavage au Canada français* (1960) auseinander. Diese Edition, so das Argument, habe nicht wie erwartet zu einer weitergehenden Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte der Sklaverei in Kanada geführt; vielmehr stehe Trudels autoritative Position als ‚Nationalhistoriker' einem kritischen Umgang mit seinen Thesen sowie mit eben dieser Geschichte nach wie vor eher im Wege: Positionen, die die Existenz der Institution Sklaverei in Quebec zwar zugäben, aber in einen implizit romantisierenden Gegensatz zu ihren Ausformungen in der Karibik oder den USA setzten, fänden ihren Ausgangspunkt in Trudels Werk, dessen Schwächen – wie problematische Generalisierungen und die weitgehend unhinterfragte Annahme einer ‚Harmonie' zwischen Sklavenhaltern und Sklaven – zugunsten einer Hervorhebung seines seinerzeit innovativen Potentials wenig beachtet und diskutiert würden.

Eine ganz besondere Freude ist es uns, einen Auszug aus George Elliott Clarkes *epic-in-progress* „Canticles" in der ZKS erstabdrucken zu können. Clarke, Lyriker, Dramatiker und einer der wegweisenden Autoren und Herausgeber in der Auseinandersetzung mit *black Canadian literature* und der Geschichte insbesondere der *Africadians,* ist seit dem 1.1.2016 Kanadas 7th *Parlamentary Poet Laureate*. In den auf drei Teile und bis 2021 angelegten "Canticles" widmet er sich der Repräsentation von „blackness" in der westlichen Welt, der Geschichte von Sklaverei und Kolonialismus, vor allem aber auch dem Widerstand dagegen. Das hier abgedruckte Gedicht „Overheard at The Berlin Conference (1884-85)" inszeniert dialogisch die Auseinandersetzungen und Rivalitäten der europäischen Kolonialmächte bei der Aufteilung Afrikas in Kolonien. Die sogenannte „Berliner Konferenz" hatte nicht nur weitreichende Folgen für das Mächteverhältnis in Afrika, sondern bildete zudem die Basis für zentrale Konflikte im 20. Jahrhundert. In Clarkes Epos – das im Kontext des ersten Teils des „Canticles" mit dem Titel *Origins* voraussichtlich im November 2016 erscheinen wird – ist das hier publizierte Gedicht daher essentiell (Clarke, Emailkommunikation).

Sylvia Langwalds Beitrag „'My history is a foreign word': Diasporic Generationality and David Chariandy's *Soucouyant*" präsentiert die zentralen Argumentationslinien ihrer Dissertation *Diasporic Generationality: Identity, Generation Relationships and Diaspora in Selected Novels from Britain and Canada* (Wißner 2015), deren Druck die GKS finanziell unterstützt hat. Er zeigt anhand von David Chariandys Roman *Soucouyant* (2007) das komplexe Funktionieren dessen, was die Autorin ‚diasporic generationality' nennt, ein Begriff, der der „komplexen Dynamik, in der diasporische Identitäten und Generationenbeziehungen verhandelt werden, Rechnung trägt" (Langwald) und der – im Rückgriff auf unterschiedliche kulturtheoretische Konzepte – etablierte Annahmen diasporischer Generationenverhältnisse in Frage stellt. Diese Dynamik führt dabei nicht nur zu einer Modifikation und Revision solcher Konzepte, sondern kann auch als Kritik einer Form von Multikulturalismus verstanden werden, die auf einem starren Verständnis von diasporischen Familienverhältnissen basiert und die Komplexitäten der Aushandlung zwischen den Generationen sowie inter- und intragenerationaler Differenz zu wenig Beachtung schenkt.

Dieses System eines offiziellen Multikulturalimus steht – wenn auch affirmativer – im Mittelpunkt des abschließenden Aufsatzes von Sabine Jungk. In „'Relatively little is known' – Kanadas Bildungserfolg von Zuwandererkindern" geht die Autorin von Kanadas Position als einem der wenigen Länder aus, in denen die PISA-Studie Kindern aus Einwandererfamilien einen hohen Bildungserfolg attestiert – Kontrastfolie sind hier Deutschland und Frankreich, aber auch mit Einschränkungen die USA. Sie rekonstruiert und systematisiert in ihrem Beitrag die Daten und Erklärungsmuster für diesen Erfolg, vor allem mit Blick auf „eine multikulturelle, antidiskriminierende und partizipative Orientierung in Bildungspolitik, Schulorganisation, pädagogischer Praxis und Lehrerbildung" (Jungk) des kanadischen Systems und die mögliche Übertragbarkeit einzelner Aspekte auf den deutschen Kontext.

Der Forumsbeitrag von André Dudemaine thematisiert aus einer postkolonialen Perspektive den Ort der Autochtonen innerhalb der Gesellschaft und der jüngeren Geschichte Quebecs. Dudemaine zeigt zunächst, dass die indigene Bevölkerung im öffentlichen Diskurs über die frankophonen und anglophonen ‚Gründungsvölker' Quebecs und Kanadas über Jahrhunderte an den Rand gedrängt wurde. Schwerpunktmäßig widmet er sich dem buchstäblichen ‚Wiederauftreten' der Autochtonen in ihren künstlerischen und politischen Ausdrucksformen auf der gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Bühne nach der ‚Stillen Revolution' und ganz besonders nach der sog. ‚Oka-Krise' 1990. Dudemaine tut dies nicht nur akademisch-analytisch, sondern auch aus der subjektiven Perspektive seiner eigenen Erfahrungen als autochtoner Kulturaktivist und Künstler im zeitgenössischen Quebec. Er zeigt eindrucksvoll, wie die Anliegen der Autochtonen bei der sich emanzipierenden frankophonen Mehrheitsgesellschaft Quebecs lange Zeit als unbequemes ‚Störfeuer' wahrgenommen wurden, sich aber spätestens seit 1990 nicht mehr verdrängen ließen. Dabei betont Dudemaine, dass es eher die autochtonen Künstler, Musiker, Poeten und Aktivisten selbst sind – und weniger die etablierten Medien Kanadas und Quebecs –, welche in der frankophonen Mehrheitsgesellschaft das Bewusstsein für die Bedeutung des Beitrags der Ureinwohner zum heutigen Quebec schärfen und sicherstellen, dass die autochtone Gesellschaft heute einen festen Platz im kulturellen Leben Quebecs einnimmt.

Während der Herstellung dieser ZKS-Ausgabe haben sich die parlamentarischen Mehrheitsverhältnisse in Kanada auf Bundesebene drastisch geändert. Aus der seit 2011 nur drittstärksten parlamentarischen Kraft, der Liberalen Partei Kanadas, wurde am 19. Oktober 2015 eine Regierungspartei, die mit einer komfortablen absoluten Mehrheit regieren kann und mit Justin Trudeau einen der jüngeren Premierminister der kanadischen Geschichte stellt. Besonders hervorzuheben ist, dass die siegreiche Liberale Partei unter Justin Trudeau Sitze in allen Regionen Kanadas gewinnen konnte, was in der Vergangenheit auch bei Mehrheitsregierungen nicht immer der Fall war. Wer sich vor dem Erscheinen ausführlicher wissenschaftlicher Analysen des Wahlausgangs und seiner Ursachen sachverständig darüber informieren möchte, was am 19. Oktober 2015 und während des 12-wöchigen Wahlkampfs davor in Kanada politisch geschehen ist, dem sei die online-Publikation ‚Canadian Election Analysis / Points de Vue sur L'élection Canadienne ans Herz gelegt, die unter http://www.ubcpress.ca/canadianelectionanalysis2015/CanadianElectionAnalysis2015.pdf kostenfrei zugänglich ist. Der Regierungswechsel von Stephen Harper zu Justin Trudeau und seine Folgen werden weder die kanadische Gesellschaft, Kultur, Wirtschaft und Politik noch die Kanadastudien unberührt lassen und daher die GKS sowie die ZKS in naher Zukunft ausgiebig beschäftigen, soviel scheint schon heute sicher.

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Manon Tremblay

Citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais et politiques publiques au Canada : réflexions autour de la notion d'« homofédéralisme »

Zusammenfassung

*Dieser Beitrag diskutiert Fragen gleichberechtigter Teilhabe (*substantive citizenship*) von Schwulen und Lesben in Kanada anhand dreier analytischer Achsen: einer zeitlichen Achse im Zeitraum zwischen 1969 und 2015, der noch einmal in vier Abschnitte unterteilt wird (Entkriminalisierung, Schutz vor Diskriminierung, Errungenschaft verschiedener Rechte, und Schutz und Förderung von sexuellen Minderheiten); einer föderalen Achse, die regionale Unterschiede mit Blick auf die gleichberechtigte Staatsbürgerschaft von Schwulen und Lesben untersucht sowie die Annahme diskutiert, Québec habe in dieser Hinsicht eine Vorreiterrolle inne; und schließlich einer politischen Achse, die politische Maßnahmen bezüglich einer gleichberechtigen Staatsbürgerschaft von Schwulen und Lesben hervorhebt. Heute wie auch in der Vergangenheit scheint das Verständnis von Staatsbürgerschaft als gleichberechtigte Teilhabe den kanadischen Föderalismus widerzuspiegeln, indem die einheitlichen föderalen Vorgaben mit einer Vielfalt auf Ebene der Provinzen einhergeht – eine zweigleisige Dynamik, die ich als „Homoföderalismus" bezeichne.*

Abstract

My objective in this essay is to examine the substantive citizenship of lesbians and gays in Canada in the light of three analytic axes: a temporal axis covering the period from 1969 to 2015, divided into four specific points (decriminalization, protection against discrimination, acquisition of various rights, and protection and promotion of sexual minorities); a federalist axis devoted to revealing some of the regional differences with regard to the substantive citizenship of lesbians and gays and, as a corollary, the idea of Quebec being ahead of the curve; a political axis shedding light on some public policies related to substantive citizenship of lesbians and gays. It seems that today, as in the past, this case of substantive citizenship reflects Canadian federalism in that it combines unity at the federal scale with variability by province – a double dynamic that I define by the notion of "homofederalism."

Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien 36 (2016) 9-27

Résumé

L'objectif de ce texte est de réfléchir à la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais au Canada, et ce, à l'aune de trois axes analytiques : un axe temporel couvrant la période 1969 à 2015, et se déclinant en quatre moments (décriminalisation, protection contre la discrimination, acquisition de divers droits, enfin protection et promotion des minorités sexuelles); un axe fédéraliste se consacrant à mettre au jour quelques-uns des écarts régionaux en regard de la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais et, accessoirement, l'idée d'un avant-gardisme du Québec; un axe politique braquant les projecteurs sur quelques politiques publiques en lien avec la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais. Il apparaîtra que, hier comme aujourd'hui, cette citoyenneté substantielle est à l'image du fédéralisme canadien, en cela qu'elle allie tout à la fois unité à l'échelle fédérale et variabilité selon les provinces, une double dynamique que j'enserre sous la notion d'« homofédéralisme ».

Le Canada est considéré comme un leader mondial en regard des droits des lesbiennes et des gais[1] – même s'il est aussi le seul pays occidental à maintenir un âge de consentement différent pour les relations homosexuelles et les relations hétérosexuelles (Smith 2015). Par exemple, en comparaison avec son voisin américain, avec qui il a tant en commun à commencer par un État fédéral, certains actes homoérotiques y ont été décriminalisés en 1969 (en comparaison de 2003 aux États-Unis), depuis l'arrêt Egan de 1995 l'orientation sexuelle constitue un motif de distinction illicite au regard de l'article 15 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés (ce qui n'a rien de comparable aux États-Unis) et le mariage civil y est devenu accessible aux couples de lesbiennes et de gais en 2005 (il leur a été ouvert une décennie plus tard aux États-Unis suite à une décision de la Cour suprême en juin 2015). Le gouvernement fédéral étant maître d'œuvre en matière de droit criminel, de droits et libertés de la personne (via la Charte canadienne) et de mariage, le fédéralisme a ainsi servi l'égalité des lesbiennes et des gais au Canada (Smith 2008, 3; Tremblay 2015a, 272-273).

Que le gouvernement fédéral constitue un acteur significatif de ces avancées n'a pas pour corollaire une uniformité *coast to coast to coast* des droits des lesbiennes et des gais à l'échelle canadienne. En effet, le Canada est une fédération et plusieurs

1 Ce texte traitera spécifiquement des lesbiennes et des gais et non des LGBT (c'est-à-dire les lesbiennes, gais, bisexuelles et bisexuels, transsexuelles et transsexuels, et transgenres), et ce, pour deux raisons : l'une est que la base du militantisme diffère pour les lesbiennes, les gais et les bisexuelles et bisexuels (soit ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler l'« orientation sexuelle ») et les transsexuelles et transsexuels, et transgenre (l'identité de genre); l'autre raison est que la bisexualité n'emporte pas un militantisme substantiel au Canada, du moins qui soit visible sur la scène publique et génère des politiques publiques spécifiques. À cela, il faut ajouter que les lesbiennes et les gais ont dominé les mobilisations de la mouvance LGBT au Canada – avec un monopole conséquent sur les sources documentaires.

des compétences déterminantes d'une citoyenneté substantielle (c'est-à-dire qui concerne les conditions de vie de tous les jours telles que façonnées par les droits, certes, mais aussi les représentations, les pratiques, les interrelations entre les personnes ainsi qu'entre elles et les institutions d'État et privées, bref la citoyenneté en tant que processus d'interactions sociales) des lesbiennes et des gais relèvent des provinces (comme l'éducation, la santé et les services sociaux ou encore la culture). En conséquence, la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais non seulement varie grandement de celle de leurs vis-à-vis *straights*, mais en raison du fédéralisme elle fluctue aussi selon la région[2] considérée. Qui plus est, en dépit d'une réputation – fondée ou non – de progressisme du Québec, il n'est pas certain que les lesbiennes et les gais y jouissent d'une citoyenneté substantielle plus enviable que dans les autres provinces et territoires de la fédération canadienne.

L'objectif de ce texte est de réfléchir à la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais au Canada. Pour ce faire, trois axes d'analyse seront privilégiés : 1) un axe temporel couvrant la période 1969 à 2015 – un axe qui, au plan théorique, est adossé à l'approche de Waaldijk (2000) et, au plan structurel, constitue la colonne vertébrale de l'argumentaire; 2) un axe fédéraliste se consacrant à mettre au jour quelques-uns des écarts régionaux en regard de la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais et, accessoirement, l'idée d'un avant-gardisme du Québec; 3) un axe politique braquant les projecteurs sur quelques politiques publiques en lien avec la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais. Il apparaîtra que, hier comme aujourd'hui, cette citoyenneté substantielle allie tout à la fois unité et hétérogénéité, reflet du fédéralisme canadien.

D'un point de vue politico-juridique, le fédéralisme est « une forme d'organisation politique dans laquelle il y a partage des compétences entre le gouvernement central d'un État et les gouvernements représentant les collectivités qui forment cet État. » (Pelletier 2013, 47). Réunissant une pluralité d'acteurs politiques, le fédéralisme se tisse de forces contradictoires : d'un côté, il oblige les partenaires à coopérer, mais de l'autre il les place en compétition (par exemple pour glaner des ressources limitées ou obtenir les faveurs populaires), une compétition avivée par les régionalisme et provincialisme (Breton 1989; D. Smith 2010; Smith 2004, 11-38). S'agissant des lesbiennes et des gais, le fédéralisme impose une unité de leurs droits à travers le Canada grâce notamment (mais non exclusivement) à la Charte canadienne, mais il implique aussi une hétérogénéité de leur citoyenneté substantielle en raison de politiques publiques fort diversifiées (et inégales) d'une province à

2 Dans ce texte, parlant du fédéralisme j'utiliserai de manière indistincte les notions de « régions » et de « provinces ». De fait, deux provinces (l'Ontario et le Québec) sont aussi des régions – du moins, pour ce qui est du Sénat, chambre de la représentation régionale. Deux autres régions sont constituées de plusieurs provinces, l'une les provinces de l'ouest, l'autre les provinces de l'Atlantique.

l'autre. Je propose la notion d'« homofédéralisme »[3] pour traduire ce tandem unité et hétérogénéité, soit que la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais fluctue selon les régions du Canada, conformément à l'esprit du fédéralisme qui préconise la diversité dans l'unité.

* * *

Waaldijk (2000) suggère un cadre interprétatif en trois moments pour comprendre l'évolution des droits des lesbiennes et des gais en Occident : les actes homosexuels ont d'abord été décriminalisés, puis des lois interdisant la discrimination sur la base de l'orientation sexuelle ont été adoptées, finalement les lesbiennes et les gais ont acquis divers droits (par exemple en matière d'emploi, de santé, d'union et de mariage ainsi que de reproduction et de parentalité). Il me semble toutefois qu'il faille aujourd'hui ajouter un moment à ce cadre interprétatif, en cela que les mobilisations lesbiennes et gaies ont amené les gouvernements à adopter diverses mesures législatives destinées spécifiquement à protéger les minorités sexuelles, voire à les promouvoir. Ce quatrième moment se distingue du troisième en ce qu'il ne vise pas à adapter les lesbiennes et les gais au mode de vie hétérosexuel (c'est-à-dire à les « homonormaliser » en assimilant certaines lesbiennes et certains gais au mode de vie hétérosexuel avec pour conséquence de réitérer et consolider son statut hégémonique), mais plutôt à répondre à leurs conditions de vie spécifiques, voire à célébrer leurs « spécificités » non-hétéronormatives. En cela, ce quatrième moment est à même de galvaniser une dynamique de compétition « homofédérale ».

Décriminalisation

L'année 1969 marque la sortie du placard de l'homosexualité au Canada. En effet, s'inspirant de l'approche développée dans le rapport Wolfenden paru en Grande-Bretagne en 1957, le gouvernement libéral de Pierre E. Trudeau adoptait le Bill Omnibus C-150 qui décriminalisait de manière partielle[4] certains actes homoérotiques (notamment la sodomie) lorsque pratiqués en privé entre deux adultes (21 ans et plus) consentants. Le gouvernement fédéral non seulement levait ainsi un dispositif majeur de régulation des sexualités non-hétéronormatives, mais il rendait possibles les mobilisations des lesbiennes et des gais dans l'espace public et politique qui, dorénavant,[5] pouvaient sortir sur la rue, s'exprimer, manifester et réclamer des

3 Le préfixe « homo » réfère à la notion d'« homosexuel/le/s » pour désigner les lesbiennes et les gais.

4 Il s'agit bien d'une décriminalisation partielle, puisque le Code criminel maintenait d'autres articles permettant de réguler les sexualités non-hétéronormatives, comme ceux sur la grossière indécence et les maisons de débauche (pour en savoir davantage sur le processus de décriminalisation partielle, voir Kinsman 1996, 213-287).

5 Il ne faudrait pas croire en l'absence de toute conscientisation et mobilisation sur la base de l'« orientation sexuelle » avant 1969 au Canada; comme en Allemagne, aux États-Unis, en France et en Grande-Bretagne, il y a eu des groupes homophiles, mais leurs manifestations publiques ont été très discrètes. L'*Association for Social Knowledge*, basée à Vancouver, a été le principal

droits. Ce que les lesbiennes et les gais firent rapidement, car la décriminalisation partielle de certains actes homoérotiques non seulement ne s'est pas traduire par leur citoyenneté pleine et entière, mais loin de signifier la fin de la répression de l'État à leur endroit de manière paradoxale elle l'a même intensifiée (pour de nombreux exemples de cette répression, voir Kinsman et Gentile 2010, 221-458). C'est sans doute ce qui explique que peu après l'adoption du Bill C-150, et portées par la vague du mouvement de libération gaie qui déferlait alors sur plusieurs démocraties occidentales, les lesbiennes et les gais se mobilisèrent dans tout le Canada pour réclamer des droits – notamment celui d'avoir une protection contre la discrimination en raison de l'orientation sexuelle, comme il ressortira à la prochaine section.

En somme, la décriminalisation partielle de certains actes homoérotiques en 1969 résulte d'une décision du gouvernement fédéral; elle s'appliquait ainsi à l'échelle du Canada. En cela, elle n'est pas le terrain de variations entre les provinces, non plus un espace d'homofédéralisme. Cela dit, l'administration de la justice criminelle relevant des entités fédérées, il est possible que les dispositions du Bill C-150 aient été mises en application de manière fort variable d'une province à l'autre au gré, par exemple, des contextes métropolitain, urbain ou rural, des classes sociales (professionnelles et bourgeoises versus ouvrières; voir Chamberland 1996, 69-98), des religions et des communautés ethno-raciales, entre autres. Cette recherche reste à faire.

Interdiction de, et protection contre la discrimination

Tel que mentionné à l'instant, la décision du gouvernement fédéral de décriminaliser certains actes homoérotiques ne signifia en rien la fin des discriminations envers les lesbiennes et les gais, mais elle leur permit de sortir du placard et d'exprimer leurs griefs dans l'espace public. La première manifestation publique gaie se tint le 28 août 1971 à Ottawa. Une coalition pan-canadienne de douze groupes lesbiens et gais de Vancouver (Colombie Britannique), Waterloo (Ontario), Toronto (Ontario), Ottawa (Ontario) et Montréal (Québec) présenta alors au gouvernement du Canada un mémoire réclamant « all legal rights for homosexuals which currently exist for heterosexuals » (Jackson et Persky 1982, 219), et ce, en regard de compétences dévolues en totalité ou en partie au gouvernement fédéral : le divorce, l'emploi, l'immigration et la justice criminelle, entre autres. Ce premier appel à l'égalité pour les lesbiennes et les gais fait au gouvernement sis à Ottawa est suivi au cours des années 1970 par toute une série de mobilisations auprès des gouvernements des provinces[6] afin que leurs législations en matière de droits de la personne les protè-

groupe homophile. Il aurait fait des représentations auprès du gouvernement fédéral afin que l'homosexualité soit décriminalisée, mais encore aujourd'hui son rôle à cet égard n'est pas entièrement clair (Kinsman 1996, 230-235).

6 Les municipalités (qui relèvent de la compétence des provinces) ont aussi été le terrain de telles sollicitations de la part de groupes lesbiens et gais, mais l'ampleur de cette problématique dépasse largement les frontières de ce texte. Pour des travaux récents sur les mobilisations les-

gent contre la discrimination. Par exemple, en 1971 *Gay Alliance toward Equality* (GATE, Edmonton) fit du démarchage en ce sens auprès du gouvernement de l'Alberta et des membres de la *University of Toronto Homophile Association* réclamèrent une telle protection au procureur général de l'Ontario. Les imitèrent la *Gay Alliance toward Equality* (GATE, Vancouver, Colombie Britannique) en 1972 et la *Gay Alliance for Equality* (GAE, Halifax, Nouvelle Écosse) en 1973. La même année c'est un organisme public, la Commission des droits de la personne de la Saskatchewan, qui recommanda au gouvernement de cette province d'ajouter le critère de l'orientation sexuelle à toute législation en matière de droits de la personne. En 1974, *Gay for Equality* soumit au procureur général du Manitoba un mémoire intitulé, *Manitoba Homosexuals: A Minority without Rights*, requérant du gouvernement qu'il change sa loi en matière de droits de la personne pour protéger les lesbiennes et les gais contre la discrimination. En 1976, la *Coalition for Gay Rights in Ontario* présenta au gouvernement le mémoire *The Homosexual Minority in Ontario*, l'invitant à ajouter l'orientation sexuelle à sa loi sur les droits de la personne comme motif prohibé de discrimination (Rayside 1988).

Le Québec a été la première province à répondre favorablement à ces revendications : en décembre 1977, le gouvernement du Parti québécois modifia la Charte québécoise des droits et libertés de la personne pour y ajouter l'orientation sexuelle aux motifs de discrimination interdite (pour une analyse de cette décision, voir Tremblay 2013). Une décennie s'écoula avant qu'une autre entité fédérée n'en fasse autant (la province de l'Ontario en 1986, alors dirigée par le gouvernement libéral de David Peterson), la dernière à mobiliser sa législation sur les droits humains pour interdire la discrimination envers les lesbiennes et les gais étant les Territoires du Nord-Ouest en 2002. En d'autres mots, il a fallu un quart de siècle pour que toutes les provinces et tous les territoires du Canada protègent les lesbiennes et les gais contre la discrimination en inscrivant dans leur charte ou leur loi en matière de droits humains respective l'orientation sexuelle comme raison illicite de discrimination (Knegt 2011, 40). Qui plus est, le fédéralisme canadien a complexifié les mobilisations, en cela que le partage des pouvoirs qu'il prévoit entre les ordres de gouvernement a obligé les groupes du mouvement des lesbiennes et des gais tantôt à interpeler le gouvernement fédéral, tantôt les gouvernements des provinces, stimulant ainsi une dynamique « homofédéraliste » – du moins, c'est ce que suggère le cas québécois.

Pourquoi la province de Québec a-t-elle été la première à interdire la discrimination envers les lesbiennes et les gais en leur offrant la protection de sa Charte des droits et libertés de la personne – et à le faire avant que ne soit adoptée la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés en 1982 qui contribuera de manière fabuleuse à l'égalité des lesbiennes et des gais au Canada surtout à compter de 1995 avec l'arrêt

biennes et gaies dans les principales villes canadiennes, voir : Brochu-Ingram 2015; Lewis 2015; Nash 2015; Podmore 2015.

Egan? Plusieurs hypothèses peuvent être avancées. Une première veut que le Parti québécois (PQ) se trouvait dans l'obligation de « protéger certains de ses ministres homosexuels qui se trouvaient dans une position d'extrême vulnérabilité » (Bureau et Papy 2006, 119). Une deuxième hypothèse est que le PQ ait ainsi voulu signifier qu'il logeait résolument au centre-gauche de l'échiquier politique: d'une part, en exerçant une rupture claire avec la gouverne (autoritaire) du gouvernement précédent formé par le Parti libéral et associé à la Crise d'octobre et à l'infâme Loi sur les mesures de guerre; d'autre part, en promouvant un agenda législatif progressiste, comme en témoignent ses décisions en matière d'assurance automobile, d'avortement, de financement des partis politiques et de protection du territoire agricole. Une troisième hypothèse veut que le gouvernement du PQ, élu en novembre 1976 et d'allégeance souverainiste, ait vu là l'occasion de mousser son projet de souveraineté en se présentant comme avant-gardiste et comme un allié des lesbiennes et des gais par ailleurs nombreuses et nombreux parmi sa base militante – bref en versant dans une forme de ce que j'ai désigné ailleurs d'« homonationalisme » (voir Tremblay 2013). C'est du moins ce que suggèrent les propos de deux députés péquistes.

En juin 1975, lors des débats en Commission permanente de la justice sur le projet de loi 50, *Loi sur les droits et les libertés de la personne* et qui mena à la Charte québécoise des droits et libertés de la personne, le député péquiste Robert Burns, alors leader de l'opposition officielle à l'Assemblée nationale du Québec, avait présenté un amendement afin que la future Charte québécoise prohibe sciemment la discrimination sur la base de l'orientation sexuelle. Le député Burns avait fait valoir que l'inclusion de l'orientation sexuelle à la Charte québécoise comme motif prohibé de discrimination ferait que le Québec « est un peu en avance sur les autres [provinces]. » (Québec 1975, B-5019) En décembre 1977, lors des débats à l'Assemblée nationale sur le projet de loi 88, *Loi modifiant la Charte des droits et libertés de la personne* et destiné à changer l'article 10 de la Charte québécoise pour y inclure l'orientation sexuelle comme motif prohibé de discrimination, le parrain du projet, Marc-André Bédard alors ministre de la Justice, argua :

> Cela n'étonnera personne […] qu'un parti politique, fondé et maintenu pour contribuer à la liberté nationale d'un peuple, se montre soucieux d'assurer les libertés des divers éléments de ce peuple et, en particulier, celles de ses minorités. (…) Quand une de ces minorités atteint les proportions d'un demi-million de citoyens, cela n'étonnera encore personne que le gouvernement sente la nécessité de protéger la liberté d'orientation sexuelle. (Québec 1977, 4884)

Les notions de liberté/s et de minorités permettent de penser la relation entre le PQ et l'orientation sexuelle : le PQ se voue « à la liberté nationale d'un peuple »; or, ce peuple compte des minorités dont les libertés préoccupent le PQ; donc, un gou-

vernement du PQ protège « la liberté d'orientation sexuelle » de la même manière qu'il protège « la liberté nationale d'un peuple » minoritaire en vertu de sa langue, de ses traditions et de ses institutions au sein d'un Canada essentiellement anglo-saxon. En d'autres mots, cette « liberté d'orientation sexuelle » d'une minorité dont le PQ se dit le protecteur incarne, métaphoriquement, « la liberté nationale d'un peuple » minoritaire pour lequel le PQ se pose en défenseur au sein d'un Canada majoritairement anglophone.

En somme, l'interdiction de, et la protection contre la discrimination a donné lieu à des trajectoires diversifiées et marquées au sceau régional : il a fallu 25 années pour que toutes les entités fédérées prohibent la discrimination sur la base de l'« orientation sexuelle » et couchent cet interdit dans leur charte ou leur loi en matière de droits humains. Au Québec, cette protection a donné lieu à un certain « homonationalisme », alors que la protection de « la liberté d'orientation sexuelle » a été mis en perspective avec le projet de « liberté nationale d'un peuple » porté par le PQ,[7] et ce, dès la deuxième moitié des années 1970. Si, sur ce terrain, le Québec peut s'enorgueillir d'un progressisme certain, cette réputation est plus difficile à soutenir sur le plan des législations visant la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais.

Acquisition de divers droits

Le troisième moment dégagé par Waaldijk (2000) pour comprendre l'évolution des droits des lesbiennes et des gais en Occident vise l'acquisition de divers droits associés à la citoyenneté. Cette dimension est importante, puisqu'au contraire de la protection contre la discrimination qui est un droit négatif, elle comporte des droits positifs qui confèrent à la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais toute sa portée concrète. Il s'agit ainsi de mettre à niveau les lesbiennes et les gais par rapport aux personnes hétérosexuelles en élargissant à celles et ceux-là les droits dont jouissent ces secondes. Cette démarche n'est pas sans critique, car elle pèche par hétérosexisme en posant le mode de vie hétérosexuel comme une norme, voire LA norme à atteindre – en d'autres mots, elle homonormalise les lesbiennes et les gais sans questionner la norme hétérosexuelle. Cela est particulièrement clair pour ce qui est de l'ouverture du mariage civil aux couples de même sexe : il s'agit certes d'ouvrir aux lesbiennes et aux gais les portes d'une institution qui incarne l'hétérosexualité, mais de restreindre cet accès aux seules lesbiennes et aux seuls gais qui acceptent de mimer le mode de vie hétérosexuel confortant, du coup, l'idée de sa désirabilité voire de sa supériorité par rapport à d'autres modes de vie.

La Charte canadienne des droits et libertés a pour beaucoup façonné l'égalité des lesbiennes et des gais au Canada (M. Smith 2010, 2011). La Charte est la partie I de la

7 N'ayant pas analysé les débats parlementaires entourant l'inscription du motif de l'orientation sexuelle aux chartes ou lois de la personne dans les autres entités fédérées, il est possible qu'elles aient aussi été le théâtre d'une instrumentalisation de cette protection au profit d'une identité provinciale ou régionale. Cette analyse reste à faire.

Constitution, loi suprême du Canada. Cela implique que toutes les lois fédérales, provinciales et territoriales doivent y être conformes.[8] En garantissant l'égalité devant la loi, ainsi que l'égalité de bénéfice et de protection de la loi, la Charte (et le contrôle de constitutionnalité qu'elle implique) a obligé les gouvernements fédéral, des provinces et des territoires à interdire la discrimination en raison de l'orientation sexuelle. Il faut dire que ces gains n'auraient pas été possibles sans les mobilisations sur le terrain du mouvement des lesbiennes et des gais qui, tantôt ont fait des représentations auprès des élites politiques et au sein du régime institutionnel canadien, tantôt ont interpellé les tribunaux, tantôt ont manifesté sur la rue. L'histoire récente regorge d'exemples où les tribunaux ont donné raison aux lesbiennes et aux gais et obligé les gouvernements à agir dans le sens de leur égalité (au moins devant la loi).

Je ne dispose pas ici de l'espace pour dresser une liste exhaustive des droits acquis par les lesbiennes et les gais depuis que certains actes homoérotiques ont été retirés du Code criminel en 1969. Je me contenterai donc de faire un survol de quelques champs législatifs, avec l'intention de montrer que la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais au Canada connaît des fluctuations selon les régions. Il apparaîtra que s'il n'est pas possible de déclarer une province « championne » en matière des droits des lesbiennes et des gais (y compris le Québec) au regard de cette citoyenneté substantielle, il est possible que les droits des lesbiennes et des gais reflètent un certain « homofédéralisme ». Je vais examiner les trois champs législatifs suivants : reconnaissance et mariage civil de couples de lesbiennes et de gais; reproduction et filiation; éducation.

Reconnaissance et mariage civil de couples de lesbiennes et de gais

En juillet 2005, le Canada est devenu le 4e pays à ouvrir le mariage civil aux couples de lesbiennes et de gais. Des 64 575 couples de lesbiennes et de gais identifiés par Statistique Canada à l'occasion du recensement de 2011, seulement le tiers étaient mariés (ou unis civilement). Au Canada, le Parlement fédéral et les législatures provinciales ont compétence sur le mariage, le premier de déterminer qui peut se marier (soit deux personnes de même sexe ou de sexe opposé), les secondes d'encadrer la célébration des mariages (ce qui implique, par exemple, la publication des bans et l'enregistrement du mariage). Si les provinces n'ont pas la capacité de définir les parties pouvant convoler en justes noces (ce qui explique que le mouvement des lesbiennes et des gais ait en priorité déployé ses mobilisations auprès du gouvernement fédéral), elles ont le pouvoir de mettre en place des structures alternatives au mariage et de reconnaître au plan légal les couples de lesbiennes et de gais. Au moment où le Parlement a ouvert le mariage civil aux couples de même sexe en 2005, une majorité substantielle des provinces (l'Ontario et le

8 À moins que le Parlement fédéral ou une législature provinciale ou territoriale ne décide sciemment d'y déroger pour une période de temps limitée.

Québec en 1999, la Colombie Britannique et la Nouvelle Écosse en 2000, le Manitoba, la Saskatchewan et Terre-Neuve–et–Labrador en 2001, l'Alberta en 2002) s'était dotée de tels régimes reconnaissant des droits et des obligations aux couples de même sexe dans divers domaines comme les relations familiales, l'éducation, la santé ou encore les rentes de sécurité de la vieillesse (Hurley 2005). Cette reconnaissance passa aussi par l'emploi. Ainsi, dès 1988 le gouvernement du Yukon étendit aux couples de même sexe les avantages sociaux dont bénéficiaient ses fonctionnaires en couple hétérosexuel. Au cours des années 1990, les autres provinces et territoires emboîtèrent le pas, sauf l'Alberta qui fit traîner les choses jusqu'en 2002 (Rayside 2008, 98).

Alors qu'il a fallu un quart de siècle pour protéger les lesbiennes et les gais de la discrimination via les chartes ou lois de la personne du gouvernement fédéral et des gouvernements provinciaux et territoriaux, la reconnaissance par ces derniers des unions de couples de lesbiennes et de gais a nécessité beaucoup moins de temps – tout au plus une décennie. Pourquoi? Essentiellement, en raison de la Charte et de la stratégie de contestation judiciaire privilégiée par un certain lobby au sein du mouvement des lesbiennes et des gais : les multiples décisions rendues par les tribunaux à la grandeur du Canada (notamment en Colombie Britannique et en Ontario en 2003 et au Québec en 2004) ont vite fait émerger un consensus parmi les élites juridiques à l'effet que réserver le mariage civil aux seuls couples hétérosexuels était contraire à la Constitution, légalisant par défaut le mariage de couples de même sexe et obligeant le Parlement fédéral (détenant la capacité de définir qui peut se marier) à ajuster sa législation en conséquence.

La brièveté et l'efficacité des luttes pour ouvrir le mariage civil aux couples de même sexe peuvent-elles aussi s'expliquer par un certain « homofédéralisme » – c'est-à-dire une compétition entre les provinces du Canada en regard de problématiques lesbiennes et gaies? Une réponse étoffée à cette question exigerait d'analyser les débats publics à propos du « mariage gai » dans toutes les entités fédérées, une tâche bien au-delà de la portée modeste de ce texte. Qu'il suffise de faire deux remarques. L'une veut souligner qu'entre les mois de mars 2004 et juin 2005, sept provinces et territoires ont légalisé le mariage civil de couples de lesbiennes et de gais. Cette courte période peut laisser croire en un effet de contagion, voire que les provinces ont peut-être cherché à éviter la position de queue … celle d'être la dernière province à ne pas permettre le « mariage homosexuel ». Ce sont là des interprétations qui restent à être démontrées. Ce qui est certain c'est qu'aucune province ne peut se targuer d'avant-gardisme, au contraire de ce qui survint en matière de protection contre la discrimination alors que le Québec a agi une décennie avant les autres entités fédérées. L'autre remarque concerne le pouvoir de la Charte à protéger les minorités : l'ouverture du mariage civil aux couples de même sexe est d'abord et avant tout une conséquence de la Charte, les juges qui l'interprétèrent décrétant inconstitutionnel le monopole hétérosexuel sur le mariage civil car contraire à la garantie d'égalité, obligeant ainsi la classe politique, par

ailleurs hostile à recourir à la clause de dérogation, à ajuster le droit en conséquence.

Appliquée au fédéral, la thèse d'une instrumentalisation de problématiques lesbiennes et gaies afin d'alimenter un projet national (comme le fit le Parti québécois en 1977) est plus féconde. En effet, lors des débats à la Chambre des communes, le premier ministre Paul Martin justifia la décision de son gouvernement d'ouvrir le mariage civil aux couples de lesbiennes et de gais en moussant un argumentaire « homonationaliste » – voire d'« homoimpérialisme »! Selon lui, la protection que le Canada offre à ses minorités par le truchement de la Charte non seulement conforte son identité multiculturelle (i.e., le Canada est un pays multiculturel), mais en fait un exemple à l'échelle planétaire (i.e., le Canada est un pays de droits et de libertés) :

> La Charte a été enchâssée dans la Constitution pour garantir que les droits des minorités ne sont pas assujettis, ne seront jamais assujettis, à la volonté de la majorité. Les Canadiens membres d'un groupe minoritaire sont des citoyens, et à ce titre, leurs droits doivent toujours être protégés, peu importe la taille du groupe. Ces droits ne doivent jamais être à la merci des impulsions de la majorité.
> […]
> Lorsque nous agissons en tant que pays pour protéger les droits des minorités, c'est notre nature multiculturelle que nous protégeons. Nous renforçons le Canada qui nous est cher. Nous affirmons, fièrement et sans broncher, que la défense des droits – non seulement de ceux qui s'appliquent justement à nous, non seulement de ceux que tous approuvent, mais la défense de tous les droits fondamentaux – est au cœur même de ce qu'être un Canadien signifie. C'est un aspect vital des valeurs que nous chérissons et que nous voulons transmettre à d'autres sociétés ailleurs dans le monde qui sont en crise, qui vivent sous le joug de la tyrannie, où les libertés sont limitées et les droits violés. (Canada 2005, 15H30 et 15H38)

En somme, la reconnaissance et le mariage de couples de lesbiennes et de gais ont donné lieu à un dénouement des événements resserré dans le temps et homogène dans l'espace. En effet, les unes à la suite des autres, les législatures provinciales ont répondu aux décisions des tribunaux en reconnaissant les unions de personnes du même sexe, le Parlement fédéral venant clore le bal en 2005 en modifiant la définition traditionnelle (i.e. hétérosexuelle) du mariage civil désormais entendu comme « l'union légitime de deux personnes à l'exclusion de toute autre personne ». Sans l'ombre d'un doute, ces décisions prises par le Parlement fédéral et les assemblées législatives des provinces et des territoires ont affecté la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais. Pour autant, il ne semble pas – du moins de prime abord – que la reconnaissance des unions de couples de lesbiennes et de gais

ait été l'occasion d'une compétition entre les entités fédérées (i.e., un « homofédéralisme »), quoique le gouvernement fédéral se soit prêté à un argumentaire « homonationaliste » voire « homoimpérialiste ».

Reproduction et filiation

Fidèle à l'esprit et à la pratique du fédéralisme, les questions interpelées par ce champ relèvent tantôt du fédéral, tantôt des provinces. Ainsi, du Parlement fédéral découle l'interdiction d'acheter les services d'une mère porteuse (ce qui amène bien des couples de gais à payer pour se procurer de tels services à l'extérieur du Canada) ainsi que d'acheter des ovules ou du sperme ou de faire de la publicité pour une telle vente. Puisqu'elles relèvent du fédéral, ces proscriptions s'appliquent à l'échelle canadienne. Les provinces ont compétence notamment en matière de procréation assistée et d'adoption, et des variations se manifestent entre les entités fédérées. C'est le cas en matière d'adoption où des lois ont été adoptées entre 1995 et 2004 selon des conditions fort variables.

Deux provinces – la Colombie Britannique et l'Ontario – ont été particulièrement progressistes sur ce terrain. Dès 1995, le gouvernement britanno-colombien formé par le Nouveau Parti démocratique a modifié les règles encadrant l'adoption afin qu'un enfant puisse être adopté par un adulte ou par deux adultes conjointement (Rayside 2008, 174). Du côté de l'Ontario, deux décisions rendues par les tribunaux au cours de la seconde moitié des années 1990 (K. et B. en 1995, et M. c. H. en 1999) ont contribué à reconnaître les couples de même sexe, leurs droits et leurs obligations (y compris dans un contexte de parentalité). De manière plus précise, M. c. H. a eu un effet d'entraînement déterminant en amenant le Parlement fédéral et plusieurs assemblées législatives provinciales à purger leurs lois de leurs préjugés hétérosexistes afin que les notions de conjointe et de conjoint soient neutres et ne s'inscrivent plus dans un référent exclusivement hétéronormatif. Cette conjoncture a permis qu'en 1999 l'adoption devienne accessible à deux adultes agissant de manière conjointe.

Bien que le Québec étendît tardivement l'adoption aux parents de même sexe, il le fit avec avant-gardisme et originalité. En 2002, suite à une mobilisation soutenue du mouvement des lesbiennes et des gais, le Québec est devenu la première province à créer la présomption de parentalité pour les conjointes et les conjoints de même sexe et de sexe différent : la *Loi instituant l'union civile et établissant de nouvelles règles de filiation* reconnaît les deux partenaires d'un couple de même sexe comme également et pleinement coparents d'un enfant conçu dans le cadre d'un projet parental en les autorisant à inscrire leurs noms sur le certificat de naissance de l'enfant, éliminant ainsi l'étape de l'adoption par l'une des parties (Tremblay 2015b). Depuis 2007, la province de Terre-Neuve–et–Labrador s'est dotée d'une formule apparentée (Everitt 2015). En revanche, ce n'est qu'en 2004 que le Nouveau Brunswick a autorisé l'adoption d'un enfant par la partenaire de la mère, ou le partenaire du père. Qui plus est, la Loi sur les statistiques de l'état civil de cette province

et les formulaires de demande pour les certificats de naissance usent toujours de notions hétérosexistes comme celles de « mère », « père », « femme mariée » et « époux » (Everitt 2015). À cet égard, le Québec semble avoir une longueur d'avance.

En somme, en matière de reproduction et de filiation, unité et hétérogénéité se font sentir. Unité, en cela que la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés garantit l'égalité à toutes et à tous devant la loi et les législations adoptées par les assemblées provinciales doivent satisfaire au test de constitutionnalité. Ainsi, une mesure qui, par exemple, entraverait l'accès des lesbiennes aux services de procréation assistée risquerait fort d'échouer le test de constitutionnalité car contraire à la garantie d'égalité. Hétérogénéité, puisque conformément à l'hypothèse homofédéraliste des fluctuations ressortent entre les provinces quant à la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais, par exemple au chapitre des représentations de la parentalité – des représentations qui, par leur parti pris hétérosexiste, affectent la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais.

Éducation

Bien que l'éducation soit de compétence provinciale (et donc sujette à variations d'une province à l'autre), la situation des lesbiennes et des gais[9] sur ce terrain s'avère très uniforme dans tout le Canada : des obstacles importants limitent leur pleine inclusion dans les écoles du pays (pour un aperçu général, voir Taylor/Peter 2011). L'homophobie[10] en éducation se manifeste sous plusieurs formes, entre autres : par le refus d'adopter du matériel pédagogique inclusif des problématiques de diversité sexuelle (la cause *Chamberlain* de 2002 concernant l'utilisation des livres *Asha's Mum, Belinda's Bouquet* et *One Dad, Two Dads, Brown Dads, Blue Dads* au conseil scolaire de Surrey au sud de Vancouver en est un exemple; voir Burtch et al. 2015) ou même d'en traiter en classe (voir DeGagne 2015); par l'interdiction des alliances entre lesbiennes, gais et personnes hétérosexuelles (certains gouvernements provinciaux ont pris des mesures interdisant d'interdire de tels groupes; voir plus loin); par l'intimidation et le harcèlement des lesbiennes qui sont étudiantes ou professeures et des gais qui étudient ou enseignent; par l'imposition de la loi du silence aux lesbiennes et aux gais membres du personnel enseignant (a contrario, le groupe Pride in Education au Nouveau Brunswick encourage les professeures lesbiennes et les professeurs gais à se poser en modèles de rôle pour les jeunes lesbiennes et gais; Everitt 2015); par l'impossibilité pour les couples de même sexe (au

9 Tel que mentionné plus haut, ce texte se limite aux lesbiennes et aux gais et il ne traite pas des violences qui frappent les personnes Trans* en milieu scolaire.

10 Je dois mentionner ma réticence à utiliser la notion d'« homophobie » et ma préférence pour celle d'« hétérosexisme ». Pourquoi? Parce que l'homophobie réfère à la personne, à sa soi-disant mal adaptation psychologique, évacuant le social, alors que l'hétérosexisme voit dans la société – ses représentations, ses institutions, ses pratiques, etc. – les sources des violences envers les personnes non conformes aux diktats du régime du genre et à l'hétéronormativité qu'il prescrit.

sein du corps professoral ou de la population estudiantine) de participer en tant que couples aux activités parascolaires (en 2002, un étudiant en Ontario, Marc Hall, s'est vu interdire d'aller à son bal de finissant avec son partenaire de même sexe; Grace/Wells 2005).

Plusieurs gouvernements provinciaux ont mis en place des mesures pour répondre à ce qu'ils désignent comme de l'« homophobie » dans les écoles – peut-être en raison de cas fortement médiatisés de jeunes lesbiennes et gais ayant mis fin à leurs jours. Par exemple, le gouvernement de l'Ontario a adopté diverses mesures pour lutter contre l'intimidation, le harcèlement et la discrimination en raison de l'orientation sexuelle : une politique pour des écoles sans violence en 1994, la Loi de 2000 sur la sécurité dans les écoles et une autre neuf années plus tard qui contraint le personnel enseignant à déclarer le harcèlement motivé par l'orientation sexuelle, enfin la Loi pour des écoles tolérantes en 2012 qui oblige les conseils scolaires à accepter et soutenir les alliances entre lesbiennes, gais et personnes hétérosexuelles (Rayside 2015). Toutes les provinces de l'Atlantique ont adopté des lois plus sévères pour combattre l'intimidation, le harcèlement et la discrimination envers les personnes non-hétéronormatives. Par exemple, en 2007 la Nouvelle Écosse a désigné le deuxième jeudi du mois de septembre la Journée contre l'intimidation (Everitt 2015). Des mesures similaires ont aussi été prises en Colombie Britannique, souvent en réponse à des décisions des tribunaux (Burtch et al. 2015). Ces mesures – il faut le reconnaître – frayent avec l'approche visant à protéger et promouvoir les minorités sexuelles (voir la section suivante).

Rayside (2015, 97) a les mots justes pour conclure cette section :

> On this front [celui de l'éducation] no province or territory can claim to have leapt ahead of others in developing effective policies for challenging heterosexist school climates, and none has even come close to creating comprehensive policies to create equitable school practices. To a disturbing extent, schools in Ontario, and across Canada, remain sites where traditional gender norms are reproduced, directly or indirectly, marginalizing deviation from those norms.

En d'autres mots, l'éducation ébranle l'hypothèse « homofédéraliste » suivant laquelle, sur le terrain de la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais, le fédéralisme stimulerait la compétition entre les entités fédérées à tel point que se feraient sentir des écarts d'importance entre elles.

Protection et promotion des minorités sexuelles

Tel que mentionné plus haut, il m'apparaît qu'aux trois moments qu'identifie Waaldijk (2000) pour traduire l'évolution des droits des lesbiennes et des gais en Occident il faille en ajouter un quatrième, soit celui où leurs luttes semblent inspirer des décisions politiques destinées à protéger spécifiquement ce que le discours

public nomme les « minorités sexuelles », voire à les promouvoir. Par exemple, en 2004 le Parlement fédéral a modifié – non sans résistance de groupes socio-conservateurs – le paragraphe 318(4) du Code criminel pour ajouter le motif de l'orientation sexuelle à la définition de « groupe identifiable » visé par la propagande haineuse. Mais ce sont surtout les provinces qui ont agi sur ce terrain, notamment parce qu'en vertu du partage des pouvoirs législatifs entre le Parlement et les législatures provinciales dont dispose la Constitution, elles héritent du plus clair des compétences significatives à la citoyenneté substantielle.

Les décisions visant la protection et la promotion des « minorités sexuelles » peuvent être réparties en deux types, soit l'action négative (i.e., la protection) et l'action positive (i.e., la promotion). La Nouvelle Écosse offre un exemple d'action négative, alors qu'en 2012 y fut adoptée une politique disposant qu'aucune école ne pouvait interdire les alliances entre les lesbiennes, gais et les personnes hétérosexuelles; cette disposition n'a pas pour objectif d'offrir de telles alliances (par exemple dans toutes les écoles secondaires), mais bien d'interdire de les interdire. Que ces alliances puissent exister est extrêmement important, car elles offrent un cadre structurant aux jeunes lesbiennes et gais en questionnement via des personnes à qui se confier, des modèles dont s'inspirer, un réseau amical à développer et dont se nourrir, un garde-fou pour prévenir et contrer les suicides. Autre exemple de protection : en juin 2015, l'Ontario est devenue la première province (et la seule) à interdire les « thérapies de guérison » de l'homosexualité destinées aux personnes mineures. Ces « thérapies » sont très controversées (particulièrement celles qui comportent un contenu religieux), notamment parce qu'elles posent l'hétérosexualité comme la norme et renvoie les sexualités non-hétéronormatives aux limbes de la maladie mentale. Ces mesures d'action négative contribuent à modeler la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais (nommément à l'école et au plan identitaire).

Un exemple d'action positive réside dans l'adoption par le conseil scolaire de la ville de Toronto (selon la Constitution canadienne les municipalités relèvent des provinces), en 1995, du *Triangle Program*, une forme d'école alternative destinée aux jeunes LGBT à qui ne convient pas l'école constituée selon les normes hétéronormatives (Rayside 2015). Du côté de Vancouver, en 2013 Qmunity s'est vu allouer une somme de sept millions de dollars pour consolider son offre de services destinés aux communautés LGBT (Brochu-Ingram 2015). Au Québec, le gouvernement a pleinement embrassé cette perspective d'action positive[11] en se dotant, en 2009, de la *Politique québécoise de lutte contre l'homophobie* et, en 2011, du *Plan d'action gouvernemental de lutte contre l'homophobie 2011-2016*. La *Politique* vise à « améliorer la situation des personnes de minorités sexuelles au Québec, pour l'atteinte de l'égalité sociale. » (Québec 2009, 19) Cette notion d'« égalité sociale » est significa-

11 La *Politique* et le *Plan* comportent certes des dispositions d'action négative, mais les objectifs qu'ils poursuivent et les mesures qu'ils contiennent s'inscrivent dans une finalité d'action positive.

tive car elle va au-delà de l'égalité juridique pour interpeller la citoyenneté substantielle, notamment l'hétérosexisme qui brouille les cartes de l'égalité en société. Les principes directeurs de la *Politique* sont ceux de l'humanisme libéral des droits de la personne : respecter la dignité des personnes de minorités sexuelles, leurs droits et leurs libertés, éliminer la discrimination à leur endroit conformément au droit à l'égalité, reconnaître leurs aspirations légitimes au mieux-être, enfin faire de la lutte à l'homophobie un enjeu dont toute personne doit se préoccuper – et pas seulement le gouvernement (Québec 2009, 19). La *Politique* a été suivie par le *Plan d'action gouvernemental de lutte contre l'homophobie, 2011-2016*, adopté en 2011. Le *Plan* prend l'allure d'une liste d'épicerie de plus de soixante mesures pratiques « pour aider les acteurs de toutes les sphères d'activité à vaincre les comportements homophobes » (Québec 2011, iii). La question se pose de savoir si ces mesures d'action positive ne sont pas sélectives et homonormalisatrices, c'est-à-dire si elles ne rejoignent pas un nombre limité de lesbiennes et de gais – celles et ceux à qui il convient de vivre leur citoyenneté substantielle selon les normes hétérosexuelles.

Conclusion

L'objectif de ce texte était de réfléchir à la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais à l'aune du fédéralisme : celui-ci modèle-t-il celle-là. L'ambition étant exploratoire, un certain nombre d'éléments ont pu être mis au jour à l'appui de cette interprétation : depuis la fin des années 1960, le Parlement et les législatures ont agi dans leurs champs de compétence respectifs pour sculpter la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais, qu'il s'agisse de décriminaliser de manière partielle certains actes homoérotiques, de protéger les lesbiennes et les gais contre la discrimination, de leur conférer l'égalité juridique avec les personnes hétérosexuelles, enfin d'adopter des mesures contribuant à leur égalité sociale. Toutes les provinces se sont dotées de mesures à même de consolider la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais et au risque de bousculer une idée largement véhiculée, il semble difficile de couronner le Québec en cette matière. Est-ce parce qu'une dynamique « homofédéraliste » (c'est-à-dire une compétition entre les provinces sur le terrain de la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais) a motivé toutes les régions à agir? Cela reste à voir. Ce qui est certain, c'est que la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais au Canada se tisse d'unité (héritage du palier fédéral) et d'hétérogénéité (issue de la pluralité des provinces et territoires), en harmonie avec l'esprit du fédéralisme.

Beaucoup de travaux restent à faire pour cerner l'influence exercée par le fédéralisme sur la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais. S'il semble acquis que cette influence s'exerce, son économie de fonctionnement reste à être démystifiée. Ainsi, quels sont les facteurs responsables de son déploiement et comment se manifeste-t-elle? Cette influence agit-elle selon un mode unique ou selon des modes variés dépendamment des provinces et adaptés aux secteurs d'intervention de l'État? Le Canada étant un pays de régions, quels rôles le régionalisme (ou les

cultures régionales) exerce-t-il sur la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais? Et qu'en est-il de cette citoyenneté substantielle dans d'autres fédérations du monde, comme l'Allemagne, l'Argentine, l'Australie ou l'Inde? Le fédéralisme y modèle-t-il aussi la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais et, le cas échéant, selon les mêmes modalités qu'au Canada ou différemment?

Il importerait surtout de cerner les apports de la société civile, notamment du mouvement des lesbiennes et des gais, à la définition de leur citoyenneté substantielle. Car il faut le rappeler : les victoires décrochées par les lesbiennes et les gais depuis la décriminalisation partielle de certains actes homoérotiques à la fin des années 1960 ne sont pas le fruit de la générosité de l'État; ces victoires sont d'abord et avant tout le résultat des luttes menées par les lesbiennes et les gais pour leur pleine citoyenneté (Tremblay 2015a). Par ailleurs, quelle influence le contre-mouvement par excellence du mouvement des lesbiennes et des gais (soit le mouvement socio-conservateur, particulièrement vigoureux lors du règne des conservateurs de Stephen Harper à Ottawa de 2006 à 2015; voir Farney 2012; McDonald 2011), exerce-t-il sur la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais? L'influence de ce contre mouvement est-elle surévaluée et/ou mal évaluée à l'heure où des conservateurs notoires (i.e., David Cameron en Grande-Bretagne) appuient le « mariage gai »? Bref, l'examen de la citoyenneté substantielle des lesbiennes et des gais sous la lorgnette du fédéralisme offre un programme de recherche fécond pour les années à venir.

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Stefan L. Brandt

"Not a puzzle so arbitrarily solved"

Queer Aesthetics in Alice Munro's Early Short Fiction

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag argumentiert, dass die Kurzgeschichten von Alice Munro durch eine Erzählstrategie gekennzeichnet sind, die als ‚queer aesthetics' oder ‚queer sensibility' charakterisiert werden kann. Gemeint ist damit ein narratives Bewusstsein für normabweichende Identitäts- und Verhaltensoptionen. In der Komposition von Munros Kurzgeschichten wird zudem eine Befindlichkeit zum Ausdruck gebracht, die Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick als „the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning" bezeichnet. Munros Faszination für die Ambiguitäten sowie die Diversität menschlichen Verhaltens wird anhand mehrerer ungewöhnlicher Figuren deutlich, z. B. der des Landarbeiters Herb Abbott in „The Turkey Season", der als „kinder and more patient than most women" beschrieben wird. In dieser Geschichte verweist eine komplexe Konstellation verschiedener Begehrensformen und Mehrdeutigkeiten auf eine Erzählkonstruktion, die Munro selbst „a queer bright moment" nennt und die ihrer Ansicht nach in jeder Kurzgeschichte vorhanden sein sollte. Wie Munro in einer anderen Erzählung, „A Queer Streak", illustriert, kann sich diese ‚queerness' durchaus auch auf Homosexualität beziehen, obgleich sie nicht notwendigerweise damit gleichzusetzen ist. Im Folgenden möchte ich zeigen, dass Munro das Konzept ‚queer' als Allegorie für die Absurditäten, Kuriositäten und Idiosynkrasien des Lebens einsetzt. Daher ist das ‚Andere' in ihren Geschichten oft mit einem Enigma erfüllt, welches das ‚Deviante' als geheimes Zentrum der Erzählung sowie darüber hinaus als Modell der individuellen Selbstinszenierung definiert.

Abstract

In this essay, I will argue that the short fiction of Nobel Prize winner Alice Munro is permeated by what can be termed 'queer aesthetics' or 'queer sensibility.' By this, I mean a narrative awareness of identity and behavioral options that deviate from the norm. Recognizable in the composition of Munro's short stories, this sentience pinpoints what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has called "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning." The same fascination with ambiguity – and with the diversity of human behavior in general – can be found in some of Munro's most memorable protagonists, for example, the farm worker Herb Abbott in "The Turkey Season," who is described as being "kinder and more patient than most

women." The complex constellation of desires and ambiguities in this story leads to the construction of what Munro herself has called "a queer bright moment" which, according to her, every short story needs. As Munro illustrates in "A Queer Streak," this kind of 'queerness' is not necessarily to be equated with homosexuality, although it may well include it. As I show in this essay, Munro uses the concept 'queer' as an allegory for the absurdities, oddities, and idiosyncrasies in life. The 'Other' in Munro's short fiction is thus often imbued with an enigma that marks the 'deviant' as the secret center of the story and, moreover, as a model of individual self-fashioning. [1]

Résumé

Ma contribution se propose de démontrer dans quelle mesure les nouvelles d'Alice Munro, lauréate du prix Nobel, sont marquées par ce que l'on peut qualifier d'esthétique ou de sensibilité queer. J'entends par cela une sensibilité narrative face à tout ce qui relève de l'identité et des choix de comportement hors norme. On reconnaît cette sensibilité notamment au niveau de la composition des nouvelles de Munro, une sensibilité qui met le doigt sur ce que Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick désigne de « réseau ouvert de possibilités, de failles, de chevauchements, de dissonances et résonances, d'erreurs et d'excès de signification ». On trouve cette fascination pour l'ambigüité – et pour la diversité du comportement humain en général – également chez les protagonistes les plus mémorables d'Alice Munro, dont, p.ex., l'ouvrier agricole Herb Abbott dans « The Turkey Season », ce personnage étant décrit comme « plus aimable et plus patient que la plupart des femmes ». Dans cette nouvelle, la constellation de désirs et d'ambigüités assez complexe est liée à la construction de ce que Munro appelle elle-même « un vif moment queer » qui, toujours selon l'auteure, devrait être présente dans toute nouvelle. Dans « A Queer Streak », Munro illustre que ce genre de queerness *n'équivaut pas nécessairement à l'homosexualité, même si cette dernière n'en est pas exclue. Je voudrais démontrer dans mon article que Munro utilise le concept de queer comme allégorie pour les absurdités, les bizarreries et les étrangetés de la vie. Dans les nouvelles de Munro, l' « autre » est souvent énigmatique, et ce côté énigmatique désigne le déviant comme étant le noyau secret des ses histoires, en plus d'être un model de mis en scène de soi.*

Introduction

In 1994, during the first heyday of Queer Theory, a Canadian publisher released an anthology of gay and lesbian fiction that carried the witty title *Meanwhile, in Another Part of the Forest*. More surprising than the mere fact of another queer-themed collection of short stories was the volume's subtitle: *Gay Stories from Alice Munro to*

1 I want to thank Manuela Neuwirth, Elisabeth Schneider, and Maja Wieland for their careful proofreading of this essay which enabled me to sharpen my argument regarding the structure and significance of 'queer aesthetics' in Munro's short stories.

Yukio Mishima. While the inclusion of Alice Munro[2] might, at first glance, have been due to alphabetic and stylistic logic, a look at the editors' explanations of their choice in the introduction proves otherwise. The purpose of the volume, so they declared, was to show that LGBT fiction had become a worldwide phenomenon – thus the inclusion of Japanese, British, American, and Canadian writers.

Even more importantly, the corpus of 'gay stories' was not restricted to gay authors, but also to other writers who felt they wanted to depict the whole range of society, including its social and sexual minorities. Conceived in this fashion, the inclusion of Munro's "The Turkey Season" – a short story by a straight writer – was a courageous step, yet not an entirely surprising one, given the fact that the treatment of *minority issues* in Canada had not exclusively been a task performed by *minority writers*. While the nation's most influential gay writer, Timothy Findley, has scarcely negotiated homosexuality in his works, some of Canada's best-known straight authors have dealt explicitly with queerness. Michael Ondaatje, for example, has utilized homoerotic imagery in the first chapter of *The English Patient*.

The employment of 'queer' themes is also prevalent in Alice Munro's fiction. The *Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Culture* lists Munro as an important force in creating a distinct gay voice in literature. "[O]ne of the best gay Canadian short stories, 'The Turkey Season,' is by the straight writer Alice Munro" (Chambers 1), the Encyclopedia states. "The Turkey Season" is by far not the only text by Munro to feature gay or lesbian characters that are more or less easily recognizable as such. In "A Queer Streak," the gay architect Dane and his lover Theo function as stunningly *average* counterparts to a whole series of 'queer,' yet heterosexual characters. In "Dulse," the American frontier writer Willa Cather has a cameo appearance, in which her lesbianism is thematized. And in "Friend of My Youth," a lesbian relationship of the narrator's mother is brought up as a possibility. Why, one might ask, would a self-identified straight author, who was married twice and has three children, be interested in 'gay topics'?

I will argue in this essay that Munro's writings, especially "The Turkey Season" (1980) and "A Queer Streak" (1985), reflect an aesthetics that can be described as 'queer' in a fundamental sense. I use the term 'queer' here primarily in its original meaning as "strange, odd, peculiar, eccentric" (Oxford English Dictionary)[3] and only in a narrow sense as referring to deviations from the heterosexual norm. Munro's narratives focus on the unusual, the strange, the curious; and they cherish difference and complexity as key components of life.

2 Reingard M. Nischik notes that Alice Munro "is also the most frequently anthologized author of short stories in Canada" ("Canadian Short Story" 24).

3 This is the first definition given by the Oxford English Dictionary. The word dates from the 15th to 17th century. The second meaning given by the OED is "out of sorts; unwell, faint, giddy." Only the third definition refers to the realm of sexuality: "a homosexual; […] of or relating to homosexuals or homosexuality" (see Oxford English Dictionary, online edition).

Munro's *queer aesthetics*, as I call it, is based on an acceptance of otherness as a vital part of social diversity. In order to qualify as 'queer' in the Munro universe, a character does not necessarily have to be gay or lesbian. Munro seems interested in the oddness of life itself. For her, grasping the complexities of reality also means looking at the idiosyncratic aspects of this reality, its 'queer,' unusual, and contradictory dimensions. My aim in this essay is thus not so much to 'queer' Munro in the mode suggested by some scholars of Queer Theory (that is, to expose the significance of homosexuality in the author's life and writing).[4] Rather, I want to examine Munro's own, distinctive concept of 'queer' – a word she uses surprisingly often in her works. In the author's own understanding, 'queer' signifies not only otherness and diversity, it also symbolizes a specific approach to storytelling which endows literature with a kind of magic, a spellbinding touch.

Queer Sensibility in Canadian Literature and Culture

Munro's appreciation of otherness did not always match the dominant discourse in Canadian literature. Before the Quiet Revolution of the 1970s, Canadian society, in general, was not exactly accepting of minorities; the two most prominent gay authors of the 1960s, Edward A. Lacey and Daryl Hine, actually spent most of their careers abroad – in the United States, Indonesia, Thailand, or Europe. In addition, Canada's 'Stonewall Riot' – if it *can* be called that – took place 12 years after its U.S. American counterpart, namely in 1981 when queers revolted against brutal police forces that had raided gay baths in Toronto (Chambers 1).[5]

The 1980s in the U.S. and Canada saw the emergence of what I will call *queer sensibility,* namely an awareness in literary and cultural practice regarding non-normative behavior. This sensibility seems to lie at the very core of numerous discourses dealing with divergence and identity formation. "Contemporary lesbian and gay male cultures," Steven Seidman wrote in an article from 1993, "evidence a heightened sensitivity to issues of difference and the social formation of desire, sexuality, and identity" (105). The age of postmodernism, Seidman argued, came to herald "a new aesthetic, a sensibility, an epistemological break, the end of grand narratives, and a new political juncture" (106). Around the same time, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, another important queer theorist, proclaimed that the use of the word 'queer' was groundbreaking in that it signaled a profound paradigm shift in contemporary society. Originally referring to things regarded as odd, strange or vaguely peculiar,

4 See, for example, various interpretations of Tennessee Williams's dramas (Fleche) and Ernest Hemingway's works (Moddelmog), in which the 'queer space' and (latent) homosexuality of the authors are investigated.

5 The emergence of the gay liberation movement during the 1970s and 80s left basically no other choice to politically aware writers than to acknowledge these developments and give room to voices which were often suppressed by the dominant discourse. In her sensitive treatment of practices of social exclusion as well as of symbolic inclusion of queers, Alice Munro has become an important representative of this tendency in Canada.

the term suddenly epitomized an altered understanding of life as being complex and diverse as opposed to linear and normative. "This is one of the things that 'queer' can refer to," Sedgwick avers in her landmark study *Tendencies*: "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning" (8). Apart from its usual connotation of 'lesbian, gay, bi- or transsexual,' the term 'queer' here seems to point to a new understanding, an awareness in which diversity and heterogeneity trump conformism and tradition.

Alice Munro's writings of the 1980s undoubtedly reflect this new understanding. This becomes evident when looking at Munro's short story collections *The Moons of Jupiter* (1982) and *The Progress of Love* (1986). While the term 'homosexual' is used only on one page in *The Moons of Jupiter* (65) and not at all in *The Progress of Love*, the word 'queer' pops up five times in the former book and seven times in the latter, often to denote the pleasures of new horizons of sensory experience. 'Queer' here becomes a symbol of letting go, of merging with the environment.

> When you start really letting go this is what it's like. A lick of pain, furtive, darting up where you don't expect it. Then a lightness. […] There's a *queer kind of pleasure* in it, not a self-wounding or malicious pleasure, nothing personal at all. It's an uncalled-for pleasure in seeing how the design wouldn't fit and the structure wouldn't stand, a pleasure in taking into account […] everything that is *contradictory* and persistent and unaccommodating about life. (Munro, "Bardon Bus" 127-128; my emphasis)

It is this focus on the contradictory aspects of life, its hidden pleasures and idiosyncrasies that marks Munro's philosophy. Out of Munro's more than 160 short stories, I singled out four that seem to highlight the author's vision as both a philosophical and a political concept: "Boys and Girls" (1964), "Dance of the Happy Shades" (1968), "The Turkey Season" (1980), and "A Queer Streak" (1985).[6]

Boundary Crossing in "Boys and Girls" and "Dance of the Happy Shades"

Munro deals with issues of normativity and boundary crossing already in one of her earliest short stories, "Boys and Girls" (1964). The story revolves around an 11-year old female unnamed protagonist whose uninhibited wildness and sense of autonomy stand in stark contrast to her environment's normative restrictions. While the protagonist, who is also the first-person narrator, sees herself more as a 'heroic' tomboy who likes to sing the tune "Danny Boy" at Christmas and is able to shoot rabid wolves ("BG" 113), her father and the other family members keep admonishing her to stick to the established gender codes. The story reaches its climax when one of the workhorses of the family becomes sick and lies in the barn, kicking and whin-

6 In the following, "Boys and Girls" will be abbreviated as "BG," "Dance of the Happy Shades" as "DHS," "The Turkey Season" as "TS" and "A Queer Streak" as "QS."

nying desperately. Eager to be close to the suffering animal, the protagonist is forbidden to enter the stable since the place is regarded as dangerous – and thus 'male' – territory. "That's none of girls' business," her grandmother tells her ("BG" 119) in a crucial scene in which her innocent childhood seems to end abruptly.[7] The narrator realizes that there are restrictions in life which are based on arbitrary and, as she perceives it, unjust regulations. In the story's microcosm, the social division between "boys and girls" (which already emerges in the story's title) becomes an obstacle that the protagonist can hardly overcome:

> The word *girl* had formerly seemed to me innocent and unburdened, like the word *child*; now it appeared that it was no such thing. A girl was not, as I had supposed, simply what I was; it was what I had to become. It was a definition, always touched with emphasis, with reproach and disappointment. Also it was a joke on me. ("BG" 119)

Published just one year after the release of Betty Friedan's feminist study *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), Munro's story draws attention to the social construction of gender and the cultural constraints that female adolescents have to encounter. Echoing Simone de Beauvoir's famous dictum that "[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes, woman" (293), Munro reveals in her story that female identity constitution is determined by parameters of invisible social control. Not only does the protagonist realize that 'being a girl' refers to a firmly defined and limiting role she has to play ("it was what I had to become"), she also comes to the conclusion that this expected performance puts her in an inferior position ("it was a joke on me"). As Nischik points out, "'Boys and Girls' shows competing gender concepts at work, thereby calling into question a strictly essentializing view of gender hierarchies" ("(Un-)Doing Gender" 216). In her story, Munro not only evokes our sympathy for the female protagonist, who is pressed into the corset of social conventions and expectations, she also makes us doubt the meaningfulness of such restrictions in society. When, towards the end of the tale, the narrator is confronted, once again, with the ever-repeating refrain "She's only a girl" and almost resigns in the face of such admonishments ("Maybe it was true") ("BG" 127), the reader is asked to question this social dichotomy. If the codes that normative gender roles entail in social practice make it so hard for characters to find a sense of inner balance and happiness, something seems to be fundamentally wrong with the whole system.

Munro's penchant for non-conformist characters is also revealed in another tale from the same 1968 collection of short stories in which "Boys and Girls" was published – the title-giving "Dance of the Happy Shades." The flamboyant Mrs. Marsalles,

7 This sentence is accompanied by other restricting maxims which seem to hang over the narrator's head like a sword of Damocles, such as "Girls don't slam doors like that" and "Girls keep their knees together when they sit down" ("BG" 119).

an elderly woman "having another party" ("DHS" 211), exemplifies the lust for life that many Munro characters are filled with. Perceived by her visitors as not living in their "world" ("DHS" 223), Mrs. Marsalles rejects the urging voices in her environment claiming that she "is simply getting *too old*" ("DHS" 211). What's more, she decides to party while her sister is lying sick in bed, recovering from a stroke. The same sense of extravagance and non-conformism is expressed in one of the story's key scenes in which a corpulent female musician (a "girl as big as I am," as the unnamed first-person narrator points out), prompted by Mrs. Marsalles, steps to the piano and begins to play ("DHS" 222). The tune, it becomes clear, "is not familiar" (ibid.). Yet, the pianist manages to mesmerize the audience with her buoyant, jazzy song. "It is something fragile, courtly and gay," the narrator informs us, "that carries with it the freedom of great unemotional happiness" (ibid.). The use of the word 'gay' in this context, I want to contend, is no coincidence. Munro needs this connotation of the extravagant to unfold her aesthetics of otherness. In an echo of her earlier story "Boys and Girls" ("She's only a girl"), Munro encourages us in the final sentences of "Dance of the Happy Shades" *not* to condemn the protagonist as "*Poor Mrs. Marsalles*" ("DHS" 224), but to focus on the intrinsic happiness of the character. As I will show later in my essay, this emphasis on the 'odd' and 'queer' aspects of everyday social practice is emblematic of Munro's complex narratives.

The Enigma of the 'Other' in "The Turkey Season"

Munro's focus on the extraordinary within the ordinary is also exemplified in her story "The Turkey Season" (1980), which revolves around a 14-year old girl who takes a job as a turkey gutter for the Christmas season. Set in the 1940s, the narrative is told from the perspective of an unnamed narrator, apparently reflecting the girl's point of view as an adult woman. On the turkey farm, the protagonist meets Herb Abbott, an affable, but also mysterious worker who serves as her supervisor. Herb is "a tall, firm, plump man" ("TS" 62); and he is idolized by most of the women on the turkey farm, especially the narrator's fellow gutters Marjorie and Lily. The girls' infatuation with Herb is juxtaposed with his obvious tendency to avoid women's company. Everything about Herb Abbott seems contradictory. His behavior, even his way of moving, is marked by flow, transition, and ambiguity. This is also detected by one of the female figures: "Notice about Herb – he always walks like he had a boat moving underneath him" (ibid.). Herb's whole physical appearance is marked by contradictions: "[H]is eyes seemed to be slightly slanted, so that he looked like a pale Chinese or like pictures of the Devil, except that he was smooth-faced and benign" (ibid.).

Herb's potential sexual ambiguity becomes obvious when a youthful male co-worker named Brian appears on the farm. As it turns out, Herb and Brian are very close and actually live together. Brian, who always acts in a coarse and vulgar fashion, is fired for an indecent proposal to one of the farm girls, Gladys. Reflecting upon the incident later, the narrator comes to the following conclusion: "I decided that

Brian was Herb's lover, and that Gladys really was trying to get attention from Herb, and that that was why Brian had humiliated her" ("TS" 74). Notably, the character of Herb seems untouched by these moments of vulgarity and madness. While Brian is called "pervert," "filthy," and "maniac" ("TS" 71), Herb remains unfazed by the nasty accusations and manages to keep up a sense of poise and solemnity. When Brian is chased off the farm, the narrator notices a strange expression on Herb's face that she can only connect to a sense of shame.

> But what would he be ashamed of? […] It's enough for me now just to think of Herb's face with that peculiar, stricken look; to think of Brian monkeying in the shade of Herb's dignity; to think of my own mystified concentration on Herb, my need to catch him out, and then move in and stay close to him. How attractive, how delectable, the prospect of intimacy is, with the very person who will never grant it. ("TS" 74)

The character of Herb is not only marked as different, reserved, and inaccessible, but he is also imbued with "a sense of promise and […] perfect, impenetrable mystery" ("TS" 68).

In "The Turkey Season," the enigma of the 'Other' becomes an expression of life itself, its riddles and diversity, its manifold appearances. Opposites attract, the narrator muses – since life seems to aim at the reconciliation and merging of all its aspects. "Isn't it true that people like Herb – dignified, secretive, honorable people – will often choose somebody like Brian, will waste their helpless love on some vicious, silly person, who is not even evil, or a monster, but just some importunate nuisance?" ("TS" 74) Life itself is strange and often unfamiliar, Munro tells us in the story. What she is interested in are not classifications and categories, but relationships and possibilities. "I don't want to go into the question whether Herb was homosexual or not," the narrator informs us, "because the definition is of no use to me. I think that he probably was, but maybe he was not" ("TS" 65). Herb is, she concludes, "not a puzzle so arbitrarily solved" (ibid.). The mystery surrounding the character of Herb is "never fully solved," as Walter Rintoul Martin has observed (136). Munro needs to keep it ambiguous for which reasons Herb feels drawn to Brian and if this attraction really has a sexual dimension. Her resistance in the narrative to create coherent identities contributes to the story's 'queer sensibility,' embracing the ambiguous and deviant as part of complex identity structures that can never be fully explained or deciphered.

By including four different female characters in her portrayal of the conundrum surrounding Herb, Munro "achieves the effect of a spectrum" (Martin 136-37). While Gladys is identified by her restrained gentility and the first-person narrator by her insecurity and shyness, Lily and Marjorie are rather marked by a sense of coarseness and even brutality. Through these indicators Munro constructs a complexity within the story that matches the ambiguity associated with the character of Herb. "We all

wanted to see the flicker of sexuality in him, hear it in his voice" ("TS" 66). Yet, this "curious expectation" (ibid.) projected onto Herb is never fulfilled.

This sense of unresolved tension is also conveyed in the final passage of "The Turkey Season," in which the three female characters, all of them infatuated with the unreachable Herb, hold hands and chant in the snow. It is this peculiar scenery that Munro, in her introduction to *The Moons of Jupiter*, picks as epitomizing the gist of "The Turkey Season." "When I think of the story," she writes,

> I think of the moment when Marjorie and Lily and the girl come out of the turkey barn, and the snow is falling, and they link arms, and sing. I think there should be a queer bright moment like that in every story, and somehow that is what the story is about. ("Introduction" xv)

This "queer bright moment," as Munro phrases it, is the essence of life as it shimmers through in fiction. In her depictions of the enigmatic, pleasurable, and rich aspects of living, Munro comes closest to producing a reality effect. "Only a few writers," one reviewer claims, "continue to create those full-bodied miniature universes of the old school."[8] Munro's loving realism goes hand in hand with her recognizable appreciation of queer figures in the broadest sense. Like Henry James's 'figure in the carpet' that epitomizes the secret of life as captured in realistic fiction, Munro's stories work on a subliminal level. They unfold in our imagination and promise to expose the mysteries and oddities of their characters. Thus conceived, the tales resist a form of queer aesthetics associated with masquerade and excessive theatricality. Instead, Munro presents us with a different form of 'queer aesthetics' that stresses the experiences of otherness and deviation as a pleasurable part of the ambiguous, odd, and multi-faceted reality of individual identities and relations within her stories.

'All in the Family' – Eccentricity and Normalcy in "A Queer Streak"

Munro's story "A Queer Streak" (1985) is a good example of the author's technique of showing real life through its queer side narratives. The short tale, which imitates the format of the epic novel, delineates the history of a whole family in Ottawa, in which virtually every member is eccentric, to say the least. There is Violet, at first a seemingly reasonable character who later burns her family documents in an orgy of desperation and meets her true love in the thorny bushes in the thicket after a car accident. There is Violet's father King Billy who shares his name with "a dapple-gray horse that was their driver" ("QS" 209). His wife, Aunt Ivie, who has a "dark, puzzled, grudging voice" ("QS" 210), has lived near a lake as a single woman for so long that "[n]obody ever thought she would marry" ("QS" 211). And there is her sister, "chubby

8 Anne Tyler for *New Republic*; cover text of Munro's *The Progress of Love*.

little Dawn Rose" ("QS" 226) who, at age fourteen, seems innocent, but sends sadistic hate letters to King Billy.

The story reaches an ironic twist when the "queer streak" mentioned in the story's title becomes contrasted with the apparent normalcy outside the family. Violet's engagement to the handsome Anglican minister Trevor Auston by no means signifies that her life now becomes 'normal.' To the contrary, her experiences in the United Church are marked as even more peculiar than those she made before in her unusual family. Almost everything – except eating, as the omniscient narrator sarcastically remarks – is regarded as a sin: "Cardplaying was a sin […]; dancing was a sin for some, and moviegoing was a sin for some, and going to any kind of entertainment except a concert of sacred music […] was a sin for all on Sundays" ("QS" 217). Although Violet tries hard to get accustomed to the strictness of the church, she has to learn that the congregation's rules are also applied to her family. When she informs her fiancé about the dark aspect in her kinship (namely, her sister having sent the hate letters), the minister immediately breaks off the engagement and stops seeing her. Aunt Ivie, acquainted with the "hillbilly squabble" ("QS" 223) of small town life, realizes at once what this scandalous revelation will mean: "They'll say we got a queer streak in the family now" ("QS" 227).

What strikes us as 'odd' in the story is not so much the stock of crazy ideas that inspires Dawn Rose to engage in her foolish charade, but rather the oppressive atmosphere of "emptiness, rumor, and absurdity" ("QS" 223) that seems to rule small town life. The minister's heartless reactions and his ignorant blaming of "female insanity that strikes at that age" ("QS" 230) are marked as unjustified and rude. After Dawn Rose moves to Edmonton, gets married and has a son, the 'queer streak' in the family seems to vanish. "No strange behavior or queerness or craziness ever surfaced in her again" ("QS" 233). The sentence is loaded with irony, since the son that Dawn Rose will give birth to, will, in fact, be gay. (This context is foreshadowed in the concise ending of the paragraph: "She had a son.")

Next to the illustrious crowd of utterly queer characters in the short story, Dawn Rose's gay son Dane and his partner Theo seem like paragons of normality. When Dane, who lives with Theo in the family house, is congratulated on having "finally turned up a serious girlfriend" ("QS" 241), the gay man corrects the statement *calmly*: "A man friend" (ibid.) Of that same gentle nature are Dane's reactions when Violet gives him an excited phone call after the family secret concerning the hate letters is about to be exposed. When Dane receives that call, he and his partner are sitting in front of the television set, like two couch potatoes. The 'queer streak' in the family that the story's title refers to has apparently dissolved into utter normalcy. Dane, a "broad-shouldered ruddy man with the worn outlines of a teddy bear" ("QS" 240) may "look like his mother [the crazy author of the threat messages]" (ibid.), yet his behavior marks him as an entirely average and, what's more, affable character who

just happens to be gay. "There's nought [nowt] so queer as folk – there is nothing as strange as ordinary people" (CDO), an old Northern English expression goes.[9]

Within the framework of her story, Munro fundamentally challenges the conceptions of 'normalcy' and 'queerness,' suggesting that they are merely cultural constructions. Dane's being gay is culturally coded as 'queerness'; in the story, however, it is rather the other family members to which the term 'queer' is applied. This usage of the concept 'queer' indicates a blending of identity categories in Munro's fiction. Very often, Munro's characters are marked as 'queer,' although they are actually defined as heterosexual. Poppy Cullender, the unfortunate drug dealer in another Munro story, is also not necessarily gay, but definitely "queer" ("Chaddeleys" 21), as the narrator points out. It is the character's queerness that makes Poppy an outsider in society. "Poor Poppy," the narrator's mother sighs at one point, "There were always those that were out to get him. He was very smart, in his way. Some people can't survive in a place like this. It's not permitted. No" (ibid.). Not only can we discern a certain tone of regret in the mother's statement; through Munro's technique of focalization, this feeling is also transferred to the reader. The case of Poppy Cullender is symptomatic of the author's negotiation of 'queer characters.' Their otherness is seen as a natural – yet often ostracized and culturally condemned – part of reality itself, a small but significant component in the rich and diverse mosaic of life.

Conclusion – Munro's 'Queer, Bright Moments'

I have argued in this essay that what Alice Munro has created in her short fiction is a distinctive mode of composition that involves markers of 'queerness' on the formal as well as on the content level. As I have shown with regard to four selected stories, the composition of Munro's texts is marked by elements of surprise, ambiguity, and unruliness. The author's storylines seem permeated by disorderly structures which encourage the reader to challenge established codes of thinking and become acquainted with social acts of boundary crossing. This *queer aesthetics*, as I have termed it, seems deeply ingrained in the very heart of Munro's writing. As such, it becomes interwoven with what has been defined as Alice Munro's "own unique narrative rhythm" (May xii).

The same observation can made in regard to the character constellation in Munro's works. It would be an understatement to say that Munro's protagonists are simply 'odd' or 'peculiar'. While often firmly rooted in society, they are marked as utterly extraordinary characters. Munro herself uses the words 'queer' and, to a certain extent, 'gay' surprisingly often in her texts, always in an ambiguous, yet vaguely affirmative, way, thereby referring to characters and situations that seem curious and unique. The semantic fields of 'oddness' and 'homosexuality' are sometimes blended, leaving it up to the reader to decide if the characters' deviance is really of a

9 See Cambridge Dictionaries Online, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/de/worterbuch/britisch/there-s-nowt-so-queer-as-folk. Accessed on April 17, 2015.

sexual nature. Most of Munro's 'queer' protagonists are marked as highly enigmatic, even contradictory. The enigma of the 'Other,' her works seem to suggest, is also a universal one, that of life's diversity *per se*. Munro's art, as one critic has succinctly phrased it, thus imitates "the tangled yarn of that border area where our drives live us" (Bloom 1). In this sense, Munro's 'queer' characters, far from being exoticized, function as fascinating evidence that the 'Other' is always an integral element of the self, an expression of its multi-faceted shape in a heterogeneous culture.

By the same token, Munro's tales offer a deep *queer aesthetics* in that they employ idiosyncratic and anti-normative angles of storytelling. Her writings do not fulfill the reader's expectations of connecting the queer to the exaggerated and extraordinary. Rather, Munro invites the reader to discover a variety of queer moments, characters, and relations portrayed from various narrative points of view. Her stories can be interpreted as narrative resistance to stereotypical conceptions of 'queerness' and 'normalcy' in that they celebrate the unusual as an integral element of everyday life. While in "Boys and Girls" we are asked to question the restrictions of established gender hierarchies, "Dance of the Happy Shades" encourages us to challenge the normative codes linked to age (the protagonist is an elderly woman who is still organizing parties). "The Turkey Season," possibly one of Munro's most intricate stories, invites us to look behind the mystery of its main character and recognize the complexities of life. Finally, in "A Queer Streak," the concept of 'queerness' already mentioned in the story's title is surprisingly applied to every single individual in the tale's family except the protagonist's gay nephew. All in all, Munro's stories seem to strongly resist stereotypes and engage in a challenging perspective towards the ordinary. While many characters are marked as 'queer,' they are not necessarily gay. What they do share is an affiliation with the strange, yet vaguely familiar sides of life.

This sense of 'queer normality' is accentuated in one of Munro's most unusual short stories, "Dulse," in which the 45-year old female protagonist Lydia experiences a kind of psychological awakening. In the story's odd climax, Lydia has breakfast with an elderly gentleman named Mr. Stanley, who tells her about the American writer Willa Cather who once advised a friend of his on marriage problems. When Lydia protests that "Willa Cather lived with a woman" (57) and was thus not qualified to speak about marriage, Mr. Stanley mildly corrects her and points out that Cather's advice was indeed very helpful, coming from a worldly-wise person. The story concludes with Lydia wondering "if Willa Cather ever ate dulse" (58). This enigmatic ending, that finally recurs to the story's title, points to another paradox – the unusual within the ordinary. The everyday act of eating is marked here as something queer, due to the nature of the meal, namely dulse, a sea lettuce cherished as a snack food by some people on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. The answer to the question could be the same that is already given for the other peculiar characters of Munro's short stories when it comes to their sexual identity: Yes *and* no. The mere thought of Willa Cather eating dulse in her mansion in Greenwich Village, possibly together with her partner of 45 years, Edith Lewis, is answer enough.

This image is one of those 'queer bright moments,' which, as Alice Munro has so beautifully phrased it, should be part of every short story. Thanks to Munro's masterful use of language, these 'queer bright moments' have also become part of our imagination.

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René Reinhold Schallegger

Game Changers – Representations of Queerness in Canadian Videogame Design

Zusammenfassung

Aufgrund der sich verändernden Demographie der Spielenden, sowie der Domestizierung und Entmystifizierung von Videospielen, ist das Medium in der Mitte der Gesellschaft angekommen. Weite Teile des bisherigen Zielpublikums, die Gamer, reagieren aggressiv auf den resultierenden Autoritätsverlust und den wahrgenommenen Identitätsverlust. Besonders Darstellungen sexueller und geschlechtlicher Identitäten sind zu einem Schlachtfeld in diesem Kulturkrieg geworden, während sich die Industrie an ein kollabierendes imaginäres Publikum klammert. Zusammen mit einer Diversifizierung der Designer-Community müssen inklusive Repräsentationsregime über den Indie-Sektor hinaus zum Standard werden. BioWare hat mehr zu diesen notwendigen Veränderungen beigetragen als irgendein anderes Studio. Mit Mass Effect *und* Dragon Age *haben sie die Grenzen des Akzeptablen in der Darstellung von Geschlecht und Sexualität im Videospiel verschoben.* Dragon Age: Inquisition *(2014) ist das erste völlig inklusive Spiel der westlichen Designtradition, und es kommuniziert zudem noch zutiefst kanadische Werte und Normen in seiner Identitätspolitik, seinem Repräsentationsregime und seiner sozio-politischen Ethik.*

Abstract

Due to changing player demographics, the domestication, and demystification of videogames, the medium has arrived in the middle of society. Large parts of the formerly privileged demographic, 'The Gamers', react aggressively to the resulting loss of authority and a perceived loss of identity. Especially representations of sexual and gender identities have become a battleground in these culture wars, with the industry still holding on to a collapsing imagined audience. Together with a diversification of the designer community, inclusive representational regimes must become the standard. BioWare have done more to realise this necessary development than any other studio. With Mass Effect *and* Dragon Age*, they have pushed the limits of acceptable representation in terms of gender and sexuality in games.* Dragon Age: Inquisition *(2014) is the first fully inclusive game in the western design tradition, and additionally it communicates deeply Canadian values and norms in its identity politics, its representational regime, and its socio-political ethics.*

Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien 36 (2016) 42-62

Résumé

À cause de la démographie changeante des joueurs et suite à la domestication et démystification des jeux-vidéos, le médium a désormais sa place certaine au cœur même de la société. Une partie importante de l'ancien public cible, les Gamers, réagit de façon agressive à la perte d'autorité qui en résulte, et y perçoit une perte d'identité, comme l'a montré la controverse du Gamergate. Les représentations d'identités sexuées et sexuelles sont devenues de véritables champs de batailles dans cette guerre culturelle, alors que l'industrie continue à cibler un public imaginaire en voie d'effondrement. Or, les discours autour des droits civiques remplacent la logique de propriété des maisons d'édition, et en plus d'une diversification de la communauté des designers, des régimes de représentation inclusive doivent devenir – bien au-delà du secteur indie – la nouvelle norme sur le marché. Bien plus que tout autre studio, BioWare d'Edmonton (AB) a contribué à ces changements nécessaires du médium. Avec leurs séries Mass Effect *et* Dragon Age, *BioWare a lentement mais continuellement déplacé les limites de ce qui, au niveau de la représentation des sexes et de la sexualité, paraissait acceptable.* Dragon Age : Inquisition *(2014) est le premier jeu-vidéo de la tradition occidentale de design qui est véritablement et à cent pourcent « inclusif », en plus de transmettre des valeurs et des normes profondément canadiennes pour ce qui est de sa politique d'identité, son régime de représentation et l'éthique socio-politique dont il témoigne.*

Gamergate, or: Empire Falling

In his article "Competing Narratives in Virtual Worlds", Ren Reynolds delineates the basic logic of media change according to Science and Technology Studies: new technologies take on already accepted cultural values in highly complex and oftentimes contested processes (2009, 399). Videogames continually increase in social impact and develop new functions in social and cultural debates, they thus become potentially highly disruptive forces. As researchers working with this relatively new medium, we need to "inquire what kinds of meaning we attribute to [virtual worlds] as artifacts and social practices that become associated with them", the author argues (ibid.). We need to ask ourselves what discourses dominate our understanding of them.

Unfortunately for the medium, the Gamergate controversy has recently been the most visible public discourse associated with videogames and the people playing them. It started in August 2014 with a series of sexist and misogynistic attacks on twitter (#gamergate), and in several online forum entries targeting prominent female game developers such as Zoe Quinn or Brianna Wu, as well as women active in the field of videogame criticism, with Anita Sarkeesian of *Feminist Frequency* fame taking the brunt of the onslaught (cf. *Feminist Frequency* 2015). The situation quickly escalated into open threats of rape, murder, and eventually even mass murder.

A strong and decisive reaction from the industry followed. Game designers and journalists used the means of communication at their disposal to distribute open letters and to collect signatures against the Gamergate movement. In a statement issued, the Entertainment Software Association (ESA), reuniting the biggest producers and publishers in the medium, made it clear that "[t]here is no place in the video game community – or our society – for personal attacks and threats" (Tsukayama 2014). The tenor of these voices was that the participants in the unacceptable attacks were only a small but vocal minority, and that their behaviour was damaging to the community as a whole and the medium as such. The International Game Developers Association (IGDA) immediately took steps to address the issue of a lack of diversity in an industry where 76% of game designers self-identify as male, 86% as heterosexual, 79% as Caucasian, and only 17.5% of game designers openly live with disabilities (IGDA 2014). Strategies to increase the support for and inclusion of women and other minorities and to remove structural discrimination were installed and reviewed. Industry leaders were openly taking a stand on this.

At the heart, however, Gamergate was and is only a symptom, one battle in a culture war that has been raging for years now over several critical issues regarding videogames and the cultures surrounding them: artistic and academic criticism and recognition of videogames as forms of cultural expression, shifting gamer demographics and the resulting diversification of game content, and the social and cultural attributes of a 'Gamer identity' itself. The aggressive nature of the attacks becomes understandable – but must not be condoned: Certain groups of players see their authority, even their core identity eroded as videogames follow the, as Ian Bogost put it, "violent and tragic" trajectory of domestication and demystification other 'new media' such as comics, film, or TV have taken in the past (2011, 150-151). The formerly secret garden of videogame culture is now thrown wide open to the masses, and Gamers "find themselves disturbed and disoriented at the domestication of what was once a private, dangerous wilderness" (ibid., 150).

But according to leading critics 'The Gamer' has been dying for years now. In *How to Do Things with Videogames* (2011), Bogost entitles his conclusions chapter "The End of Gamers" (ibid., 147-154). Since the domestication of videogames, the acceptance of the medium into the everyday lives of more and more people, rapidly advances, it becomes more "ordinary and familiar" on the one hand, while on the other hand games also "realize their place in meaningful art and culture" (ibid., 159). Yet this process, accompanied by a fundamental demystification, is a mixed blessing: what videogames win in reach and scale, they also lose in courage and vibrancy, growing into a "tame and uninteresting" medium (ibid., 150). What used to be a sub- or even a counter-culture has now become mainstream. Studios have moved from family garages to glass skyscrapers, and publishers control the biggest entertainment market, ahead of the film or music industry, in most western societies (cf. Charlton 2012). For Bogost, this development is not threatening, or even deplorable, it is just the way all media go: "Soon gamers will be the anomaly. If we're very fortu-

nate, they'll disappear altogether. Instead we'll just find people, ordinary people of all sorts. And sometimes these people will play videogames. And it won't be a big deal" (2011, 154).

While Bogost wrote this swan song to 'The Gamer' years before the violent backlash he predicted actually broke out, Leigh Alexander's article "'Gamers' don't have to be your audience. 'Gamers' are over" (2014) was a direct, immediate, and outspoken response to the Gamergate events. She criticises the appropriation of gaming by commercial interests and the catering to the supposed tastes of what she calls "young white dudes with disposable income who like to Get Stuff [sic]" (Alexander 2014). What is widely understood to be 'Gamer culture' is exposed as the product of marketing strategies prevalent during the 1990s and early 2000s, succinctly and scathingly summarised by Alexander as follows: "Have money. Have women. Get a gun and then a bigger gun. Be an outcast. Celebrate that. Defeat anyone who threatens you" (ibid.). Like Bogost before her, the author goes on to explain that the situation of gaming and the industry has drastically changed since then, and that these changes must also impact the values expressed in videogame production. A shift towards diversification and inclusion must and will happen as the medium is accepted as a valid and valuable form of cultural expression: "Developers and writers alike want games about more things, and games by more people. […] We will get this, because we're creating culture now. We are refusing to let anyone feel prohibited from participating" (ibid.).

In Alexander's reading of the Gamergate controversy, it marks a watershed moment in the development of videogames, not in spite of but rather because of the excessive and specifically targeted aggression. 'Gamer' is no longer a meaningful category – who would self-identify as a 'filmer', or a 'booker' for that matter? – it has become a "dated demographic label" (Alexander 2014). And, like Bogost years before her, she also ends her contribution on the notes of a swan song: "Gamers are over. That's why they're so mad. […] There is what's past and there is what's now. There is the role that you choose to play in what's ahead" (ibid.). 'The Gamer', for Bogost, Alexander, and many other critics, is a relic of a past that rapidly loses its power over the present. He – for gender is a key issue here – has ridden off into the sunset to join this other icon of an out-dated and misconceived masculinity. And gamers – lower-case g and plural – *are* no longer defined, they *self*-identify as such, appropriating and actively creating their identities.

So, the Empire of the Gamer is falling, as the formerly targeted and therefore privileged demographic has to come to terms with a shift towards a plurality of new voices and representations. The figures for the US, the biggest videogame market in the world, could not paint a clearer image of the changes: 50% of people now play games on a regular basis, with an average of two gamers per household; 51% of households own a dedicated gaming console, and those that do on average own two; the average player age is 31, with the age cohort of 36+ already being the dominant segment, and 48% of gamers are female (ESA 2014).

In their *Developer Satisfaction Survey* of 2014, IGDA asked its participating members to identify the issues creating a negative perception of the industry, and the top answers show a keen awareness of the problems the medium and its culture are facing: right after the deplorable "working conditions" of game creators at 68% come "sexism in games" at 66%, the "perceived link to violence" at 61%, and the rampant "sexism in the industry" at 51% (IGDA 2014). As the top three most critical issues for the future of game design emerge "advancements in game design" (74%), "more diversity in game content" (65%), and "advancements in storytelling" (59%) (IGDA 2014). These figures show that the makers of games have acknowledged the changing situation and are very much aware of the steps they must take to guarantee a positive development of their medium and its place in society. Games have reached the middle of society in terms of gender, age, and class, and they are quickly becoming a leading medium of cultural expression and experience.

Canada's contribution to the rise and development of videogames is disproportionally important: it is the largest producer in the world in employees per capita, and even in absolute figures it is now number three after the US and Japan; there are 329 videogame companies in Canada that completed 910 projects in 2012, 48% of which were designed for the console market (ESAC 2014). The Canadian games industry originally started in British Columbia over 20 years ago in one of the oldest clusters in North America, but today it is Québec that has the highest concentration of companies and employees, with Montréal boasting the largest population of game designers in the country. Ontario is lagging behind in comparison, mostly focused on small and medium sized companies. The Entertainment Software Association of Canada (ESAC) in its annual 2014 report also lauded the close relation between the educational sector and the industry in Canada: 65 relevant post-secondary programmes at universities across the country have formed a sound basis for strong and lasting collaborations between educational institutions and the industry that hires 97% of the graduates (ESAC 2014). It is therefore essentially young, well-educated Canadians and Canadian-trained foreign professionals that push the medium forwards in terms of quality and types of content, supported by 67% of the Canadian population that see good opportunities for young people in these programmes and the industry (ibid.). This is certainly a major contributing factor as to why Canadian-produced games have become global leaders in terms of the diversity of representations and experiences they make available to their players during recent years.

'Queering' the Medium?

For Ren Reynolds the key questions at the heart of the current debates and controversies are: "Who's in control?", and "Who controls the processes of governance?" (2009, 399-400). Unlike the studios designing and *making* games, intrinsically motivated and inherently interested in the creative process per se and the resulting experiences, the publishers distributing and *selling* games are extrinsically motivat-

ed and follow only the logic of property. Asymmetrical power relationships between publishers on the one hand and studios but also players on the other reinforce mechanisms of technical and social control. Alternative voices can either surface as disagreements within the narrative of property and therefore contest ownership, or they can assert counter-narratives, such as turning the debate about games into an issue of civil rights.

Since players experience virtual worlds as diegetic *spaces*, Reynolds argues in the tradition of Richard A. Bartle (2004) and Henry Jenkins (2004), this gives rise to "the potential for civic discourse" (2009, 402). What we see is a perceptual and conceptual shift of the game space from a purely "ludic utility" (ibid.) to a much larger and contextualised discourse of citizenship and participation that stands in open tension with the publisher's logic of ownership and control. Reynolds here refers to Sal Humphreys' understanding that it is typical for alternative narratives of society or community to be established in and around "social relation-based narrative[s]" (2009, 403). As players form relationships and constantly (re-)negotiate them in hybrid spaces that bring together aspects of the physical and the virtual in the social, they create social capital in two processes that Robert Putnam called bridging, "individuals from different backgrounds making links between social networks", and bonding, "providing a substantive form of support to each other" (in Reynolds 2009, 403). The resulting sense of embodied virtual community and citizenship can lead to events such as in-game protests that have already happened in several massively-multiplayer online games (MMOs) such as *Ultima Online* (Origin et al. 1997-present), *EverQuest* (Daybreak Game Company 1999-present), or *Star Wars Galaxies* (Sony Online Entertainment and Electronic Arts 2003-2011), knowing virtual performances of real-world protests carried by adopted and adapted narratives of civil disobedience and civil rights in what Reynolds defines as "a notion of civic identity and society that embodies those rights" (2009, 404). What becomes evident in such examples is that videogames can and will be used as a culturally disruptive force by their players, or, to be more precise, "by those able to harness the power of the virtual for social change" (ibid., 405).

If what Reynolds claims holds true, Adrienne Shaw's article "Putting the Gay in Games: Cultural Production and GLBT Content in Videogames" (2012) asks the justified question why then there is still such a lack of LGBT[1] representations in videogames, even in comparison to other forms of popular culture. She takes a cultural production perspective, investigating the mechanisms of "[h]ow meanings are produced and reproduced in the complex interrelationship between the game development industry, video games, and players" (2012, 228). In her conclusions she identifies five critical issues related to central industry concerns that account for this intriguing *décalage* between videogames and other popular media (ibid., 242).

1 Shaw uses the abbreviation GLBT for „gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender", whereas I prefer the order LGBT. Political issues aside, the meaning of the letters remains the same.

First of all, there are the predominant attitudes of industry members, which means that the creators of content must be personally, politically or commercially motivated to include LGBT content, which is a challenge in such a homogenous community. The second problem diagnosed by Shaw is the construction of the audience: The industry conceptually clings to an imagined audience of 18-25 year old, white, heterosexual males (aka 'The Gamer') and follows what Shaw – using the terminology of DiMaggio/Hirsch (1976) – terms "imaginary feedback loops" (2012, 242). Since this imagined audience is no longer representative of the majority of the people actually buying and playing videogames, the imaginary feedback loops holding the industry hostage must be identified and deconstructed to make new developments possible. Issue number three are market and institutionalised risks, or the constant fear of public backlash that paralyses developers – ironically enough, Shaw states, from both the LGBT community *and* right-wing conservatives (ibid., 242). Industry-based reprisals studios have to face, such as age-rating systems, and the rampant self-censorship they cause add another dimension to the risk aversion typical of mainstream studios and publishers. The fourth issue Shaw identifies also directly impacts risk aversion: the very structure of the industry, how it is funded and organised into big companies to raise the money necessary for a AAA game today. To put this into perspective, the most expensive game ever made, *Destiny* (Bungie 2014) with its $500mio budget (Grover/Nayak 2014), easily tops the most expensive films ever made, *Cleopatra* (1963) with $339.5mio and *Pirates of the Caribbean: At World's End* (2007) with $341.8mio respectively (Acuna 2014). The fifth and last issue on Shaw's list is the quality of LGBT representations, as producers try to avoid stereotypes and to find that precarious middle ground between making games *about* LGBT, ironically reinforcing hegemonic discourses of deviancy, and a merely *incidental* inclusion that lacks political vigour.

In accordance with the title of her article, it is finding a satisfying and respectful way of "Putting the Gay in Games" that Shaw is most interested in. For her, the best solution to include sexuality organically in games would be to tie it to game mechanics: "[I]t makes sense", she writes, "that games centred on choices and inter-character relationships are the place where homosexuality and bisexuality have been incorporated" (2012, 240). Even so, several potential problems with LGBT representations must not be underestimated: less gender normative or less socially privileged LGBT people in terms of class or race could be under- or misrepresented; a narrow definition of 'The Gaymer' is just as problematic as 'The Gamer' has been; non-LGBT designers can produce relevant LGBT representations, and LGBT-inclusive games can also appeal to non-LGBT players; and, finally, relegating LGBT inclusion to the indie scene leads to a ghettoization which must be avoided (ibid. 2012, 242). Shaw fervently argues, like I do, for the incorporation of LGBT representations into mainstream videogaming culture and AAA games (ibid., 229), and it is a Canadian company that has in the meantime since her article was published proven her right …

And Then There Was 'The BioWare Way'

Beyond the relative quantitative 'over-representation' of Canadian-designed games in the market, there is also a tradition of internationally highly acclaimed games and game series as far as their quality is concerned that have originated in the country: the *Homeworld* series (Relic Entertainment and Barking Dog Studios 1999-2003), the 'new' *Prince of Persia* series (Ubisoft Montréal 2003-2008), *Bully* (Rockstar Vancouver 2006), the *Assassin's Creed* series (Ubisoft Montréal 2007-2014), the *Far Cry* series (Ubisoft Montréal 2005-2014), *Scott Pilgrim vs. The World: The Game* (Ubisoft Montréal 2010), *Deus Ex: Human Revolution* (Eidos Montréal 2011), or *Fez* (Polytron Corporation 2012) to name but a few. While some of these provide differentiated representations on the level of cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity (*Assassin's Creed*), or deeply engaging meditations on the nature of the transhuman subject (*Deus Ex: Human Revolution*), on the level of sexual and gender diversity the lack is surprising.[2] The only exception to this rule is *Bully*, a game thematising high-school bullying that created a controversy not for its violent content but the mere possibility to have the male player avatar kiss other boys. Unfortunately, there are even people who use the profiling feature of *Watchdogs* (Ubisoft Montréal 2014) to 'purify' their virtual Chicago of unwanted individuals such as immigrants or LGBT people, and who then brag about it online (cf. 4plebs 2014).

The studio that would change all this in their very special manner, BioWare of Edmonton/AB, was founded in 1995. It first established itself firmly in the hearts and minds of gamers with *Baldur's Gate* (1998), a *Dungeons&Dragons* adaptation. More of those were to follow, *Baldur's Gate II* (2000/2001) and *Neverwinter Nights* (2002/2003), before the studio branched into *Star Wars* as well, with *Star Wars: Knights of the Old Republic* (2003) that included the franchise's first ever LGBT character, the lesbian Jedi Juhani. The 'BioWare way' began in 2005, when adaptations of pre-existing content were abandoned in favour of self-developed franchises. *Jade Empire* (2005) used a far-eastern fantasy setting, and this time BioWare did not only include two female bisexual characters, but also a male bisexual romance option with Sky. The game never had a sequel, however, in spite of the metascore of 89/100 the Xbox-version still holds, calculated as the weighted average of 82 reviews by industry-relevant critics (Metacritic 2015).

Mass Effect in 2007 was to become the first instalment of BioWare's first lasting in-house IP. The science-fiction epic already created a splash at the time of release, as FOX News and other conservative media outlets accused the game of being a porn simulator for an erotic 3-minute video sequence in a 30-hour experience that would have been perfectly fine on TV. In reaction, BioWare locked all male bisexual content in the game, which means that the code and the assets are still there but they can-

2 Japanese videogames have been more inclusive of LGBT characters ever since the 1980s, but companies like Nintendo or Sega would remove all such content for their western release (cf. Marr 2013).

not be accessed. Interestingly, the female bisexual content was left intact, raising unpleasant questions about pandering to the straight male Gamer-gaze. The acquisition of BioWare by Electronic Arts (EA) of Redwood City/CA during the production of *Mass Effect* is just one factor that might have contributed to this decision, another example of the tendency towards self-censorship in the industry in anticipation of imaginary feedback loops.

To cover the two more easily sellable core genres of the Fantastic[3], BioWare also created their own Dark Fantasy setting with *Dragon Age: Origins* (2009). In this game, there are four possible romance options for players: a male and a female straight character, as well as a male and a female bisexual one. While the female bisexual option, Leliana, is praised for her complex personality and representation, her male counterpart, the elven assassin Zevran, comes across as an unfortunate collection of stereotypes about MSM (men who have sex with men).

Possibly anticipating criticism after their experiences with *Mass Effect*, BioWare again resorted to self-censorship with the second instalment of the series, *Mass Effect 2* (2010). This time, all three romance options for a male player character were straight ones, whereas three out of six for a female player character were same-sex options. The sheer disproportion in the number of romanceable characters for male and female characters already paints a dreary picture as far as gender stereotyping is concerned, following the line of argument how "women are more romantic than men" and therefore need twice the romance options males do. But the inclusion of female same-sex relationships while male characters are refused the same right is again an example of how the imagined audience of the heterosexual, adolescent male and his supposed sexual fantasies are catered for in the design.

It was not until *Dragon Age 2* (2011) that BioWare finally found their own voice in terms of gender and sexuality. Unprecedented in the history of western game design, for the very first time a male character not controlled by the player attempted to initiate a same-sex romance. Straight male gamers were in uproar in the media and on internet forums, expressing their rage because they felt threatened in their sexual identity by these unwanted advances. Yet the mechanics of the design left players in control of their avatar's sexual identity at any given moment and gave them ample opportunity to refuse any offers to take the relationship beyond mere friendship. This time, however, BioWare did not back down again and instead chose to make a stand on the issue in an open letter by the series openly gay lead-writer, David Gaider. The central claims he makes are that all players have a right to be equally represented and find equal opportunities in a game, that the hitherto privileged majority must get used to representations of minority and marginal identities, and that subsequently a de-naturalisation of majority expectations and of any claim

3 The core genres of the Fantastic are Science-Fiction, Fantasy, and Horror. While BioWare have not produced a horror IP yet, they have integrated more palatable horror elements in both the *Mass Effect* and the *Dragon Age* settings. The *Shadow Realms* project, which would have been based mostly on horror elements, was cancelled early in 2015.

to sole representational authority is necessary (Gaider 2011). After a reminder that all controversial content is purely optional in nature, he concludes: "And the person who says that the only way to please them is to restrict options for others is, if you ask me, the one who deserves it least" (ibid.). In perfect symmetry, *Dragon Age 2* therefore proposes four romance options, one of each gender straight and one of each bisexual, so that all players have a choice. There are two problems with this approach: firstly, gay or lesbian sexual identities are still excluded from representation, and secondly, bisexuality is used as a 'compromise' to accommodate players interested in same-sex romances. Gaider himself addressed the latter issue in a GaymerX2 BioWare-panel when he warned: "I don't think bisexuality is a great compromise, because bisexuality *itself* is not a compromise" (GaymerX 2014).

Based on the successes of their earlier games, and supported by the momentum of the *Dragon Age 2* controversy, BioWare managed to realise the next milestone on their way towards realising a more inclusive representational regime for all sexual and gender identities with *Mass Effect 3* (2012). For the first time in western game design, they created an exclusively gay and an exclusively lesbian romance option: shuttle pilot Steve Cortez and Comm Specialist Samantha Traynor. The studio's aim was to include believable, life-affirming same-sex relationships that progress realistically and avoid stereotyping as much as possible. And while all LGBT content was still written by white straight male authors (Patrick Weekes[4] and Dusty Everman), they worked in a constant feedback loop with LGBT staff at BioWare (Weekes 2012). To make up for past mistakes, Kaidan Alenko, the originally bisexual Ukrainian-Canadian male character who was supposed to be available as a romance option for male player characters in the first *Mass Effect*, was reinstated in all aspects of his identity.

But while the female-female romance was seen as unproblematic, the male-male option was still given extra attention during production (Weekes 2012). In addition, BioWare also instated a policy of double-gating the male same-sex romance to prevent what Everman calls 'ninja romancing', turning a bromance into an unwanted romance with a single choice made in the dialogue wheel (Weekes 2012). In order to safeguard (straight/male) agency, the player has to confirm twice that they want to engage in a male-male romance. Compared to all other romances (male-female, female-male, and even female-female), the male-male romance is thus marked as 'other', which can be seen as an implicit acknowledgment of a perceived threat it might pose to The Gamer's sexual identity. Intradiegetically, things are very different. This fictitious 22nd century society is presented as generally gender-blind, without stereotypical gender roles or expectations, and loving same-sex relationships are not marked as other, they are completely unmarked. Sexual preferences are relevant for sexual relationships only and do not constitute an individual's identity, nor do those who are the target of unrequited sexual attraction feel threatened in

4 Weekes has in the meantime taken over as lead-writer for *Dragon Age* from David Gaider.

their own identity. Not even the hyper-masculine and straight space-marine James Vega can see a problem when his gay team-mate Cortez appreciates his physique during training sessions. The witty and friendly sexual banter between the two makes for a very special friendship while both respect each other's sexual desires.

Mass Effect 3 is already very close to best practice, but there is an unfortunate bias that leaves an unpleasant aftertaste: A female main character has 60% of her romance options with members of her own sex, while a male main character only has 25%. So even if the game is approaching an egalitarian representational regime for LGBT players, BioWare were also still indebted to common misconceptions about gamer demographics and imagined feedback loops when they created it.

Game Changer *Dragon Age: Inquisition*

In 2014, BioWare finally managed to break free and they released an accomplished masterpiece in game design, the first ever fully inclusive western videogame: *Dragon Age: Inquisition*.

Its plot is about disruptions of order: A civil war between Mages and Templars, a knightly order created to control Mages and their dangerous powers, tears apart the societies of Thedas ("The Dragon Age Setting"), while at the same time the last representative of a fallen Mage Empire tears apart reality itself to ascend to godhood. Characters in the game are portrayed in a differentiated way, and their identities emerge from complex intersections of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality. There is no 'queerness' in *Inquisition*, or at least not in the common sense of 'queer' as: "[s]trange, odd, peculiar, eccentric. Also: of questionable character; suspicious, dubious", or "[o]ut of sorts; unwell; faint, giddy" (OED 2015). Being queer is no longer 'queer' in the secondary reality of the game, and characters are given agency in creating their identities through the dynamic performance of roles, reminiscent of Judith Butler's ideas about the performativity of gender (cf. Butler 2008). Characters are accepted for who they are, and *Inquisition* exudes a pervasive post-queer sensibility, moving beyond the issue stage of representation. Taking its ethical framework beyond questions of sexuality and gender, the game openly includes other touchy subjects such as euthanasia, addiction, religious fanaticism, colonialism, and the political 'game' in a serious, responsible, and differentiated manner.

Inquisition also exemplifies how the 'BioWare way' implicitly puts a strong focus on interpersonal relationships over more traditional interactive opportunities in videogames such as combat or puzzle solving (cf. GaymerX 2014). The game mechanics used to simulate the dynamics of friendship and romance show considerable complexity, in comparison to other similar games such as *The Elder Scrolls V: Skyrim* (Bethesda Game Studios 2011), or *The Witcher 3* (CD Projekt RED 2015), but also to other mechanical aspects of *Inquisition* itself, such as its extremely streamlined combat system, character development, or even quest design. Every companion character has a friendship arc, and the player can build relationships by having their character interact with them, making decisions in line with their respective worldviews. If a

character is potentially romanceable, at a certain intensity of the relationship flirting options pop up in the dialogue wheel that, if chosen, set flags for later dialogues, starting the two characters on their way towards romance. Conditionals control the firing of dialogue lines and the progression of a relationship. The general sequence goes like this: After the opt-in choice for romance, flirting is active; if the flirting is confirmed, the characters enter the romance state; next, the offer of an exclusive relationship will be made, and finally, the characters will get the opportunity to sexually consummate that relationship. All possible romance options vary this scheme according to their personalities, so with some it is easier to have sex than to enter a loving relationship. Others only go all the way at the end of a long journey of trust and reliability. Gating mechanisms are used to spread romance arcs equally throughout the game experience. The aforementioned approval system is one dimension here, controlling how interactions, decisions, and items add up points until certain romance scripts are triggered. The second dimension is plot, and certain narrative developments will trigger progression in the romance arc to pace its development across the entire game in a satisfying way.

In order to manage the resulting intricate web of interpersonal possibilities, BioWare have created The Chart, according to Karen Weeks, lead editor of *Inquisition*, who also describes it as "just this rainbow of amazing" (GaymerX 2014). Here all of the different options for players of all interests are mapped out, and the creators are looking for breadth in the representations and opportunities provided, balanced by the possibilities of characters and the necessities of plot. BioWare show that they are well aware of the responsibility they have to assume through the representations of romanceable characters in their games, since they implicitly make statements about what desirable traits in people are.

Inquisition has eight romance options: four straight (Cassandra the female paladin, Cullen the male paladin, Blackwall the disgruntled warrior, and Solas the distant elven Mage), two bisexual (the pansexual mercenary leader Iron Bull and the refined diplomat Josephine), as well as one gay (the decadent fallen Mage Dorian) and one lesbian (the rebellious female 'Robin Hood' Sera). Regarding the inclusion of the latter two, David Gaider commented: "That was pretty important, because those are different stories to tell" (GaymerX 2014). The cast of companions is carefully balanced: "You wanna make sure that there is variety. So if you have three straight options, couple of bis and couple of gays, you want them […] to hit all over the map", Gaider explains (ibid.). It is essential to avoid samey characters and to fill possible gaps to give attractive options to the maximum number of possible players.

Even though it is frequently held against the studio, BioWare's characters are not 'player-sexual', Gaider and Weekes claim, i.e. they do not change their sexuality according to player interaction (GaymerX 2014). A bisexual character will also be expressly written as such to preclude the danger of 'bi-erasure', the defining of bisexual persons as *either* gay *or* straight. And while the writers of the studio find it important to establish their characters' bisexual identities, Gaider also hastens to

add: "we don't want to tell a bunch of only bisexual stories either. That's not representation" (ibid.). Talking about the Iron Bull, Patrick Weekes muses: "[Characters] are not just their sexualities, but their sexualities are part of them. And when you leave that ambiguous, you are weakening them as characters" (ibid.).

In spite of all their serious efforts to break new ground in the representations of the sexual identities of videogame characters in general, and LGBT characters especially, BioWare also have to face limitations that are based on the technical platform, as well as the production process of the medium. "A lot of times", Gaider admits, "doing what is more realistic or adding more variation to the romance, it means that we have to write more. And there *is* only so much writing we can do" (GaymerX 2014). *Dragon Age: Inquisition* is available in three full voice overs, English, French, and German, and translated into eight more via subtitles and in-game texts. Also, the more the writers add in terms of character and plot development, the more costly cut-scenes will be needed.

Polyamorous relationships are really difficult to script due to the possible combinations and interactions between a large cast of characters, but Weekes announced that they will be included in future games with sets of characters written specifically for this set-up (GaymerX 2014). There is an increasing demand for asexual romance in the community, and this, too, will be respected in future games once enough research has been done to be able to do it justice. The easiest way out would be to implement romance arcs that just do not lead to a sex act, but Gaider refuses this as "not necessarily the most respectful way" to represent this specific sexual identity (ibid.). Another decisive step forwards from *Mass Effect 3* to *Inquisition* as far as their representational regimes are concerned was an increase in the diversity of body types. The excellent non-heteronormative interpersonal relationship mechanics of *Mass Effect 3* clashed very uncomfortably with the fact that everyone in the secondary reality had ridiculously unrealistic bodies. BioWare have been aware of this problem for a while now and frequently point towards technical limitations as one major factor in why everyone used to look the same body-wise. As so-called 'rigs' have to be created and animated for each virtual body in the game, having more diversity increases the investment in terms of time and money needed to create a near-realistic variety. Starting with *Inquisition*, all BioWare games will use the Frostbite engine, so future projects will be able to access and use the catalogue of past assets which in turn will make more diversity feasible. Beyond the issue of the mere 'sameyness' of body models, *Inquisition* also drastically reduces the exaggerated perfection of bodies and relates the body types of characters logically to their way of life and the professions they follow. Even if the player decides to play a testosterone-fuelled warrior swinging a two-handed axe, their avatar will appear fit and muscled, but not beyond the limits of a professional athlete. There is even the hint of a tummy, replacing the rippled six-packs of earlier games.

It is thus that diversity is not only an issue on a mechanical level, but also on a narrative and aesthetic one. Travelling through the world of Thedas and interacting

with it, the player character will unlock codex entries providing them with in-depth information about the individuals, societies, and places of the setting. One entry that is highly relevant for this paper is "The sex lives of everyday Thedosians":

> Typically, one's sexual habits are considered natural and separate from matters of procreation, and only among the nobility, where procreation involves issues of inheritance and the union of powerful families, is it considered of vital importance. Yet, even there, a noble who has done their duty to the family might be allowed to pursue their own sexual interests without raising eyebrows. […] Nowhere is [sex between members of the same gender] forbidden, and sex of any kind is only considered worthy of judgment when taken to awful excess or performed in the public eye. – From *In Pursuit of Knowledge: The Travels of a Chantry Scholar*, by Brother Genitivi (BioWare 2014)

The sexual mores of the world BioWare have created breathe the sexual ethics of the studio. Thedas becomes a learning environment for the player, a 'what-if' scenario in the best tradition of speculative fiction showcasing the effects of societies based on the principle of diversity and respect for the other. Sometimes the characters even show their awareness of gendered stereotypes in earlier genre fiction and videogames, pointing the player towards the need for their deconstruction in a tongue-in-cheek way. Female armour styles in Heroic Fantasy have tended to be less than practical from a warrior's point of view, geared more towards pleasuring the sexual imagination of the male reader- and playership. This is why the knowledgeable player of *Inquisition* cannot help but smile when the Iron Bull and Cassandra engage in a very ironic bit of banter:

> Bull: Some high-ranking women wear ornamental crap with tits hammered into it. One good shot, and all that cleavage gets knocked right into the sternum. Real messy. Good on you for going practical.
> Cassandra: I aim to please.
> Bull: Leaves something to the imagination, too. (BioWare 2014)

Inscribing and breaking the cliché at the same time, exchanges like this one are frequent in the game and a testament to the designers' commitment to both entertain *and* educate.

The impact that BioWare have had on individual players and the community as a whole is considerable. For some, their games help them to develop their identity and personality. At GaymerX2, David Gaider quoted from letters he received that contain statements such as "Your game helped me come out […], made me feel like it was possible for me to be attractive" (GaymerX 2014). Even though the author later adds that sometimes these messages are hard to read, in the meantime the

media also have picked up on the extraordinary contribution this one studio from Edmonton/AB has made to the medium in general. In the Postscript to its review of *Dragon Age: Inquisition*, *Edge* magazine gives credit to the unparalleled achievement in western videogame design this game constitutes: With two thirds of its main characters being women (even more if the player chooses to create a female Inquisitor), "*Inquisition* not only passes the Bechdel test, it proves that it is eminently possible to do so without breaking a heroic narrative" (*Edge* 2015, 106). The eulogy goes on, focusing precisely on the politics of diversity that underpin the representational regime of the game:

> The companion roster includes gay characters, bisexual ones and people of colour; romantic characters, promiscuous characters, and characters who reserve the right to express their sexuality. Vitally, the identities of your companions are not held in isolation from their mechanical and narrative role in the game. Instead they are folded together subtly, BioWare understanding that the *Dragon Age* setting is not Earth and does not need to inherit the same social prejudices. (*Edge* 2015, 106)

Narrative, mechanics, and aesthetics are "folded together" to support a specific sense of identity politics, as BioWare keenly understand the intricate communication situation of the medium. The deeply professional quality of the criticism in *Edge* magazine shines through at the end of the text, when the author spins the praise of the achievement that is *Inquisition* as a criticism of the prevalent policies of the contemporary industry:

> To say that no other mainstream videogame studio is operating at this level is an understatement. *Inquisition* might be a technically advanced game, but its identity politics are – strikingly, almost sadly – its most futuristic feature. (*Edge* 2015, 106)

This uniqueness of the game and what BioWare have managed to create within the institutional and commercial framework of an industry that is still dominated by risk-aversion, self-censorship, and imagined feedback loops make it stand out not only as a credit to BioWare with fifteen Game of the Year awards so far (Wikipedia 2015), but also as a silent, understated, almost passive-aggressive accusation against other AAA studios who choose to hide behind 'The Will of The Gamer' and projected sales figures, even though the numbers themselves speak differently (Savage 2015). Canadians are often associated with such passive-aggressive ways of voicing criticism (cf. MacGregor 2008; Fergusson 2006, 2007; Mochrie 2012), and especially in the light of the overpowering brutality and aggression of the Gamergate movement, maybe simply designing a game such as *Dragon Age: Inquisition* and then succeeding critically and financially was indeed a most Canadian reply.

Even beyond this, Thedas is a deeply Canadian setting in its geographical and conceptual make-up.

Your character is pushed into a position where the hopes of the many rest on them to stop an ancient Mage, Corypheus, from ravaging reality in his egotistical quest to become a living god. The first act of the game ends with your first direct conflict with Corypheus, as your basis of operation, the mountain village Haven, is attacked and utterly destroyed. Defeated, you have to flee, and the elven Mage Solas leads you to the ancient fortress of Skyhold, far away from civilisation, in the middle of the highest peaks, where you rebuild your community. The journey to Skyhold is presented in a cut-scene whose aesthetics invoke the concepts of the sublime (cf. Kant 1764; Burke 1757) to impress the player deeply with the sheer beauty of the landscape that is traversed, and the weight of the decision to settle at a place previously sacred to the Elves (Schallegger[5] 2015a). The virtual space created is a northern space, reminiscent of the Canadian Rockies, and there is a pervasive sense of awe of unconquered nature among the icy fields and rocky ridges, but at the same time this nature is also fragile: "Mankind blunders through the world", the witch Morrigan warns you, "crushing what it does not understand" (BioWare 2014). Nature the monster and nature the victim co-inhabit this northern conceptual space spanned by the narrative architecture of the game (cf. Grace 2007; Atwood 2004).

What drives the player character to this extraordinary place is not achievement and victory, however, and Skyhold was never the aim of their efforts. It is the defeat at and loss of Haven, the place that provides security and community in the early game, that propels your Inquisitor towards Skyhold. Failure, not success, becomes the defining force of development in *Inquisition*, as your Inquisitor is not the superhuman prophet-to-be of traditional Fantasy literature but an ordinary and fallible individual, making choices and facing their uncertain consequences: "I'm not *chosen*. I *have* chosen", the Inquisitor explains when after your arrival in Skyhold they are made the leader of the newly reinstated Inquisition (Schallegger 2015b). Other characters throughout the game support the role of failure and pain in human development. There is Varric, dwarven 'storyteller extraordinaire' and entrepreneur, when he talks about Cole, a member of your company who used to be a Spirit of Compassion but chose to become human: "Humans change, and they hurt, and they heal" (BioWare 2014). And in the Fade, the spirit realm, a spirit impersonating Divine Justinia, religious leader of most of Thedas, provides your group with the following guidance: "Without fear and pain and failure we cannot learn, we cannot grow" (ibid.). This central role of failure and defeat in Canadian culture was already pointed out by Cohen (1993) and Atwood (2004), and it stands in stark contrast to

5 All such references are to my *youtube* channel where the interested reader can watch essential sequences from one of my personal play-throughs of the game. I have made a point of waiting at all decision points so that the viewer has time to read all options, including those I did not actualise in this specific play-through.

the discourses of Manifest Destiny and the American Dream on the other side of the border.

Skyhold becomes "a place where the Inquisition can build, grow", as Solas puts it (Schallegger 2015a), in a constructive, non-violent act of settlement harking to an organic concept of society. Canadian icons and discourses, such as the Beaver as the national animal and the Living Tree Doctrine, come to mind here, not necessarily reflecting the historical and social realities of Canada, but rather the ideals and the aspirations communicated in its national culture. But Skyhold is also very much Frye's garrison town surrounded by hostile nature (cf. Frye 1995), its Great Hall the beating heart of the Inquisition, a community brought together by an enclosed and sheltered space. There is also an Aboriginal element to the fortress, as it was built by human settlers atop Elven ruins, and the Inquisitor is even led there by the elven Mage Solas. Thedosian Elves bear several similarities to the traditional First Nations and Inuit of Canada, as they engage in a semi-nomadic life-style, create petroglyphs to commemorate key events of their history and important stories, and they also build inuksuit to mark special places. When Skyhold can be seen as Canada in a nutshell, all of Thedas could just as easily be read as an 'inverted Canada': there are the English-speaking Fereldans in the East, and the French-speaking Orlesians in the West of the continent; Orlais is the colonising Empire here, the Fereldans the colonised subjects; there is even a dying Empire in the North that used to dominate world politics, an Empire "built upon the bones of my people", as Solas muses (Schallegger 2015b).

The Inquisition of the game's title is not created to persecute dissidents and heretics, rather it proves to be a catalyst for change. Rulership seemingly is in the hand of one person, the Inquisitor, but the game makes it clear that their mandate is derived from a social contract based on the trust and confidence of the ruled (Schallegger 2015b). Decisions are not made alone, as for large, strategic problems the Inquisitor gathers their Council, the diplomat Josephine, the Spy Master Leliana, and the War Leader Cullen, around the iconic War Table. Altogether, this makes the Inquisition uncannily alike to the Canadian and the British monarchies and what Frye termed the "quest for the peaceable kingdom" in Canadian culture (1995, 251).

Central principles of the Canadian socio-political landscape, such as the Rule of Law, the anti-revolutionary bias, and again the Living Tree Doctrine, converge in the founding moments of the Inquisition: It is established based on a Holy Writ, a body of laws drafted by Divine Justinia, with the task to question how existing institutions need to adapt in order to reflect the changing needs of the people. Cassandra, as a Seeker of Truth and the Right Hand of the Divine the guardian of both the Divine's intentions and the traditions of the Inquisition, calls it "[a] means to preserve, as well as an agent of change" (BioWare 2014), and later in the game, when she starts to question her own motives and methods, she adds to that: "I want to respect tradition, but not fear change. […] And I have no idea whether my wanting these things makes any of them right" (Schallegger 2015c). So there is no metaphysical Truth

available, not even for a Seeker, only the ambiguity of real world political and social ethics, human-made constructs that must undergo a continuous process of re-evaluation and evolution to remain viable. Constant evolutionary change, not drastic revolutionary rupture, is seen as guiding principle to prevent encrusted structures and ideas from calcifying society. As a counter-example, *Inquisition* provides the Tevinter Empire, a nation of slavers that, using the magic it had learned from the Elves, conquered an Empire, only to fall prey to stagnation and stasis. "Because that's how it's always been done. *Excellent* reasoning", your Tevinter companion Dorian scathingly analyses his compatriots' mindset (BioWare 2014). The Inquisition itself is shown not to be immune to the lure of the illusion of certainty and Truth. It is the New Inquisition, because there was already another one earlier in history. "Protection, counsel, justice, the inquisition offered these once to those in need", Josephine enlightens you, but then they "lost their way", Cassandra interjects (both BioWare 2014).

The purpose of the Inquisition is to restore order in times of chaos, to guarantee survival, not the fulfilment of Manifest Destiny. All of the key figures of the New Inquisition are obsessed with notions of "peace, order, and good government", to quote the Canadian Constitution (Government of Canada 2015). Dorian defines their task as "restoring order in a world gone mad" (BioWare 2014), and Leliana reminds you that what is essential is to stand against Corypheus because he "is willing to tear this world apart to reach the next" (ibid.). The war you wage is not about power or belief, and indeed the game clearly communicates that its ethical framework is opposed to all kinds of fanaticism: "All of this happened because of fanatics and arguments about the next world", your character analyses the situation after he is styled the Herald of Andraste, a prophetical figure, by the people, "It's time we start believing in this one" (Schallegger 2015b). The system that is presented as an alternative is one driven by participation in the community and responsible individual action, regulated by the Rule of Law. "I did this myself. Through my actions. No Maker required", your character exclaims after successfully safeguarding the Inquisition's new home, and Josephine supports you adding: "You are a beacon of law, Inquisitor, as others shirk from responsibility" (BioWare 2014).

But the morals of *Inquisition* are not easy, which is why we see Cassandra warning you early on in the game that "[a]s to whether the war is holy, that depends on what we discover" (BioWare 2014). And even 'victory' is a concept that *Inquisition* deconstructs. After you defeat Corypheus and prevent him from unravelling reality in his mad grab for godhood, Morrigan reminds you of the cost of your actions in a melancholy tone of voice: "a victory against chaos but the world remains forever changed" (BioWare 2014). The game ends with a coming together, a last banquet in the Great Hall. And as you chat one last time with all those characters that have been your companions for 120 hours of gameplay, Dorian muses about the absence of triumph in this world: "We'll just have to be satisfied with being alive, and together" (BioWare 2014). The very last scene of the game has your character, lovingly held

by your chosen love interest, watching the sun go down from the balcony of Skyhold (Schallegger 2015d).

Even though the player character acts as a point of crystallisation for the Inquisition, this game is not about the individual. Facing Corypheus in Haven, the Inquisitor exclaims: "You expect us to surrender and kneel. We will *not*. You will face us *all*. When *we* choose" (BioWare 2014), and even after you overcome your nemesis, Cassandra reminds you that "this is a victory of alliance" (ibid.). The player must be aware that their actions have contributed to the resolution, but they are not the centre of this world. "It is all one world, Herald", your spiritual counsellor Mother Giselle explains after your defeat in Haven, "All that changes is our place in it" (Schallegger 2015b). The collective here is the source of all authority and power, and it is represented as far superior in importance to the individual. A highly ironic design strategy in a medium that for a long time was defined by the power fantasies the agency experienced by players in virtual worlds can provide (cf. Bogost 2011). The central values of BioWare's game are reason, order, and collaboration, not impulse, unfettered freedom, and individual self-fulfilment.

Dragon Age: Inquisition emerges from this first and superficial reading as not only a deeply Canadian game in terms of the socio-cultural narratives it expresses, but this is also true for its identity politics and its representations of post-queerness. With this game, BioWare have single-handedly changed the face of videogames and what they can do. And that is their specifically Canadian contribution to the history of the medium.

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Konrad Gross

Les Canadiens as a Minority: The Politics of Representing the End of *La Nouvelle France* in 19th Century Anglophone Historical Novels

Zusammenfassung

Eines der populären Themen im anglophonen Geschichtsroman Kanadas des 19. Jahrhunderts war die britische Eroberung Quebecs 1759. Der Essay behandelt mit Rosanna Leprohons The Manor House of De Villerai *(1859/60), William Kirbys* The Golden Dog *(1877) und Gilbert Parkers* The Seats of the Mighty *(1896) drei historische Romane, die im nationalistischen Klima kurz vor und nach Gründung des Dominion entstanden. Zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung waren die Franko-Kanadier aufgrund der massiven britischen Zuwanderung zu einer nationalen Minderheit geworden. Die Analyse der Romane zeigt ideologisch unterschiedliche Wege der Aneignung der „nationalen" Vergangenheit Quebecs durch Romanciers der Mehrheitsgesellschaft und deren Vereinnahmung für ein gesamtkanadisches Nationalbewusstsein.*

Abstract

One of the popular subjects of 19th century English-Canadian historical fiction was the period around the fall of Quebec in 1759. The essay focuses on three historical novels, published in the nationalist climate of Pre- and Post-Confederation: Rosanna Leprohon's The Manor House of De Villerai *(1859/60), William Kirby's* The Golden Dog *(1877), and Gilbert Parker's* The Seats of the Mighty *(1896). By then, French Canadians had become a national minority due to the massive influx of settlers from the British Isles. My examination of the novels attempts to outline different ways by majority writers of accommodating French Canadian historical consciousness and integrating Quebec's "national" past into a pan-Canadian national narrative.*

Résumé

Un des thèmes les plus populaires dans les romans anglophone canadiens du XIXe siècle était la conquête du Québec en 1759. Mon exposé traite de trois romans historiques publiés dans le climat nationaliste de la période avant et suivant la Confédération: The Manor House of de Villerai *(1859/60) par Rosanna Leprohon,* The Golden Dog *(1877) par William Kirby et* The Seats of the Mighty *(1896) par Gilbert Parker. En ce temps-là, les Canadiens Français étaient devenus une minorité au Canada suite à*

l'immigration massive en provenance des îles Britanniques. Mon analyse tente de présenter trois approches littéraires différentes d'auteurs issus de la société majoritaire qui intègrent le passé "national" du Québec dans une conscience nationale pancanadienne.

In his 1973 essay "Occupied Country" André Laurendeau, co-chairman of the well-known B&B Commission, wrote: "The real problem, the real anguish, [of Quebec people] comes from being a minority in North America, a tiny minority of one to forty in the middle of a mass civilization" (Laurendeau 1977: 177). The title of the essay summed up wide-spread French Canadian feelings of being a threatened or even subdued minority within Anglo North America. Laurendeau's demographical argument was part of the dominant political discourse in Quebec at the time and coupled with fears of losing more and more political, economic, and cultural ground to the Anglo majority.

The discontent in modern Quebec with its minority position dates back to the 19th century, when due to immigration first chiefly from the British Isles French Canadians were transformed from a majority into a minority group. From 1840 onward they responded with appealing to their collective memory of being a linguistically and culturally distinct people. The ideological resistance to assimilation among the dominant part of Quebec's elites produced an undercurrent of English Canadian *angst* in the pre- and post-Confederation period. The need for articulating a Canadian national identity, most acutely felt in English Canada, challenged anglophone novelists to turn their attention to the history of French Canada. Of particular interest was the fall of New France which became a popular topic in 19th century English Canadian historical fiction.

This article will examine three Canadian "historical" novels which deal with a decisive event in the history of the French minority, the British Conquest of Quebec: Rosanna Leprohon's *The Manor House of De Villerai* (1859/60), William Kirby's *The Golden Dog* (1877) and Gilbert Parker's *The Seats of the Mighty* (1896). The three novelists interpret the significance of that event differently, as each has a different political agenda which shows in their ideological and aesthetic handling of history. John R. Sorfleet's 1973 comparative analysis of Kirby's and Parker's works approached them from a generic perspective, placing the discussion of historical setting, character constellation, plot, and ethical orientation within the larger framework of historical fiction versus historical romance (John R. Sorfleet 1973). While I basically share Sorfleet's arguments on the generic and ideological differences of the two works, I choose here a slightly different approach and scrutinize the historical matrix of the texts for their perception of the role of the French minority in Canadian society. To this end I would like to place my discussion first within the political context of the demographical shift in 19th century Canada in favour of the anglophone majority and the concomitant strengthening of the anti-assimilationist

mood in Quebec. In a second step I will deal with the treatment of the history of the Conquest by 19th century Canadian historians and show how despite also similar views on the how and why of the French defeat francophone and anglophone historians arrive at different conclusions with regard to the position of the French in Canadian society. Naturally, anglophone interpretations of the Conquest as a historical landmark of progress reflected the political and cultural ideologies of the dominant class of the majority, while francophone historians attempted to come to terms with the fall of New France as a 'national' trauma. It is no surprise that given "The Long Shadow of Sir Walter Scott" in 19th century Canadian literature (thus the title of chapter 5 in Carol Gerson 1989: 67-79) the historical novel lent itself to the artistic transmutation of the historical events, which will be the subject of the final part of this essay. The English Canadian writers examined here were familiar with major historical works which they tapped for information on the end of New France, but their representation was by no means uniform, as their fictional treatment of the history of the French Canadian minority varied due to their political leanings, class affiliation, and their handling of the form of the historical novel.

1. The Political Context

At the time of the Conquest New France had between 60,000 and 70,000 people. After the fall of Quebec, the colony's political and upper class elite left and immigration from France ceased. The story of the coming of English-speaking settlers is too well known to be repeated here in detail. For the first 80 odd years in the post-Conquest period the French were still a majority. The discontent of the Loyalist refugees with the rule of the French majority resulted in the *Constitutional Act* of 1791 which split up Quebec into Lower and Upper Canada, with 225,000 mostly French in Lower Canada as against ca. 80,000 British in Upper Canada (Granatstein 1996: 21). Mass immigration of about 1 million British people between 1815 and the mid-century led to a massive increase of the Canadian population (Cowan 1978). By 1851 the demographical balance had finally tipped in favour of an anglophone majority of 952,004 as against 890,261 French and during the following decades the demographical gap widened (Statistics Canada 2014).[1]

In the immediate post-Conquest years calls for the assimilation of the French by what historian Michel Brunet has called "the English party" (mainly the new "British mercantile community"; Brunet 1971: 7-8) aimed at the complete anglicization of Quebec, or in the words of one of their partisans "the absorption of French by English colonists through the penetration of British law and language, and the Protestant religion" (quot. Taylor 1989: 85). However, Quebeckers resisted British pressures to assimilate and were helped by the *Quebec Act* of 1774, a tactical piece

1 1861: overall population 3.2 mio. with 1.1 mio. French (Lower Canada) and 1.39 mio. English (Upper Canada); 1871: 3.68, with 1.19 F – 1.62 E; 1881: 4.3, with 1.35 F – 1.92 E; 1891: 1.48 F – 2.11 E. (Statistics Canada 2014).

of British legislation to immunize the French against the rebellious American colonies. The fact that the seigneurial landholding system, French civil law and the power of the Roman Catholic Church were left untouched enabled the French elites to foster a sense of ethno-cultural distinctness which remained a sting in the consciousness of the colonial master. The British Governor of Quebec, James Craig, complained about the *Canadiens* in a letter (May 1, 1810) to Lord Liverpool, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies:

> […] they are in language, in religion, in manner and detachment completely French – bound to us by no one tie, but that of Common Government, and on the contrary viewing us with sentiments or mistrust & jealousy, with envy, and I believe I should not go too far, were I to say with hatred. (Letter printed in Thorner 1998: 160-161)

The merging of the two Canadas through *The Act of Union* in 1840 followed a proposal of the *Durham Report* (1839) and clearly intended to weaken the French majority politically and culturally. For Quebec historian Claude Béranger "[…] it is clear from the start that the Union was set up as an instrument of assimilation founded on the domination of one people over another […] Its effects were to be felt over a century in the *ultramontane form of nationalism* that dominated the province for so long and in the ideology of 'la survivance'" (Bélanger 2014).

The assimilationist agenda met with vehement protest from one of the most influential 19th century French Canadian historians, François-Xavier Garneau, whose *Histoire du Canada français* (1845-48) preached the gospel of racial cohesiveness:

> Il [Durham] annonça qu'il désirait imprimer au Bas-Canada un caractère anglais, lui obtenir un gouvernement libre et responsable, et noyer les misérables jalousies d'une petite société et les odieuses animosités de races dans les sentiments élevés d'une nationalité plus noble et plus vaste. Pour les Canadiens, ces mots de liberté, de nationalité plus noble et plus vaste, signifiaient l'anéantissement de leur langue et de leur lois. (Garneau 1969, vol. 5: 249).

Although Garneau at the time of writing knew that the French still held the majority, he spoke of Quebec as "une petite société", because he was aware that anglophone immigration would soon turn the tables and threaten Quebec society with absorption into some larger anglo-dominant nationality. Did not examples from British history prove that the English had always absorbed other nations?

> Nulle nation n'est plus habile qu'elle [Angleterre] dans cette opération difficile. Elle a l'expérience des siècles pour l'éclairer. N'a-t-elle pas absorbé d'abord la nationalité de ses propres conquérants, les Normands

> français, ensuite celle des Écossais, et puis celle des Irlandais? (Garneau 1969, vol. 5: 273).

In a sweeping tour d'horizon through history from antiquity to the present day Garneau constructs the image of the Quebec nation as part of the "race française" which has "survécu aux immuables théocraties de l'Egypte et de l'Asie, aux savantes combinaisons politiques des Hellènes, à la sagesse et à la discipline conquérante des Romans" (Garneau 1969, vol. 1: 15-16). In other words, Garneau's vision of the French Canadians as a unique nation with a language, culture, and history of its own is in keeping with the Romantic ideal of *das Volk* whose uniqueness has to be defended against the pressures of anglicization. Garneau braces the notion of *survivance* to his isolationist message:

> Un noyau s'en forme-t-il au milieu de races étrangères, il se développe, en restant isolé, pour ainsi dire, au sein de ces populations avec lesquelles il peut vivre, mais avec lesquelles il ne peut s'incorporer. Des Allemands, des Hollandais, des Suédois se sont établis par groupes dans les États-Unis, et se sont insensiblement fondus dans la masse, sans résistance, sans qu'une parole même révélât leur existence au monde. (Garneau 1969, vol. 1: 16)

Summing up: a century of British policy had failed to enforce assimilation, a fact that was partly acknowledged in the *British North America Act* of 1867, which not only re-established the Province of Quebec, but in contrast to section 41 of the *Act of Union* also made French one of the two official languages in politics (section 133).

2. The Fall of Quebec and 19th-Century Historians

One could expect that victors and victims each told a different, even contrasting story about the end of New France. Usually the victorious side cements its narrative of triumph and pushes the version of the defeated to the wall. However, both English and French authors with an historical interest seemed to have been reluctant for over half a century to examine the history of the conquest. For Quebec the defeat had been traumatic, in particular, as France – while assisting the American colonies during the War of Independence – did not help its former colony to turn the tables. Consequently, education in post-Conquest Quebec used Père Charlevoix's earlier *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* (1744) which ended in 1731, thus allowing its readers to exclude the memory of 1759 from some painful historical soul-searching. As *the* historical authority on Canada up to the end of the 18th and well into the 19th century Charlevoix's study not surprisingly became the basis for Scottish painter, public servant, and writer George Heriot's *The History of Canada from its First Discovery* (1804) which also ended in 1731 (Taylor 1989: 88-89).

The first English-Canadian history to deal with the fall of New France was William Smith's *History of Canada from its First Discovery to the Peace of 1763* (1815). Smith uses moral and political arguments for his historical analysis. For him the reasons for the defeat of New France were the mismanagement, corruption and fraud of its leaders, in particular its intendant François Bigot and his clique who plundered the colony and enriched themselves immensely. As proof of this Smith quotes, for example, extensively from a pastoral letter by Bishop Henri Marie Dubril of Quebec read in all parishes in early 1759. Like an Old Testament prophet the good Bishop explains the disastrous situation of the colony not with "the number of the enemy", but with the wicked doings of those above who have now drawn God's wrath upon the colony. After listing "the various crimes against Heaven", the Bishop then calls for conversion: "O faithless Jerusalem, return to your God. And God according to his promise will deign to relent. Atone, my dear brethren, I say, atone speedily for the past, by tears of a sincere repentance […]" (Smith 1815: 278). Smith puts the responsibility for the fall on the depravity of the French-Canadian rulers and their disregard of the common people and presents the British as the exponents of a superior and benevolent political system:

> Under so corrupt a system, the wants and desires of the Colonists were never known. How happy, then, ought the Canadians to be, that God in his Providence, has severed them from the ancient stock to which they belonged, and committed them to the care of a Monarch, who, by making the success of his arms the means of extending his beneficence, has an incontestible right to their affectionate fidelity. (Smith 1815: 382-383).

This "salvation theory" (Taylor 1989: 93) of the Conquest became the accepted master narrative of the conservative elite in English Canada.

Its message was adopted also by John McMullen whose *The History of Canada, from its First Discovery to the Present Time* (1855) was written with the explicit intention to "infuse a spirit of Canadian nationality into the people generally – to mould the native born citizen [i.e. the French], the Scotch, the English, and the Irish immigrant into a compact whole […]" (McMullen 1855, "Preface", n.p.). McMullen, who made ample use of Smith's *History,* presented the fall of Quebec as a victory of material, political, and social progress and as the deliverance of the *habitants* from a society that had reduced them to little more than slavery. Quoting a remark about the clemency of the British victors from Abbé de Raynal's *Histoire de deux Indes* (1770) he stated that after the war the *habitants* "enjoyed their increase [of the fruits of their labour] without fear of the extortions and oppressions of a Bigot, a Cadet, or the host of smaller fry, who had so recently enriched themselves at their expense" (McMullen 1855: 181). McMullen's hope for the forging of a common Canadian nationality, based on his application of Lord Durham's openly assimilationist agenda (see Taylor 1989: 154), was strong when he pointed out:

> There are, it is true, the difficulties arising from a diversity of race to be overcome; but these may easily be removed by wise legislation. Past experience proves that identity of interests weakens the antagonism of races, as well as of individuals, and gradually wears out their mutual prejudices and dislikes. (McMullen 1855, "Preface", n.p.)

The second edition of McMullen's *History* (1868) contained a slight yet significant change in the "Preface" which maintained that the tensions between the English and French "[…] have already been ameliorated by wise legislation, and now present no insuperable difficulties to united national progress" (McMullen 1868: iv). This sentence, which undoubtedly referred to the *British North America Act*, reflected English Canadian optimism with regard to the incorporation of the French in the newly formed Dominion and the implicit hope for an absorption of the minority into the Anglo-Saxon mainstream.

The most popular anglophone historian in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was American Francis Parkman, to whose concluding sentence in *The Old Régime in Canada* (1874) most English Canadian readers would have subscribed without hesitation: "A happier calamity never befell a people than the conquest of Canada by British arms" (Parkman 1969: 204). Like Smith and McMullen he saw the conquest as the logical result of Britain's superior political system, unlike them, however, he bolstered his historical-political argument with racial stereotypes:

> The Germanic race, and especially the Anglo-Saxon branch of it, is peculiarly masculine and, therefore, peculiarly fitted for self-government. It submits its action habitually to the guidance of reason, and has the judicial faculty of seeing both sides of the question. The French Celt is cast in a different mould. He sees the end distinctly, and reasons about it with an admirable clearness; but his own impulses and passions continually turn him away from it. Opposition excites him; he is impatient of delay, is impelled always to extremes, and does not readily sacrifice a present inclination to an ultimate good. He delights in abstractions and generalizations, cuts loose from unpleasing facts, and roams through an ocean of desires and theories. (Parkman 1969: 201).

In *Montcalm and Wolfe* (1884), his study on the end of New France, he devoted a whole chapter to François Bigot whom he saw as the typical exponent of a system of corruption fostered by the absolutist monarchy:

> Not that he was answerable for all the manifold corruption that infected the colony, for much of it was rife before his time, and had a vitality of its own; but his office and character made him the centre of it, and, more

> than any other man, he marshalled and organized the forces of knavery. (Parkman 1942: 20).

Parkman located the root of corruption in the French court and here specifically in the person of Madame Pompadour who as the mistress of "the pampered Sardanapolus of Versailles [Louis XV] […] had bought the power to ruin France" (47) and consequently also Quebec. The title *Montcalm and Wolfe* was in tune with his Great Men of History approach with which he dramatized the fall of Quebec around the two heroic antagonists. Parkman (like McMullen) painted Montcalm, the defeated general, as the victim of the French Canadian rulers, as he was practically betrayed by the fraudulent machinations of the clique around Bigot and the Governor Vaudreuil. Montcalm's positive, yet historically distorted image culminated in a heroic and tragic death scene (see Eccles 2003). On the whole, in the nationalist climate of the post-Confederation period Parkman's characterization of the struggle between Britain and New France as "a Manichaean conflict between the forces of light and darkness" or between progress and regress (Eccles 2003) fell on fertile ground and accounts for Parkman's popularity in the Dominion as well as in Britain, as may be seen from the friendly reception of his work in Canadian magazines and, for example, the following remark in *With Wolfe in Canada; Or, The Winning of a Continent* (1887), an adventure novel by G.A. Henty, one of the most widely read British juvenile writers: "All the historical details of the war have been drawn from the excellent work entitled *Montcalm and Wolfe*, by Mr. Francis Parkman […]" (Henty 6)

The view that the colony fell prey to the greed of the rulers of New France was also shared by two French Canadian historians, Michel Bibaud and François-Xavier Garneau. In *Histoire du Canada, sous la domination française* (1837, rev. 1843) Bibaud blamed the system of nepotism which

> […] commença à se montrer à découvert chez la plupart des fonctionnaires public de la colonie. Le marquis de la Jonquière [Governor 1750-52] […] était d'une avarice sordide; l'intendant BIGOT ne se trouvait pas assez riche, ou pas assez payé, pour soutenir dignement le rang qu'il occupait; et ils avaient l'un et l'autre des parens et des favoris à enrichir. (Bibaud 1843: 322)

The plunder of the resources of the colony, which continued during Vaudreuil's governorship [1755-1760], was aggravated by the fact

> […] que le débordement de Louis XV et de ses courtisans, était imité, comme à l'envie, par l'intendant et par une partie des employés publics, au grand scandale de la population canadienne, et particulièrement de celle des villes de Québec et de Mont-réal [sic]. (Bibaud 1843: 352)

Though Bibaud's *Histoire* was the first by a French Canadian writer, it met with no friendly response and was soon dismissed for its political leanings. First, as a disciple of French classicism he passed an extremely severe verdict on most French Canadian rulers for their disregard of intellectual life which he saw as one of the basic reasons for the loss of New France. With the exception of the Governor La Galissonière (1747-49), "qui fut le gouverneur le plus actif et le plus éclairé qu'ait eu le Canada" (Bibaud 1843: 315), because he worked for the common good and not for private gain, the governing class of New France "semblait, ou trouver son intérêt à tenir le peuple dans l'ignorance […]" (Bibaud 1843: 315). Second, many French Canadian readers felt offended by what they regarded as the author's pro-British bias (see Céline Cyr 1985: 88), which, for example, showed in his initial comment of the follow-up work *Histoire du Canada et Canadiens, sous la Domination Anglaise* (1844): "Heureusement pour eux [the French Canadians left in Quebec after the Conquest] la saine politique dictait aux vainqueurs le devoir de se concilier leur attachement et leur fidélité par des procédés propres à obtenir ce résultat" (Bibaud 1844: 5). Such a remark was probably understood as unpatriotic and taken as a betrayal of the call for the preservation of Quebec's cultural, linguistic, and religious distinctness.

As a result Bibaud's work was fast condemned to oblivion in French Canada, unlike Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* which because of its patriotic fervour became the most popular history of French Canada, as, for instance, the following address of the omniscient narrator to the readers of *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863), Philippe Aubert de Gaspé's historical novel on the fall of New France, indicates:

> Vous avez été longtemps méconnus, mes anciens frères du Canada! Vous avez été indignement calomniés. Honneur à ceux qui ont réhabilité votre mémoire! Honneur, cent fois honneur à notre compatriote, M. Garneau, qui a déchiré le voile qui couvrait vos exploits! Honte à nous, qui, au lieu de fouiller les anciennes chroniques si glorieuses pour notre race, nous contentions de baisser la tête sous le reproche humiliant du peuple conquis qu'on nous jetait à la face à tout propos! Honte à nous, qui étions presque humiliés d'être Canadiens! Confus d'ignorer l'histoire des Assyriens, des Mèdes et des Perses, celle de notre pays était jadis lettre close pour nous. (Gaspé 1972: 162).

Garneau's analysis of the reasons for the Conquest was not fundamentally different from those given by Smith, Bibaud, McMullen, and Parkman, who all blamed the corruption of most colonial rulers for the loss of New France. Yet he understood the British victory not as a rescue or salvation from tyrannical rule, but as a result of a neglectful mother country which during and after the war had practically deserted its colony. Garneau saw the exodus of the French Canadian ruling class as a desertion of the common people who were left behind: "Cette émigration ne s'étendit point aux campagnes, où la population était attachait au sol" (Garneau 1969, vol.

4: 13). Garneau was particularly embittered by the response of Enlightenment French thinkers (such as Voltaire) who welcomed the defeat as a step

> […] vers la ruine de cette tyrannie inerte et sensuelle. La décadence de l'ancien régime monarchique était visible, mais elle pouvait se prolonger longtemps. Les événements arrivés en Amérique devaient la précipiter, et les penseurs qui voulaient une réformation complète dans l'organisation sociale, et qui voulaient appuyer cette réformation sur la liberté, oublièrent le malheur présent de la nation et surprirent la foule par des applaudissements qui profanaient à ses yeux le culte sacré de la patrie. Voltaire […] célébra le triomphe des Anglais à Québec par un banquet, non comme le triomphe de l'Angleterre sur la France, mais comme triomphe de la liberté sur le despotisme. (Garneau 1969, vol. 3: 288-289).

Like the narrator of *Les Anciens Canadiens* (Gaspé 1972: 163) Garneau interpreted the French Revolution as the punishment of France for its neglect of Quebec. He mentioned a theatrical spectacle organised by Voltaire, who also played the central part, in celebration of liberty which ended with "un magnifique feu d'artifice au bruit d'une belle musique guerrière. L'étoile de Saint-George lançait des fusées, au-dessous desquelles on voyait représentée la cataracte de Niagara" (Garneau 1969, vol. 3: 289). For what Garneau felt was a complete French lack of patriotism France finally had to pay a high price:

> Ce spectacle étrange donné par un Français a quelque chose de sinistre. C'est le rire effréné d'une haine forte que le malheur; mais ce rire effrayant a reçu depuis son explication dans les bouleversements et les vengeances à jamais mémorables de 1793. La cause des Canadiens fut vengée dans des flots de sang. Mais, hélas! la France ne pouvait plus rien pour des enfants abandonnés sur les bords du Saint-Laurent, et un peu plus tard elle en avait perdu le souvenir. (Garneau 1969, vol. 3: 289)

For English Canadians interested in New France Smith, McMullen and Garneau (whose *Histoire* appeared in English translation in 1860) were the most obvious sources up to the 1860s when they were joined by Parkman's extremely popular histories. Understandably Smith, McMullen and Garneau drew different conclusions from their historical analyses. For the former two the need for the assimilation of the *Canadiens* was out of the question and seen as the logical solution following the victory of the politically and morally superior side, whereas the latter wanted to instil in his French Canadian compatriots pride in their long history in North America and bolster their anti-assimilationist determination.

3. The Fall of Quebec in 19th Century English Canadian Historical Fiction

It is no wonder that the historical novel became one of the most popular fictional types in 19th century English Canada. Carol Gerson has shown in *A Purer Taste. The Writing and Reading of Fiction in English in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (1989) how the reception of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels not only contributed to the affirmation of Victorian Canada's idealistic-moralistic aesthetic standards with their focus on 'healthy' reading (see Gerson 1989: 67-79), but also to the fictional exploitation of the history of Quebec by English Canadian novelists (see also Gerson chap. 8 "The Old World of America": 110-131). Gerson explains "Scott's Canadian popularity" with

> the obvious similarities between Scotland and New France as sources of literary material. Both nations, having suffered defeat at the hands of the English, had ceased to present a political threat. English-Canadian writers were quick to find in French Canada a New World counterpart to the folklore, history, and local colour of Scott's fiction, which they could develop with a mixture of condescension and nostalgia, […] (Gerson 1989: 70-71).

Scott's model of emplotting Scottish history in *Waverley* (1814) could have been easily adopted for the fictional treatment of the fall of Quebec: an historical crisis, the past at a significant turning point, the clash between two differently developed hostile forces, and the victory of the progressive side. In *Waverley* the chief protagonist, a fictitious character, is entrapped in an historical conflict between a regressive and a progressive force, the abortive Scottish rebellion against England in 1745 (battle of Culloden). Georg Lukács calls Edward Waverley a middle and mediocre hero (Georg Lukács 1965: 39-40) who is wavering between the conflicting parties. Fascinated by the romance of Highland life (he is in love with the clan chief's sister) and blinded by the courtly flair of the Stuart Pretender Bonnie Prince Charlie he is gradually wrested from his romantic infatuation and finally united with the progressive side. Scott constructs history as a process of progress and uses irony to debunk Waverley's heroic vision as an anachronism (see Ewald Mengel 1986: 75-78). Yet his political sympathies do not lead the author to denounce the defeated Highlanders the memory of whose positive traits he tries to rescue through the conception of the middle hero as a mediating figure. Scott as a disciple of the Scottish Enlightenment historiographers, who envisioned a universal evolution of human history through a range of ever higher stages toward the final stage of civilization, enshrined this view in the symbolic marriage between middle hero and a damsel from the losers' side. As the Enlightenment thinkers assigned to each stage pros and cons, with the pros outweighing the cons in the civilized stage, the marital union suggested the marriage of the best of both worlds, thus alleviating regrets about the

vanishing of an older order. Douglas S. Mack has shown how Scott as a member of the Scottish elite with *Waverley* (and other of his Scotland novels)

> is actively helping to generate and to sustain English acceptance of an Imperial British identity that is not exclusively English. In this new and complex British identity, Scott hopes, the Scottish Highlander will be permitted to occupy an honourable and honoured place, and will no longer be subjected to the 'indecency' of ridicule based on cultural incomprehension. (Mack 2006: 10)

In other words, Scott characterizes Scotland's opponent England as the epitome of civilization, the seat of prosperity and progress, and a benign power graciously granting the people of its newly gained possession a respected place, however subordinate, in its imperial network. At the same time *Waverley* aims at reconciling Scotland, where the memory of 1745 was still alive, with England.

In the face of Scott's immense Canadian reputation it is not surprising that readers and critics often either looked out for a Canadian Scott or had Scott's model in mind when reading and judging historical fiction. This did not mean that English Canadian writers followed Scott's model slavishly. On the contrary, Leprohon's, Kirby's, and Parker's different degree of historical consciousness, the space allotted to history in their novels and their views of the position assigned to the defeated French in the Canadian polity made each fictionalize the past differently. Leprohon tries to construct an exclusively French Canadian perspective, Kirby provides a picture nourished by his conciliatory bicultural vision, while Parker uses history mainly as a colourful background for dramatic adventures.

I could start with Julia Catherine Beckwith Hart's *St. Ursula's Convent; or, The Nun of Canada* (1824), not only the first anglophone Canadian novel from the pen of a native-born writer, but also the first to be set at the time around the Conquest. However, although the work appeared during the heyday of Scott, the novel does not qualify as historical fiction. The characters are fairly far removed from the historical context, the Conquest is merely a historical backdrop and history as history is next to no issue. At no point does the novel try to probe reasons for the Conquest, as a result of which the French-Canadian nun of the title has apparently lost husband and children and entered the Ursuline convent. Hart sacrifices history to the dictates of the sentimental genre: after breath-taking and melodramatic events husband and children turn up miraculously and the family is reunited.

What connects Hart with Leprohon are both writers' French family connections which explain their anti-assimilationist stance. Hart's mother was a *Québécoise* (on Hart see Lochhead 1991, xvii pp., Murphy 1988: 8-10), while Leprohon married into a French Canadian family and became the first English Canadian novelist to present Quebec life from within. This becomes particularly obvious in *The Manor House of De Villerai*, her novel on the fall of New France, which in contrast to *St. Ursula's Convent*

shows more than an inkling of historical interest and guides the reader into the domestic and social domains of society in New France during *la Guerre du Conquête*. In footnotes Leprohon mentions explicitly Smith's (once) and Garneau's histories (several times) as sources for her novel (Leprohon 1985: 73, 74, 123). It is certainly not wrong to call the work even a fictional transmutation of Garneau's French Canadian nationalist perspective with its emphasis on the heroism of the losers. Important battles during the war culminating in the decisive battle on the Plains of Abraham with the deaths of the "gallant" generals Montcalm and Wolfe are mostly narrated in longer paragraphs by a heterodiegetic voice. Historical personages do not appear as actors in the story, but are just mentioned in historical asides. An omniscient narrator in few sentences passes moral judgment on the lack of support of the colony by France due to "the shameless prodigality of the immoral court of Louis XV and his royal favorites" (39) and "the shameless system of pillage and peculation carried on under the unprincipled Intendant Mr. Bigot" (42/43). John R. Sorfleet rightly remarks that the historical passages remain "somewhat unintegrated with the story" (Sorfleet, 1985: 10), as Leprohon only scratches the historical surface without enlarging on the reasons for the defeat.

Altogether, history is overridden by conventions of the sentimental novel. Leprohon's text is spun around a group of people that could have been lifted from an 18th century conduct book with a clear-cut split between virtuous and evil characters. The three chief characters whose observance of the book's moral code of conduct marks them as paragons of virtue are Blanche De Villerai, the orphaned proprietor of the manor house, her fiancé Gustave de Montarville, a young officer who after a long absence in France has returned to defend the colony and claim his bride, and Rose Lauzon, a beautiful *habitant* girl who as Blanche's companion since childhood has received a good education. The novel reads like an illustration of virtue rewarded and evil brought to justice. The political subtext beneath the sentimental surface is different from that analysed by Markman Ellis for English sentimental fiction, which reached out to a much larger audience representing the politically powerless "middle station in life" and whose code of conduct contested aristocratic manners (Ellis 1996: 2-3, 17). 19th century Canadian society had no aristocracy and the political-economic elite saw the country before and after 1867 primarily as an (upper) middle class society. Hence the political legacy of sentimentalism in Leprohon's novel is taken in another direction. First of all, the narrator's comment "Men may dare, but women do endure. Men may falter, women never flinch" (17/18) sounds partly as imprisoning women in a traditional role, but is really a statement of female empowerment. Blanche is a strong and rational person, she actually holds the strings over Gustave by postponing her consent to a marriage that was decreed by her parents. In the end, when she realizes that her engagement with Gustave is one of social obligation, not of mutual love, she rejects her lover's hand and stays single, a remarkable act of rebellion against the role of the submissive woman. Second, in Rose's character Leprohon enshrines another tenet of the sentimental novel,

that "human [read female!] selves were made, not born" (Barker-Benfield 1992: xvii). Half-orphan girl, beset by an evil stepmother, chased by the libertine French officer Gaston De Noraye, and slandered by a jealous and snobbish female competitor, Rose's virtue is finally rewarded: with Blanche's explicit blessing she wins Gustave's hand. She is thus allowed to step beyond the confines of the class into which she was born and her union with Gustave is a signal of the alleged harmony between the upper class and the lower orders under the seigneurial regime. Leprohon idealizes the seigneurial system that was abolished only five years (1854) before her novel appeared. Her social ideals are ambivalent and fed by the conservative norms of French Canadian Catholicism: Rose's new social status is not so much the result of her own merit, but graciously bestowed on her by Blanche, the *seigneuresse* heroine. Her virtue is also guarded by the good offices of a kind village priest and a pious philanthropic lady. Third, and this is the legacy of Garneau, the upper class protagonists are separated into good and evil characters in accordance with their patriotic commitment or the lack of it. The rift is also between the French Canadians and the French. Blanche and Gustave as French Canadians are the real patriots, while the foppish Gaston de Noraye, a French officer, is a rake, fortune-hunter, and womanizer, and as such stands for the moral corruption of France whose neglect of the colony has brought about the loss of New France. Noraye's unpatriotic attitude shows in his contempt for Canada and his response to the defeat:

> Listlessly the Parisian dandy spoke of the termination of the war, declaring that but for the species of disgrace reflected upon the arms of France, he was almost indifferent with regard to the manner in which it had ended. Victory or defeat were almost the same to him, provided they brought the welcome opportunity of escape from a country which was scarcely fit for civilized people to dwell in. (143)

Leprohon's intention was to awake in her anglophone readers interest in Quebec's history and understanding for the French minority whose cultural distinctness she tried to capture also in scenes of local colour (e.g. the telling of voyageur lore during New Year's festivities in the country) and in French expressions sprinkled throughout the text. The appeal of her sympathetic picture to French Canadians is attested by the success of the French translation of her novel, which from 1861 onwards was frequently reprinted, while the first English edition in book form (the novel had first been serialized in *The Family Herald*, a short-lived journal) had to wait until 1985!

By contrast, *The Golden Dog* and *The Seats of the Mighty* were extremely popular in English Canada, and their favourable reception betrays a strong anglophone interest in French Canada's history in the wake of Confederation. Both works are much stronger embedded in history than *The Manor House of De Villerai*. Kirby and Parker attempt to integrate the history of the French minority into some kind of pan-Canadian majority vision. Their literary appropriation of that history, which

shows on the level of content and structure, is founded on the awareness that French Canada had resisted assimilation, and that its existence must be accommodated in a nationally meaningful way. But published nearly two decades apart, the two novels have different ideological perspectives. Parker produces a pro-British narrative of triumph, whereas Kirby driven by a desire for harmonious bicultural relations in the new *Two Nations' Nation* refrains from taking a triumphant pose.

For Kirby the French Canadians were more than an exotic splash of colour on the face of the Dominion. He saw Quebec as a valuable part of the new Canadian polity and hence searched for those facets of French Canada which could be easily connected to his conservative societal ideal. *The Golden Dog* is set in 1748, yet the narrated events constantly evoke the memory of the Conquest which is mentioned explicitly only in the final chapter, where the novelist wraps up the fate of the chief protagonists. Kirby focusses on social relations and screens the society of New France for the confirmation of his Tory belief in a divinely ordained hierarchical social order.

Although several folkloric scenes in *The Golden Dog* could be placed in Scott's tradition, Kirby's artistic translation of history hardly taps Scott's model. While Scott with the choice of the subtitle *'Tis Sixty Years Since* for *Waverley* reflects on the gap between past and present, Kirby starts his novel in medias res and uses throughout an omniscient narrator whose unquestioned moralistic stance is heightened with the help of the machinery of the Gothic and the sentimental genre. In addition, Scott encapsulates history chiefly in fictitious, not great historical personages, and shows how ordinary people are affected by the breath of history, whereas Kirby gives plenty of room to historical actors, among them the rulers of New France, the Governor Count de la Galissonière and the Intendant François Bigot. Quite a few of the novel's other protagonists are also based on real historical people whose characters and actions are changed because they are embedded in the work's moral scheme. In this way Kirby dehistoricizes history. The central political conflict – a commercial war between the fraudulent Bigot and the upright merchant Nicolas Philibert – is a moral conflict, not part of history as a process (see Klooß 1989: 219). The group of *honnêtes gens* around the Christ-like figure of Philibert attempts to curb Bigot's abuse of economic power. All evil emanates from the Intendant, who is the protégé of Madame Pompadour, and thus derives from the court of Versailles. Bigot's financial manipulations, plunder of the colony, personal enrichment, loose sexual mores, lavish parties, though to some degree based on historical evidence, mirror the depravity of the French court which strangles New France like a kraken. Pompadour's French Canadian counterpart, the young unscrupulous beauty Angélique des Meloises, spins intrigues which result in thwarted love, murder, and death. Driven by an indomitable will to win Bigot's hand she hires the witch-like figure of Marie Josephte Corriveau (taken by Kirby from French-Canadian folklore) to poison a mysterious lady whom Bigot has hidden in his country manor. The political conflict ends with the defeat of the *honnêtes gens*. Bigot's party marshals the

murder of the Bourgeois. The killer is a young man from one of the *honnêtes gens* families. As a weak character desperately in love with the cunning Angélique he is caught in the clutches of Bigot's clique, made senselessly drunk during one of their orgies and in an act of intoxication kills Philibert whose death is the ruin of his family: The killer's angelic sister Amélie de Repentigny who is engaged to Philibert's equally virtuous son enters the convent of the Ursulines, where in true sentimental fashion she is conveniently allowed to languish and die. At the same time the reader is made to believe that the murder seals the later fate of Quebec. As in a Greek tragedy the murder marks the fall of a leading house which entails the fall of the whole polis. The final chapter, not accidentally titled "The Mills of God Grind Slowly", wraps up the private and historical destinies. We are told that the good Governor and ally of the *honnêtes gens* La Galissonière was later replaced by "the weak and corrupt administration of […] de Vaudreuil" (Kirby 1877: 570) who gave free rein to Bigot with whom he probably shared the spoils of their plunder. The summing up of the reasons for the loss of New France could have come from the pages of Smith's and Garneau's history books:

> These public vices bore their natural fruit, and all the efforts of the *honnêtes gens* to stay the tide of corruption were futile. Montcalm, after reaping successive harvests of victories, brilliant beyond all precedent in North America, died a sacrifice to the insatiable greed and extravagance of Bigot and his associates, who, while enriching themselves, starved the army and plundered the colony of all its resources. The fall of Quebec and the capitulation of Montreal were less owing to the power of the English than to the corrupt misgovernment of Bigot and Vaudreuil, and the neglect by the Court of France of her ancient and devoted colony. (Kirby 1877: 571)

In other words, New France collapsed from within rather than from without.

Had Kirby desired to write a story of triumph, he would have been critical of the absolutist monarchy, adopted Scott's regressive/progressive model and also shared the negative verdict on the society of New France in Parkman's *The Old Régime,* with which he was familiar (on Kirby's sources see Pierce 1929: 237-239; on Kirby and Parkman see Gerson 1989: 265**)**. The narrator blames the defeat of New France on individuals, not on society at large, and presents the commercial war between Bigot and Philibert not as a conflict between a corrupt aristocracy and a vigorous middle class. Despite his designation as Le Bourgeois Philibert is an aristocrat who due to a plot at the Court of Versailles and Bigot had lost his estate in France.

The Golden Dog is structured like an allegory. Marie Lessard in her attempt to capture the moral frame in Kirby's and Gaspé's novels relates the composition to the Biblical Genesis: While *Les Anciens Canadiens* is "organisé par le paradigme du récit biblique de la chute ou de la perte du paradis terrestre", *The Golden Dog* is "organisé

par le paradigme du récit biblique du salut" (Marie Lessard, 1994: 86; on the allegorical quality of the novel see also Stacey 2005: 91). I cannot quite agree with Lessard's contrastive judgment and would argue that Kirby structured his story both in terms of paradise lost and salvation. The notion of the fall in Genesis is a clear undercurrent in Kirby's portrait of the novel's evil women. The murderous La Corriveau remarks in a conversation with another wicked woman appropriately called Mère Malheur:

> "Mère Malheur, the fairest women in the world are ever the worst! Fair and false! fair and false! they are always so. No one better than another. Satan's mark is upon all of us!" La Corriveau looked an incarnation of Hecate as she uttered this calumny upon her sex. (Kirby 1877: 391)

Kirby's anti-feminist note is in keeping with certain Victorian views of women: Women meddling in politics, be they La Pompadour or Angélique, are the unnatural offspring of mother Eve who as the forces of evil help destroy Paradise. In the novel Versailles (i.e. La Pompadour) contaminates Quebec, whose basically sound society has its stronghold in an Eden-like countryside with idealized class relations between a pious seigneur class and its *habitants* (see Groß 1981: 77-78). This view is reminiscent of Benjamin Disraeli's backward-looking Tory propaganda in *Sybil: or the Two Nations* (1845) in which the replacement of an unprincipled by a responsible nobility represents the restoration of idealized feudal relations between the rulers and the common people. Disraeli developed his vision as an antidote to deep class divisions as a result of the Industrial Revolution, whereas Kirby wanted to reconcile the anglophone majority and the francophone minority. His sympathetic, even nostalgic picture of French Canada envisages Quebec society as a corrective for what he sees as "republican" tendencies within English-Canadian society. His understanding of the long history of the French minority as the prehistory to the building of the Canadian nation is a Tory projection into a harmonious future of Canada as the *Two Nations' Nation* which makes *The Golden Dog* an eminently political novel.

The novel's very friendly French Canadian reception can best be seen in a comment by Kirby's French translator, poet Pamphile Le May: "Je suis ravé! Comment vous, un étranger à ma religion et aux coutumes de mes ancêtres, avez-vous pu écrire les pages aussi belles de vérité que les pages du Chien d'Or?" (quoted Pierce 1929: 252). However, Le May's French translation of 1885 had deleted, altered, and added passages "for religious and moral reasons" (Hayne 1981: 57) and accordingly replaced Kirby's conciliatory bicultural vision with a reading of the novel as a work solely on French-Canadian culture which was fuelled by "a vision of French-Canadian nationalism" (Edwards 2009: 248; Edwards discusses these alterations in detail 245-249).

Gilbert Parker's praise of *The Golden Dog* was equally enthusiastic as Le May's, but for different reasons:

> It is a singular thing … that all the history of Canada had produced only one really notable work of fiction – William Kirby's "Le Chien d'Or," a veritable mine of information and research, a powerful and admirable piece of *romance*, not the easiest in the world to read, and yet one to which I wish to pay my earnest tribute. There was the Hudson Bay Company, with a history extending back to the times of Charles II., with Prince Rupert for its first Governor, *with all the series of adventures and moving incidents* which fell to the lot of the Argonauts of the far north; there was the City of Quebec, the point of conflict of life under the ancient regime, and that was all left untouched save by this man. I admire – William Kirby (from an interview in *The Globe,* Oct. 31, 1896, quot. in Pierce: 236; italics mine).

This comment sounds like a characterization of Parker's own novel which adopts the form of romance by reducing history to "adventures and moving incidents". For Dennis Duffy all 19th-century Canadian historical novels were romances with heroes struggling heroically in a fateful web spun by outside forces and with their quest impeded by narrative strategies of surprising coincidences, complicated plot structure, deferred actions, suspense, and dramatic turning-points (Duffy 1986: 1-3). Without going into a further discussion of romance (see chapter on romance and history in Buchenau 2002: 121-130) it may suffice to define Parker's romance practice as exploitation of the adventurous potential of the story of New France with stereotypical characters of an heroic and villainous mould, and spiced with instances of love, intrigue and machinations in a world ruled by great emotions: These ingredients he grafts onto history without a sincere commitment to an understanding of the past.

And yet *Seats of the Mighty* could have been a more convincing historical treatment. The novel is based on an historical eyewitness account titled *Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo,* who as a prisoner of the French from 1757 to 1759 managed to effect his escape, rejoined the British and directed General Wolfe to the hidden trail up the cliff to the Plains of Abraham thus sealing the fate of New France (see Fridén 1953: 42-43). The events in the novel are told as a first person narrative, which is fuelled by the British perspective of Robert Stobo who is here called Captain Robert Moray and addresses his tale explicitly to British readers: "I sat and smoked, and – can you not guess my thoughts? For have you all not the same hearts, being British born and bred?" (Parker 1971: 42). In contrast to Leprohon and Kirby, Parker shows little sympathy for Quebec society – despite the central love story between Moray and the young Quebec beauty Alixe Duvarney. Screening the politics of Parker's treatment of Quebec against his political creed – he was an imperialist and a Conservative MP in Westminster (since 1900) – one can say he regarded the victory over New France as an early culmination point in the heroic story of the British Empire. A year after its publication a theatrical adaptation of the novel was even performed in

London to honour Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee (see Adams 1979: 167; Ripley 1986). Parker's political agenda which shows in plot and character constellation was the confirmation of British superiority in his readers.

British heroism is exemplified in Moray's patriotic behaviour during his imprisonment, escape, and fighting on the Plains of Abraham. Parker distorts Stobo's story more than once and invents episodes such as the burning of one of Bigot's granaries by a furious mob of starving peasants, a scene which serves as the bleak picture of Quebec society as a divided community, with a criminal ruler full of contempt for the ruled and a people who in their authoritarianism are easily swayed from further violence by Bigot's skilful rhetoric.

The most memorable male and fictitious character is Tinoir Doltaire – a word play with the name of Voltaire? – who is a powerful protégé of Madame Pompadour. It is here that the author in another wild twist connects the history of the last Scottish rebellion against England in 1745 (the subject of *Waverley*) with the history of France. Moray, an orphan from Scotland, received from his dying guardian, a Jacobite partisan, a packet of love letters written by Bonnie Prince Charlie to a lady at the French court. Pompadour, who is an equally sinister presence here as in *The Golden Dog*, fears her as a dangerous rival and plans to eliminate her with the help of the incriminating letters. A search mission for these takes Doltaire first to Scotland and then to Quebec, and this is where the novel starts.

Parker's narrative modelling condemns the factual history of the Conquest to insignificance. The reader is made to believe that the chief conflict is individual, not political, and that the war is more or less a private feud, first on Pompadour's part who through Doltaire reacts to Moray's refusal of handing over the letters with the threat of military action, and second on the part of Doltaire who is long kept in the dark about Alixe's and Moray's love, but when he finds out, tries every means of snatching her from his antagonist.

Doltaire pulls all the political and personal strings and Moray would be in a completely hopeless situation, had he not French helpers, above all Alixe who turns out to be a highly resourceful woman, the offspring of a male fantasy known from many adventure novels in which a Pocahontas-like young female comes to the rescue of an attractive young male. The love plot is of symbolic political significance. The secret marriage between Alixe and Moray is not founded on mutual understanding of the *two solitudes*. Sharing Parkman's Anglo-Saxonist prejudice (Kelly 1989: 36, see also Parkman 1969: 201) Parker bundles all sorts of stereotypical distortions of the French national character into the figure of Doltaire: impulsive, scheming, immoral, revengeful, selfish, arrogant**.** Modelled as a sexually aggressive "Latin lover" (see Schleser 1989: 97-98) he confesses to Alixe that he will hunt her like game (Parker 1971: 55), and portrayed as a cynic of almost Byronic proportions he openly admits to Moray to have no patriotic love for his country:

> "I never repent," he said to me one day. "I have done after my nature, in

> the sway and impulse of our time, and as the King has said, after us the deluge. What a pity it is we shall see neither the flood nor the ark! And so, when all is done, we shall miss the most interesting thing of all: ourselves dead and the gap and ruin we leave behind us. By that, from my standpoint," he would add, "life as a failure is a spectacle." (Parker 1971: 39)

Consequently, Alixe's decision in favour of the morally upright Moray does not come unexpected, as her last encounter with Doltaire illustrates:

> Suddenly there came into Doltaire's look and manner an astounding change. Both hands caught the chair arm, his lips parted with a sort of snarl, and his white teeth showed maliciously. It seemed as if, all at once, the courtier, the *flaneur*, the man of breeding, had gone, and you had before you the peasant, in a moment's palsy, from the intensity of his fury.
> "A thousand hells for him!" he burst out in the rough *patois* of Poitiers, and got to his feet. […] "You used me, Tinoir Doltaire, son of a king, to further your *amour* with a *bourgeois* Englishman!" (Parker 1971: 182)

At no other point in the novel is the contest characterized as a conflict between French aristocrat and English bourgeois and it is indeed no such contest. First of all, Moray is quasi an aristocratic landowner who has inherited a plantation in Virginia from his Jacobite guardian so that from the perspective of class he is worthy to win the hand of his upper class French sweetheart. Second, Doltaire as the illegitimate offspring of a liaison of the French king with a *paysanne* straddles French society from top to bottom and stands for the French in general. His persuasive power is so seductive as to almost break Alixe's resistance who with utmost difficulty finds refuge at the shrine of the Virgin Mary. The scene is observed by an alarmed Moray from a hidden place. Sunnie Rothenberger reads this and other voyeur scenes within the framework of hegemonial relations. In Parker's day English Canadians had misgivings vis-à-vis the French minority whose peculiar way of life had to be closely watched. Alixe's choice of Moray does not only suggest French recognition of British superiority, but in Moray's scopophilic stance the desire for knowledge of the French is coupled with the desire of the majority for control of the minority (Rothenburger 2008: 95-97). Parker's and Claude G. Bryan's historical study *Old Quebec. The Fortress of New France* (1903), though on the whole much friendlier towards the *Canadiens* than the novel, voices some of the anglophone misgivings:

> […] the pioneer race of Quebec are still a people apart in the Great Dominion so far as their civic and social, their literary and domestic life are concerned. They share faithfully in the national development, and honourably serve the welfare of the whole dominion, – *sometimes with a too*

> *carefully and unsympathetic reserve* – but within their own beloved province they retain as zealously and more jealously than the most devoted Highlandmen their language and their customs, and fruitfully conserve the civil laws which mark them off […] clearly from the English provinces. (Parker and Bryan 1903: xxiii-xxiv; italics mine)

Conclusion

Of the three authors examined Leprohon and Kirby present a sympathetic picture of New France for whose defeat they blamed a corrupt governing class as the arm of the immoral Court of Versailles. Both wanted to contribute to a better understanding of the French minority among their anglophone readers. While Leprohon drew Quebec life and history from an explicit French Canadian point of view, Kirby and Parker employed a pro-British perspective, but each in a different way. Walter Scott's immense Canadian reputation explains why the historical novel became the most popular vehicle for acquainting English Canadian readers with the history of the Conquest. However, each of the writers utilized the historical material differently. Leprohon attached greater importance to the sentimental narrative than to the historical context. Sorfleet in his comparison of Kirby and Parker attested a deeper historical understanding to *The Golden Dog* for its integration of the characters into "the larger social framework" and its author's alertness to "socio-historical forces" (146). All this plus Kirby's "ethical values" (146) made the work a historical novel proper, while *The Seats of the Mighty* betrayed "Parker's historical insensitivity" and showed that his "*forte* was the purely imaginative novel, devoid of historical concerns […]" (Sorfleet 1973: 133). Although I can agree with Sorfleet's verdict of Parker's limited historical consciousness, I would relativize his praise for Kirby's grasp of history a little. The strong moral subtext of *The Golden Dog* which serves to colour events with Kirby's Tory ideology is to the detriment of a less myopic view of the historical process which led to the fall of New France. Both authors' politics of representing the francophone minority had a different target: Kirby aimed at forging the new *Two Nations' Nation* into a conservative *entente cordiale*, whereas Parker exploited the machinery of the romance for his imperialist message of British racial superiority.

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Nele Sawallisch

Trudel's Legacies: For a Critical Understanding of Slavery in Quebec

Zusammenfassung

Knapp 50 Jahre nach dem Erscheinen von Marcel Trudels einflussreicher Studie L'Esclavage au Canada français *(1960) ist seit 2013 eine englische Übersetzung unter dem Titel* Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage *(Übers. George Tombs) verfügbar. Dieses Ereignis bringt wider Erwarten nicht das lange Zeit vernachlässigte Thema der Sklaverei auf kanadischem Boden wieder in den Vordergrund, sondern vor allem ein über Jahrzehnte gefestigtes Bild von Trudel als Nationalhistoriker. Als Pionier und Fokalpersönlichkeit auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte Neufrankreichs und der Sklaverei gilt Trudel auch heute, sowohl in akademischen als auch populären Diskursen, als unumstößliche Autorität. Dies hat zu einer nahezu unreflektierten Übernahme seiner Thesen und Interpretationen geführt, die auch jetzt einer kritischen Rezeption im Wege steht. Darüber hinaus birgt eine solche Übernahme die Gefahr der Verharmlosung der Sklaverei im frühen Neufrankreich und stellt somit ein beständiges Hindernis im Rahmen der Revision eines zentralen Kapitels kanadischer Geschichte dar.*

Abstract

Roughly 50 years after Marcel Trudel's seminal study L'Esclavage au Canada français *from 1960, an English translation is now available, entitled* Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage *(2013, transl. George Tombs). Its recent release has not, however, sparked a profound discussion about slavery on Canadian soil, but has emphasized, on the contrary, Trudel's towering image as national historian in Quebec. Trudel, whose book came as pioneering scholarship at the time, is still viewed as the dominant authority regarding the histories of New France and slavery. A multi-facetted image of Trudel has solidified over the past decades and affects the reception of his work still today. In fact, his theses and interpretations on slavery have been accepted almost uncritically in both academic as well as popular discourses. However, avoiding a critical discussion of Trudel holds the danger of romanticizing slavery in New France and thus, represents a serious obstacle in the process of revising a crucial chapter of Canadian history.*

Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien 36 (2016) 86-101

Résumé

À peu près une cinquantaine d'années après la publication de l'œuvre de Marcel Trudel L'Esclavage au Canada français *(1960), sa traduction en anglais est dorénavant disponible sous le titre* Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage *(2013, trad. George Tombs). Au lieu d'inspirer une discussion sur le fait de l'esclavage sur le sol canadien, cette traduction a plutôt fait resurgir l'image importante de Trudel en tant qu'historien national. Avec son livre en 1960, Trudel s'était établi comme autorité pionnière sur le terrain de l'histoire de la Nouvelle France ainsi que de l'esclavage, et c'est cette réputation qui domine toujours la réception de son œuvre aujourd'hui. En effet, ses thèses et ses interprétations portant sur l'esclavage ont été adoptées de façon peu critique par les discours académique et non-académique. En évitant une discussion critique de Trudel, une tendance à idéaliser l'esclavage en Nouvelle France s'est manifestée qui, en même temps, représente un obstacle important au processus de réviser un chapitre crucial de l'histoire canadienne.*

Introduction

In 2013, Montreal's Véhicule Press released *Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage*. George Tombs's translation of the seminal text by Québécois historian Marcel Trudel thus appeared fifty-three years after it was first published as *L'Esclavage au Canada français* in 1960 by Presses universitaires Laval. This gap reveals the long ignorance and even denial of slavery on the part of some of Quebec's leading nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians. To this day, Québécois as well as Canadians, more broadly speaking, both in academic or in public discourse, struggle with the reworking of this particular chapter of their past.[1] Trudel's 1960 publication therefore came as pioneering scholarship and just before Quebec's Quiet Revolution, which would eventually overturn the Church's domination in the province through processes of political and economic secularization, paving the way also for a revision of the national historiographical discourse. Upon its release, however, *L'Esclavage au Canada français* was met with resistance not only from the Church but also from Trudel's fellow historians as it shook the foundations of an

1 The debate on what kind and how much information on slavery in Canada is available to Canadians is ongoing. Christopher Moore, on his blog *Christopher Moore's History News*, claims that "Information about slaves and slavery in early Canada is all over the school texts and the kid's (sic) books and yes, even the adult histories of Canada. But somehow none of that counts" (March 1, 2014). It is safe to say that when Trudel first wrote his book, this was not the case. It is also true that there have been efforts to update school text books and increase the offer, say, of workshops for teachers (notably by Natasha Henry, who has recently launched her website *Teaching African Canadian History*). However, even though scholarship on Black Canadian History has increased significantly since Trudel and, later, Robin Winks, much work still needs to be done to counter the dominance of the well-established Underground Railroad story.

influential Québécois nationalist self-image that had banned slavery from collective memory.

Indeed, Trudel's monograph changed Quebec's historiography in so far as it established slavery as a fact in New France for about 200 years. It revealed that it was an accepted social reality, which continued after the British conquest of 1760, placing slave owners not only at every level of society but also among the famous secular and religious elites (James McGill and Saint Marguerite d'Youville, for example, were thus revealed to be slave owners). Many see the book as at least partly responsible for Trudel's professional ostracism and his move to Ottawa in 1966 (Everett-Green; Hill). As Trudel later explained in an interview, however, the book did not sell well at all, and Laval had kept only a small number of hard copies before disposing of the remainder (Pigeon 15). It took forty-four years to release a first revised edition as *Deux siècles d'esclavage au Québec* (2004), only after the interest in the history of slavery in Quebec and Canada had begun to grow.[2]

A translation into English, however, which would make the knowledge contained therein available to wider Anglophone Québécois and Canadian readerships, took roughly another decade. George Tombs describes the challenges he had to face after first proposing a translation in a conversation with a Parti Québécois minister: "'He got quite annoyed, and said 'You shouldn't be translating that book!' […] His problem basically was that it would give a bad image of Quebec.'" (qtd. in Everett-Green n.p.). The minister's reaction explains why to this day, the history of slavery is still dominated by the positively-connoted narrative of the Underground Railroad, making Canada a safe haven for fugitives from the United States in the nineteenth century. It still seems difficult to accept today that "des personnages élevés jusque-là au rang de héros sans tâche aient profité de l'esclavage" (Nadeau n.p.). Although scholars and teachers today provide more and more material on Canadian slavery, the African Canadian and First Nations' struggles against the dominant hegemonic discourse of white European settler nations and for recognition within Canadian historiography still continue well into the 21st century.

While the refusal to acknowledge the lasting relevance of slavery has long been the strongest obstacle to this recognition, it is now further mitigated by another kind of attitude which, while admitting the presence of slavery in colonial Canada, portrays it as a "humane" form of servitude clearly distinct from its US-American or French West Indian counterparts. This type of romanticizing, this paper argues, has its roots in publications like Trudel's *Deux siècles d'esclavage/Canada's Forgotten Slaves* and their reception today. The reactions to the recent translation, which was

2 Trudel's *Dictionnaire des esclaves et de leurs propriétaires au Canada français* appeared in 1990 with Hurtubise HMH. The publication had been delayed for decades because a fire had destroyed Trudel's data and the manuscript in 1965 (Pigeon 18).

instantly nominated for a Governor General's Literary Award in translation,[3] have only clarified that Trudel's major study has been cast mostly as a pioneer work directed to both academic and non-academic publics, and hailed as an overturn of a flawed Québécois/Canadian self-image. Its reception continues to hinge on a powerful, multi-facetted image of Marcel Trudel as an eminent historian and a widely-accepted authority, and has brought forth only few critical voices in recent decades. Major weaknesses in Trudel's study have thus been hinted at, but always rationalized in favor of a contextualization of his scholarly innovativeness in the 1960s. This perception holds the danger of distorting the image of slavery in New France and thus, misinterpreting an important chapter of African Canadian and First Nations histories. The opportunity opened up by the translation of bringing colonial slavery in Canada into the limelight should serve to operate yet another contextualization of Marcel Trudel and his study: in order to provide the new "interpretative framework" that Brett Rushforth has called for, Trudel must be seen today as an anachronous "beginning," instead of the pinnacle, of a field of inquiry so that a critical revision of Quebec's past becomes possible (375).

Trudel as National Historian: Consecration I

Marcel Trudel (1917–2011) is recognized today as one of Quebec's leading historians. His long career and numerous publications have turned him not only into an acknowledged authority on the history of New France (or into "Mr. New France," Hustak n.p.), but also into the 'historicus laureate' and "maître" of Québécois history in general (Nadeau n.p.). This prestigious standing, however, was not foreseeable when Trudel started his career in the 1940s. His dissertation on Voltaire (1945) only marked the beginning of a list of provocative publications that shaped Trudel, the *enfant terrible*. Particularly at the beginning of his career in the pre-Quiet Revolution context, his research oscillated between 'going against the grain' of traditional research (cf. Pigeon 15) and the unpopularity and indifference amongst his peers, or even professional ostracism, that it entailed (cf. Everett-Green; Hill n.p.). Trudel's reputation has come a long way from the frosty to indifferent reception by his colleagues that he experienced in 1960 – "Ils ne m'ont pas rejeté, mais ils ne m'ont pas appuyé non plus" (Pigeon 15) – to becoming "une des figures universitaires les plus connues au pays" (Nadeau n.p.).

Over the last decades, Trudel's public image has evolved into a composite of at least three distinguishable elements. First, he is at once the 'pioneer' and the 'rebel' resisting conventional historiography. He is also portrayed as passionate historian, teacher, and meticulous researcher for whom history is both vocation and profession. Lastly, Trudel is as much a sophisticated academic as he is a popular historian,

3 Tombs's translation eventually lost out to Donald Winkler's *The Major Verbs (Les verbes majeurs* by Pierre Nepveu). The list of nominees and winners can be found on the Canada Council for the Arts' website: http://ggbooks.canadacouncil.ca/.

or rather, a historian for the people, intent on making knowledge about New France and Quebec available to a large audience of interested (non-)Québécois.[4] These facets have reappeared over the years and now make up the foundation of a quasi-religious veneration of Trudel as the "dean of Canadian historians" (Hustak n.p.). A number of both academic and non-academic reviews discussing *Deux siècles d'esclavage* (2004) and its recently published translation *Canada's Forgotten Slaves* (2013) exemplify how these elements are played out. They demonstrate that the force of Trudel's authority shapes the reception of his works and hence, of slavery as a historical fact in Canada. In this process, the texts of the reviews under discussion here do not become a place of critical inquiry, but of consecration, to the point of contradicting the intuitive understanding of individual reviewers.

Cases in point are, on the one hand, the reviews by Jean Coléno (*The Montreal Review of Books*), Robert Everett-Green (*Globe & Mail*), Lawrence Hill (*Literary Review of Canada*), Peter McCambridge (*ambos*), and Nelle Oosterom (*Canada's History*), all of them discussing George Tombs's 2013 translation tellingly entitled *Canada's Forgotten Slaves*; and on the other hand, Daniel Gay's (*Recherches sociographiques*) and Gilles Havard's (*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*) scholarly discussions of the 2004 edition *Deux siècles d'esclavage au Québec*. All of the reviewers agree that the book is a major and "indispensable" work of French Canadian historiography (Havard 180). They are aware of the provocative potential of the topic of slavery and of its long neglect by historiography, which is why it still "come[s] as news to many" Canadians in 2013 (McCambridge n.p.). In fact, several reviewers point to Trudel's "iconoclastic" research (Gay 565, my translation) and the impact of its "shocking" details, to which George Tombs's translation, long overdue, finally gives access (Coléno n.p.). Reviewers are equally aware of the consequences of Trudel's study, namely the putting into question of Quebec's national understanding and the larger Canadian stereotype, or false self-image, as the free nation and terminus of the Underground Railroad (cf. Oosterom n.p.).

With this, they portray Trudel as the rebel-pioneer, who, even in 1960, questioned mainstream historiography.[5] Moreover, they praise Trudel as a model historian valuing fact-oriented, meticulous and profound research (cf. Hill n.p.), distilled into a book which is yet easily approachable by the general public. Reviewers make repeated references to Trudel's anecdotal writing style, which makes for his 'good read' and appeal, although it sometimes appears somewhat old-fashioned in the light of the new millennium (cf. Hill, McCambridge). Gay and Havard see Trudel's scholarly merit in addressing a number of topics within the field of slavery in New France that

4 This effort is probably most evident in his five-volume *Mythes et réalités dans l'histoire du Québec* (Hurtubise HMH, 2001-2010).

5 Trudel, too, promoted this picture of himself. In an interview with Danielle Pigeon, he underlines that "[…] j'avais une tête à part des autres et […] il ne faut pas s'étonner si je me suis consacré à un tel sujet. […] comme j'avais une tendance à revenir contre ce qu'on affirmait traditionnellement, je me suis intéressé à l'esclavage au Canada" (15).

were literally unheard of before him and, most importantly, that have effects on contemporary Quebec's society. This holds true for the lengthy discussion of "métissage" which, for Gay, is telling about the contribution of First Nations and Blacks to the population's "ethnic diversification" (563, my translation), but also, as a consequence, about institutional racism and the beginning of segregation in Quebec (ibid.).

As reviewers approach the discussion of the content itself, they reveal themselves to be newcomers to Black Canadian history, and as such, largely repeat Trudel's basic findings and interpretations. Thus, most are impressed by the early beginning of slavery in colonial New France around 1629 and its subsequent deep entrenchment in society as an accepted fact among both secular and religious elites (cf. Coléno, Everett-Green n.p.). Most authors explain that slaves were expensive luxury goods and accordingly emphasize the difference in scale between 'Canadian' and US-American and/or French West Indian forms of slavery (cf. Oosterom n.p.), relying on the dual concept of society with slaves versus slave societies. Reviewers give the impression of gladly embracing the reassuring character of Trudel's interpretations, which turn away from the "shocking" and uncomfortable details of slavery, and instead promote a "less harsh" (Coléno n.p.) and also "less widespread" form of slavery "than elsewhere on the continent" (McCambridge n.p.). Interestingly, only Lawrence Hill briefly addresses the episode of Marie-Josèphe Angélique, a slave woman who was gruesomely tortured and executed for allegedly having set fire to her master's home, which then spread through Montreal in 1734.[6] Instead of seeing Angélique's fate as an instance of the atrocious excesses of the system of slavery, reviewers such as Oosterom persist in repeating Trudel's most notorious assertion that in New France, "slavery had less of a commercial and more of a humane nature" (Oosterom n.p.). Hence, all reviewers give the book a positive overall evaluation, based on the established position of Trudel, and gladly recommend it to readers.

Revisiting Trudel on Slavery: Criticism

This paper contends that a review style as displayed above is influenced by Trudel's authoritative standing in the field of slavery in New France and prevents a necessary critical discussion of Trudel's major theses. As the first monograph on the topic, Trudel has remained the mandatory reference for all subsequent scholars, some of which have then also begun to question Trudel's work in the realm of academia. Among the few critical voices regarding *Deux siècles d'esclavage au Québec* is Brett Rushforth's review of the second edition, together with the *Dictionnaire*, from 2005 (*The Canadian Historical Review*). Rushforth's review succeeds in both giving Trudel credit where it is due while at the same time critically assessing the value of

6 Trudel describes the incident in his subchapter "L'incendie de Montréal" (*Deux siècles* 217-220). Afua Cooper has since devoted her well-known monograph *The Hanging of Angélique* (2007) to what certainly is one of the most spectacular and controversial events in Montreal's history.

Trudel's monograph in the 21st century. Thus, Rushforth only partly subscribes to the veneration of the historian. On the one hand, Rushforth is ready to accept that in scholarship on slavery in Canada, *Deux siècles d'esclavage* is still "the only available outline of the contours of this slave system" (373). Indeed, Trudel's monograph was a "bold proposition" in the 1960s amongst nationalist historians in denial of New France slavery (373). Trudel as a rebel and pioneer shines through as Rushforth goes on to assert that "[b]efore Trudel's meticulous research, we knew almost nothing" about the topic (373).

However, Rushforth's critical analysis of the monograph is notable. It reveals Trudel as a thorough researcher, but also as a selective one in many respects. Trudel might be a pioneer of the 1960s, but today his book is only an anachronous interpretation of facts (cf. Rushforth 373). Journalist and historian Frank Mackey, for example, has since pointed out that Trudel's enumeration of slaves, given today's available research tools, is in fact unreliable and can no longer stand (Mackey 13). Rushforth's own points of criticism are worth discussing and commenting on at length. They fall into two larger categories, touching on the levels of style and content. First of all, Rushforth points out the problem of the re-"edition." In fact, the 2004 version of *Deux siècles d'esclavage*, which Trudel in his preface calls the "édition revue et mise à jour" (Trudel 2009, 7), is really only a "reprint" (Rushforth 373). This is not entirely correct, for Trudel did use the 2004 version to adapt his style, replacing expressions that were common in the 1960s for the designation of black and indigenous people by their less offensive counterparts (Pigeon 19). However, Rushforth rightly observes that "the book's text [and content] remain […] virtually unchanged" (373).

This explains why some passages are still highly problematic today and might have been omitted if the text had been thoroughly revised. Instead, nobody involved in either the process of re-editing or translating seems to have taken issue with some of the following examples: Quoting the slave owner Charles-Eusèbe Casgrain praising the culinary abilities of his slave Rose, Trudel (and with him, his translator) enthusiastically comments: "In reading Casgrain, one is tempted to cry out 'Long live slavery!'" (Trudel 2013, 127). On another note, outlining his findings on interracial marriage, Trudel does not hesitate to conclude that "après avoir *goûté à l'exotisme*, les Canadiens reviennent le plus souvent, pour leurs secondes noces, *au menu normal* en passant dans les bras d'un Blanc" (Trudel 2009, 286; emphasis mine).[7] Whereas Rushforth might qualify the choice of metaphor as "curious, but characteristic" of Trudel (374), translator Tombs takes out the passage's questionable tone by phrasing neutrally: "[…] once Canadians survived a first marriage with an Amerindian, they were more likely to marry a white person the second time around" (Trudel 2013, 226). While the thorough comparison of the original and the transla-

7 Other problematic examples include comparing the slaves' living conditions to that of their masters; writing about slave "immorality," etc.

tion does not lie within the scope of this paper, one wonders why Tombs never specifies whether he found some passages too contentious to translate them literally or whether they make up the "archaic flavor [of …] the book" which he tried to remain faithful to (Trudel 2013, 10). Rushforth, on his part, merely hints at what he thinks about Trudel's "jarring assertions" (374), without pointing to the actual paternalizing, generalizing, and sometimes offensive, expressions in Trudel's text. Excusing them as "jerky […] narrative" (McCambridge n.p.) or part of Trudel's ironic, if somewhat insensitive, writing style seems inappropriate when considering that a prospective audience of the book includes both contemporary Black and First Nations readers.

Rushforth expresses his gravest concerns regarding the actual subjects addressed in *Deux siècles d'esclavage* and their presentation. This also marks the point where most reviews discussed so far fall short of criticism. At the heart of these concerns lies Trudel's qualification of slavery in New France (and, due to his incoherent use of terminology, he seems to apply this to Canada as a whole) as "humane," thereby clearly drawing the distinction to the United States and the French West Indies.[8] Trudel establishes this image throughout the book and at various occasions. For example, describing the funeral proceedings of a young slave girl, Trudel is satisfied to conclude -- "une fois de plus" – that slavery in New France displayed a "caractère tout humain" (Trudel 2009, 174) or, as the translation echoes, "the relatively humane character of slavery in New France" (Trudel 2013, 142). A number of social practices reinforce this impression in Trudel's opinion, such as the participation of slaves as godparents in religious rituals, "[a]nother feature [making] slavery in Canada seem more humane compared to other colonies" (Trudel 2013, 153). Addressing the execution of punishment, Trudel declares that in all, crimes committed by slaves being a rarity anyway, their punishment is less severe than in other slaveholding colonies like the Antilles (Trudel 2009, 220; 222). For Trudel, this counts as sign of the successful integration of slaves into society (Trudel 2013, 178).

For Trudel, an apparent "privileged status" (Trudel 2013, 179) of slaves in New France results from the combination of two other characteristic traits of slavery in French Canada, namely its alleged familial atmosphere and the mutual affection reigning between masters and slaves. Trudel stylizes this unequal relationship into one of care and attention on the part of the master. He gives numerous examples of Amerindian and black slaves being presented as "adopted children" which yet again "gives a whole different flavor to slavery in New France" (Trudel 2013, 122-23). This treatment seems in line with the "special care" that was awarded to a slave by her or his master and with regarding slave children as equal to that of the master's (123-24). Even though Trudel admits that one cannot always draw generalized conclusions about the relationship (Trudel 2009, 176), he feels confident to say that there

8 It should be noted that Louisiana, a part of New France at the time, does not figure in Trudel's observations (cf. Havard 180).

existed a profound emotional attachment between slaves and their masters or their masters' children (176-7). To support his argument, Trudel lists examples of slaves risking their lives for their masters (176), or female slaves and their love for the master's children (177). In fact, Trudel here adopts a well-known Southern apologetic discourse. The resemblances to the intellectual foundation of this discourse in the concept of the patriarchal household, based on "radical submission [of its members to the paterfamilias] and the protection of the weak [including slaves]" (Wenzel 162), are striking.[9]

A last manifestation of this affection, according to Trudel, is the fact that no small number of slaves carried their owner's family name (Trudel 2013, 191). Disregarding the implications of naming human 'property' and the subsequent loss of identity for slaves, Trudel egregiously underlines the "social promotion of sorts, outwardly putting slaves on the same footing as free people" (191). Trudel also fails to address here the inherent inequality and arbitrariness of a master-slave relationship that played out on personal, profession, or sexual levels, and does not mention incidents of rape. This portrayal remains in stark contrast to and in unresolved conflict with his subchapters "Des Québécois pour pères?" and "Le bâtard est esclave comme sa mère" (Trudel 2009, 258-263). Looking at children born by slave mothers and white fathers, he explains the existence of these children simply by "promiscuité" (258). The application of the Code Noir determined the fate of both mother and child invariably and mercilessly as slaves: "la possession est plus importante que la filiation." It is only then that Trudel admits that "[l]'esclavage au Canada français ne porte pas que des marques d'humanité […]" (263).

To Rushforth's criticism, one can also add Trudel's insinuations about the differences between Francophone and Anglophone slave owners. According to the historiographical distinction between Régime français and Régime anglais, Trudel explains that before the Conquest in 1760, "[slave owners] were necessarily all or almost all of French origin, whereas after […] a certain number of British slave owners settled in Quebec" (Trudel 2013, 103). This great majority of Francophone owners is also mainly responsible for the enslavement of the First Nations (103; 257), whereas Anglophones were linked to black enslavement (257). Despite his analysis of an allegedly harmonious, familial master-slave relationship, Trudel consistently intimates that not all slaves were treated in the same manner, a fact that for him seems dependent on the owner's nationality. To explain, he describes the major stages in a slave's life, i.e. baptisms, marriages and burials, as important social events (150–51) – albeit only for a small minority of slaves. This was not so much due to these events

9 I am thankful to the anonymous reviewer for directing me to Peter Wenzel's article (1982), which offers an enlightening intellectual contextualization of George Fitzhugh, "probably the best-known of the nineteenth-century apologists for slavery" (Wenzel 157), in the premodern concept of the patriarchal household and the resulting clash with contemporary theories of liberty and economy. Wenzel thereby exposes Fitzhugh's "anachronism" (cf. 157, 175), a lens through which we might then read also Trudel.

being religious sacraments, but because of their potential to "bring […] together the most influential members of society" (151). Trudel interprets these events not only as significant socializing and networking occasions, but also as the mirror for a harmonious relationship between owners and owned, openly and proudly presented to the community. Thus, slave owners served as godparents to their slaves; a custom which Trudel underlines was unique to French Catholic society (260). On the contrary, "particularly English-speaking slave owners […] generally *did not bother* to attend the religious ceremonies of their slaves" (213, emphasis mine). Moreover, Trudel observes that under the English Regime, many slaves ran away "and we do not know whether they ran away after abusive treatment or because they wanted to live their lives as they saw fit" (143–44). The underlying judgment here seems to be that under the French Regime, or under Francophone owners in particular, slavery as a whole was more harmonious than after the increasing influx and takeover of Anglophones. Returning to the baptisms of slaves, Trudel explains that he can only cite a single occasion where an Anglophone served as godfather during a baptism, but supposes that this was only due to the influence of his French Canadian wife (153).

Reviews and Counterintuition: Consecration II

Having alluded to the various problems Trudel's monograph displays, it is now more obvious why and where the reviews under discussion fail as critical responses and guidelines for prospective readers. They merely reproduce the well-established image of Trudel as a historian and, moreover, gloss over the contentious parts in favor of a repetition of Trudel's questionable conclusions, even against their proper intuition. Coléno, for example, subscribes to Trudel's rebel-image of "annoy[ing] some of his peers by refusing to write in the service of nationalist or romantic agendas" (n.p.) – implying that focusing on "le caractère tout humain" (Trudel 2009, 174) of slavery in Quebec is not part of such a romanticizing project. Coléno then concludes that Trudel's book is an important "corrective" to the superficial knowledge about slavery in Quebec (n.p.), instead of yet another form of nationalist agenda that Trudel subconsciously creates despite his revisionist approach. Oosterom's review yet more obviously becomes entangled in a contradictory argumentation. On the one hand, Oosterom critically engages some of Trudel's findings, for example the desire and efforts undertaken by Canadians to obtain slaves (n.p.). On the other hand, however, she goes on to explain that newspapers advertised slaves for auction sales "alongside animals," which points to the dehumanizing character of the slave system, but promptly quotes Trudel's famous statement in the following sentence that "'Slaves usually remained the property of a single master, which may have meant that slavery had less of a commercial and more of a humane nature'" (n.p.). This apparent dissonance again echoes the towering construction of an idealized image of master-slave relationships in colonial New France, which writer and scholar George Elliott Clarke in a scathing comment has termed Trudel's "mythology of the

well-treated black and the 'lucky-to-be-in-Canada' slave [and] one more species of European-Canadian, pro-Canada propaganda" (Clarke n.p.).

McCambridge, interestingly, points out that a difference in scale with regard to other countries does not change the fact of slavery's bare existence in Canada (slavery remains slavery). Trudel for him becomes someone who "gives names and faces to this steady trickle of numbers" (n.p.), by which he seems to mean personalizing history and uncovering individual stories that have been suppressed for centuries. Indeed, McCambridge seems taken aback by the "overwhelming […] flood of information" that Trudel thus provides, but then remembers that as readers, we need to "come to our senses and remember that it's people we're dealing with here, people who were bought and sold at auction like animals" (n.p.). However, McCambridge's allusion to the dehumanizing and de-individualizing processes of slavery remains half-hearted. Instead of showing just how Trudel's book might counter such a loss of individual black and indigenous stories, McCambridge cites an array of 'anecdotes' focusing on white slaveholders and Judge Osgoode instead, who, refusing to convict runaway slaves from the United States, fits neatly into Canada's myth of the safe haven (n.p.).[10] The few examples McCambridge chooses in order to give, possibly, an insight into slave life, seem equally haphazard, and once more echo Coléno's allusion to romantic agendas: "a certain Louis-Antoine voluntarily became a slave out of love …" (n.p.; the elision points appear in the original).

Everett-Green's main argument centers on the repression of an uncomfortable topic that he now sees brought into the limelight again by Trudel's book. Indeed, the French edition for him functions as a sort of catalyst for more recent and diversified scholarship on slavery in other Canadian provinces (n.p.). Yet, Trudel remains both *origo* and center of Everett-Green's own understanding of scholarship on Canadian slavery. He attaches great hopes to the impact of the translation, calling for an even "broader telling of the Canadian slavery story that we can *all* come to grips with" (n.p; emphasis mine). Everett-Green echoes Tombs's own wish for his translation to "contribut[e] more generally to a debate in Canada about liberty, the universality of human rights […]" (Trudel 2013, 12). Trudel's role as it is imagined in these statements transcends that of a mere pioneer, dedicated scholar, or popular historian, and becomes larger than life. The bold title of the translation, "Canada's Forgotten Slaves," underlines what Everett-Green and Tombs perceive as an urgent issue in Canadian society, for which Trudel's book is cast both as the authoritative point of reference and as the point of departure. In fact, the Governor General Award nomination of Tombs's translation seems to encourage their hopes for a greater public acknowledgment of the topic in the near future. This, however, ignores the "broader telling" of the facets and dynamics of slavery that has been going on in scholarship during the last decades by such scholars as Cooper, Hill, Mackey, Smardz Frost,

10 Frank Mackey has dismantled this example by explaining that Osgoode had left the country before any such ruling could have been passed by him (10).

Walker, Whitfield, Winks, and others. Moreover, the lofty call for a debate about universal human rights again distracts from the severe issues that *Canada's Forgotten Slaves* evidences. It seems rather ironic to ask for such a discussion when its foundation is flawed.

In contrast to the popular reviews discussed above, the two scholarly Francophone pieces appear to be more critical at first glance, as both Gay and Havard take issue with several aspects of Trudel's monograph. Havard underlines a certain lack of consistency in Trudel's approach, argument, and style. For example, Havard hints at the potential insights Trudel left out by not dwelling more on the involvement of First Nations in the slave trade (cf. 182). Havard also exposes the incomplete "toilettage lexical" (181), which should have updated the language of the 1960s in favor of more adequate expressions in the 2004 edition. Lastly, and most importantly, Gay and Havard both mention Trudel's judgments "discutables" (Gay 563) – and what McCambridge might have meant when speaking of a "jerky narrative" (n.p.). These include, most importantly, Trudel's statements about the "humane" air of Canadian slavery and its alleged familiar character (see above). Gay is surprised (564) to find such a topic in Trudel's book at all, but does not comment further and instead turns to another of Trudel's *faux-pas,* the alleged "immorality" of slaves (564). Havard criticizes Trudel's choice of words when claiming that "familial" is "sans doute" not applicable to "toutes les situations" (182). Havard also states that the adjective ("familial") disregards the facts of a daily life of "déracinement ou […] marginalité de nombreux esclaves" (182).

While both reviewers then detect major points of critique, their intuition is overrun by the standard expectations regarding Trudel's monograph. Thus, in the paragraph immediately following Gay's critical comment on Trudel's view of the "immorality" of the slave, he praises the book as a "trava[il] incontournable […]" and as a reference work (Gay 564). Gay wants Trudel to be justly contextualized in the beginning of the 1960s, an essential decade in Quebec's recent history, and remembered as having produced one of the "'petites révolutions' de l'époque" (564). For Havard, too, the concluding remarks are positive. Despite his just points of critique mentioned above, it seems clear to him (and comforting?) that black and Amerindian slaves did not have to endure "la violence des maîtres inhérente aux sociétés esclavagistes" (Havard 182), recalling Trudel's distinction between slavery in Canada and the southern US or the Caribbean. In the end, Havard affirms the 'more harmless' version of slavery in Quebec.

One more review deserves a more detailed discussion. Lawrence Hill, well-known African Canadian author of such bestsellers as *The Book of Negroes* (2010) and son to Daniel G. Hill, former professor of sociology and author of the well-known *Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (1981), discusses *Canada's Forgotten Slaves* for the *Literary Review of Canada*. Hill takes two essential things from Trudel's book: the establishment and acceptance of slavery in the society of New France, and Canada's denial of it in the following centuries (n.p.). On the content-level, Hill sees the par-

ticular merit in pursuing the history of black and First Nations' enslavement, placing owners at all social levels, and the topic of métissage (n.p.). As for Everett-Green, Trudel's results come as "ground-breaking" for Hill in a dire scholarly landscape that even in the last third of the twentieth century, can still only exhibit "a few substantial books [by Winks and Walker, for example]" (n.p.). Up to this point, Hill repeats the well-known picture of Trudel as pioneering historian, whose work has remained influential on scholars both franco- and anglophone, including his own father, until today (n.p.). He also reproduces the image of Trudel as the rebel who consciously chose an unpopular topic that he pursued unflinchingly and although it entailed his move to Ottawa (n.p.). Trudel's personal and scholarly merit, for Hill, arise from challenging his peers and his readers, "addressing [their] ignorance, and taking pleasure in [presenting new] uncomfortable, provocative facts" (n.p.).

The specificity of Hill's review, however, does not merely lie in his reproduction of Trudel's well-established image, but in his personal appropriation of Trudel as household-friend and bearer of knowledge. Hill can relate to Trudel and his work, because his father Daniel G. Hill "raised eyebrows [himself] with his groundbreaking PhD thesis called 'The Negroes of Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group'" (n.p.) – published also in 1960 but which, interestingly, did not earn the fame that Trudel could note down for himself. Later, Hill's parents founded the Ontario Black History Society, which has remained an important institution until today. Most importantly, however, Hill realizes that his parents had owned a copy of Trudel's monograph ("an odd, slim, well-worn French volume," n.p.) and used it for their own research, turning Trudel into a tacit presence in the Hill household. This impression is strengthened by the image of Hill's father passing on Trudel's knowledge to his son at the kitchen table: "He let me know that Marcel Trudel's [book] was a detailed, vital, scholarly work about a piece of Canadian – and African Canadian – history that few Canadians knew a thing about" (n.p.). In this way, the young Lawrence learned "a number of fascinating stories" (n.p.). Trudel here becomes somewhat of a familiar presence, carrying knowledge about a past which Lawrence and his parents so well related to into the home. Indeed, Hill concludes with the wish that there be more works as Trudel's "so that we can know ourselves and our history more profoundly" (n.p.). Trudel here is cast also as the de-mystifier, contributing to the self-knowledge and self-understanding of a people. The question though remains: Who is we?

This role attributed to Trudel shapes Hill's assessment of *Canada's Forgotten Slaves*. Undoubtedly, Hill makes valid points about the scholarly value of Trudel's monograph. Trudel is certainly to be credited for pointing out the importance of comparing black and Native American enslavement, ownership, etc. On the other hand, Hill is equally right in focusing on a few essential points of criticism. However, the way in which Hill does bring up criticism comes as ambiguous, at worst, and surprising, at best. Like McCambridge, Hill underlines that the problems with *Canada's Forgotten Slaves* do not only come with its "repetitive […] archaic […]" style (n.p.). The core

problems lie with Trudel's "defensive efforts" to cast Canadian slavery as "humane"' and his offensive euphemisms (n.p.). Hill admits to have felt "enraged" and hurt at times (n.p.) at reading Trudel's conclusions. The description of his personal reaction to Trudel's book is unique: whether it is because he is African Canadian or not, the effect of Trudel's highly problematic passages should not come as a surprise. What does, instead, are Hill's relativizations of his own feelings: he quickly turns to contextualizing Trudel within a discourse and way of thinking of the 1950s and 1960s, calling to finally "push past his words and ideas, and to appreciate the depth and the courage of his work in meticulously documenting the nature and extent of slavery in New France" (n.p.). Hill, although physically feeling the extent of Trudel's conclusions, brushes his concerns aside for the sake of a form of consecration. Hill is in line with the other reviewers in recommending Trudel's book, subscribing to a seemingly tacit agreement that it is better to have a problem-ridden book on slavery in Canada, than none at all.

Conclusion

Christopher Moore, referring to Lawrence Hill's review "Chains Unearthed," commented on his blog *History News* that it was "[n]ot bad to get a major review of one of your books half a century after it was published, and after you are dead" (n.p.). It is no less astonishing that the translation of a work that was so provocative when it first was published, should today be nominated for a Governor General Literary Award. Marcel Trudel's image is still looming large in Quebec, and his reputation and veneration are still influencing the reception of his work. With regard to the history of slavery in Canada, however, this leads to the quasi-effacement of critical voices about Trudel's book, even against the intuition of his reviewers. The analysis of different reviews has shown a troublesome tendency to accept and excuse Trudel's misled presentations of his source material in favor of the pre-Quiet Revolution context in Quebec, when the Church still dominated the historiographical view of a slavery-free colonial past. A heedless willingness to follow Trudel's powerful numbers, statistics and interpretations of his sources ignore a romanticized image of slavery that is still trying to establish a marked difference to the United States. Trudel himself never truly questions the apparent harmony between masters and slaves, and his way of portraying slavery in Quebec relies, often enough, on paternalistic generalizations of "the slave." Since the 1960s, there has been an upsurge of scholarship on slavery and Black Canadian history in general. Scholars and African Canadian writers have painted a different picture of slavery in Quebec and Canada, but still struggle in a way to no longer having to write 'back' to Trudel and his reputation.

A danger today seems to lie in the fact that there is no available critical edition of Trudel's book, as he still represents the accepted authority in the field. Brett Rushforth's review indicates how a new contextualization of Trudel might work: the question is not to dismiss Trudel completely, but to accept the ambiguity of his

legacy. He should be seen, as Rushforth suggests, as an important starting point for the line of research on slavery, but not as its pinnacle nor as the sole authority. Trudel must be recognized as an important scholar in his time, but as an anachronous reference on slavery today. When talking about first meeting his acquaintance Paul Brown, Trudel exclaims: "Un Noir de Sainte-Thècle! Et c'était un Québécois pur sang … heu … disons pure laine! Mais de voir un Québécois pure laine noir, vous vous rendez compte?" (Pigeon 17). Even years after the research and publication of his book, he is still surprised to find black Québécois as part of society.

A critical introduction in addition to the translator's foreword would give the many newcomers to Black Canadian studies and to Quebec's history – inside and outside of academic contexts – a better chance of situating Trudel and to, in Hill's terms "know [them]selves and [their] history more profoundly." Studies like Afua Cooper's monograph on the trial and torture of Angélique, both disillusioning and empowering, have set out to counter the romanticized narrative of slavery in New France on a larger scale, addressing both academic and non-academic readerships. *Canada's Forgotten Slaves* holds both good and bad tidings in this respect. While it might reach a larger audience, it might also refuel this narrative through its unmediated and uninformed reception.

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George Elliott Clarke

Overheard at The Berlin Conference (1884–85)

Great Britain (**GB**): *Free Trade* will gild Africa—
and whitewash golliwogs.

Kingdom of Portugal (**KP**): To capture blackamoors
and their picaninnies in nets—
as if fish—

or in chains—
as if dogs—

ends here, if not before now.

United States (**US**): Borders cancel battles; treaties nix tussles.

French Republic (**FR**): Granted snow-pure *Christianity*,
Caucasian *Reason*,
and European *Civilization*,
Africa will be less savage and Africans less black.

German Federation (**GF**): *Cannibalism* ceases where *Capitalism* succeeds.

GB: Either we deliver *Justice*,
or Africans will consider us plagues.

US: So our *Revolution* instructed George III.

FR: So our *Revolution* educated Louis XVI.

GB: But the *Haitian* revolt proves that *Ruction*
breeds *Destruction*.

GF: The weak state smiles at *Fraud*
and whips the *Poor*.

Kingdom of Belgium (**KB**): In recompense for our *Governance*,

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we bid Congolese toil at maximum efficiency.

FR: *Profit* lets railroads slide through jungle
and statues stare down lions.

GF: Europe must stop the brazen *Plunder*
that makes all Africa a penal colony.

KB: *Progress* is tapping Congo copper and diamonds and rubber,
while despairing, dark souls kneel to our paleface God.

GB: Does not Belgium beleaguer the Congolese?

KB: Great Britain cannot lecture any *Power* at this table
on correct conduct in colonies.
Just ask America!

US: *Enmity* can be *Amity*:
Just set a dollar value for Africa.

GB: Quite! During *Slavery*,
you were masters at weighing the value
of black wenches, studs, suckers.

US: Well, John Bull taught Uncle Sam well.
We Yanks had great teachers in *Slavery*,
from you who once played our masters.

FR: Negroes must toss out Xango
and idolize Descartes.

GF: Apply too much the whip,
and bleeding blacks will learn
it's scholarly to lie.

KB: We want what Germany wants:
Exotic primitives paying dividends in *Treasure*!
Let Belgium capitalize on the Congo!

GB: Good governors seek neither undue *Profit*

nor undeserved *Reward*.

US: Fiddlesticks! Your empire requires
the plucky cheating of unlucky peoples.

GB: We deliver good manners and good grammar.

KB: Does that compensate coloured Natives
for loss of *Land*, *Labour*, and *Liberty*,
the swindling of *Profit* and *Progeny*?

FR: Overcome bad policies with better.

GB: We civilize half-naked shakers of spears:
We dress em up with cloth-bound Shakespeare.

KP: Africans like games and comedies;
laughing, they sweat; laughably, they starve.

KB: Why can't we wing our blue-sky flag o'er Africa,
which is elsewise British, blood-red, as maps shout!

US: If Europe ain't gracious in Berlin,
this already too-long 19th Century
will truncate the impingin' 20th,
usherin on *Genocide*.

GB: Crikey! That's just what's ongoing on your Great Plains—
graveyarding the Redskins of the Great Republic!

US: *Destiny* is manifestly ours.

FR: Beware! *Destiny* is fickle.

GB: *Imperialism* is long-term,
a matter of centuries,
not puny human life spans.

KB: Yet, your history is rife with wars.

KP: The atlas is our blueprint for ledgers of black ink.

GF: Etch this pale parchment in ink,
and Venus conquers Mars.

US: Colour our section of Africa—
Liberia—
a bright yellow,
denoting *Caution*.

GB: Pshaw! Liberia is ex-Yank blacks thumping
African blacks!

GF: To enrich—finally—white banker's coffers.

KB: We bear the Great White Burden—
in the Congo—that Pit of Darkness.

KP: But Britain looks a hyena, stripping flesh.

GF: Let no one here skim other's territories!

GB: We have dynamite, an arsenal,
enough to guarantee any treaty.

US: So, John Bull pledges *War*
if his boats don't hog all our waves!

GB: Why do you indulge such crazy, ghastly *Hate*—
those massacres done by ghost-masked lynchers?

KP: Great Powers mustn't sound vexatious,
nor meddlesome, nor insolent.

GF: Ambassadors, come to agreement!

US: All you Old World states currently crowd
the whole world with cadavers.

GB: Dig through your own corpse-ridden history.

FR: First, police the debauching *Butchery*
that daily blights the Congo!

KB: Well, France plays the plundering pirate
in Barbary Arabia.

US: We have no designs on Africa.
We seek no "lion's share" of booty:
It's Britain who flashes fang and claw.

GB: Uncle Sam looks as kindly as Uncle Tom,
but his jaws drool white lies.

US: Your grubby chronicles cheer on beheadings.

KB: The Congo conjures *Opportunity*!

GB: Self-appointed saints, you play blameless martyrs.

GF: Is this Europe?
A clutch of unflattering politicians?
Where are the statesmen?

KP: The former *Imperialism* was unmitigated *Horror*.
The priest Las Casas has scribed the devilish proof.

GB: One failure is the incomplete gobbling
of Liberia.

FR: True: Your short-cut, Sierra Leone land grab
cut short Alfie Russell's presidency.

US: Thus, our gunboats float, off Monrovia—
to keep both "Frog" and "Bulldog" out.

KP: Africa rots, so why not just cart away gold?

GF: A Treaty makes for congenial *Imperialism*.
We must come unto Africa
with our *Elegance* unencumbered—

and also bring a lantern glare,

so th'Africans squint at *Splendour*.

We'll not be repugnant parasites—
degenerate, ghoulish—

but show appropriate *Virtue*,
doling out Christ and whippings,
classrooms and hangings

(a measure of *Discipline*
to erase *Lethargy*).

Nothing else is mandatory.
Anything else is lackadaisical.

Ambassadors, all shake hands now.

[Helsinki (Finland) 30 *mai* mmxiv]

[from *Origins,* the first part of the three-part epic *Canticles;* due to be published in November 2016 by Guernica, Toronto]

Sylvia Langwald

"My history is a foreign word": Diasporic Generationality and David Chariandy's *Soucouyant*

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Schnittstellen zwischen Identitätsbildung und Generationenbeziehungen *in der neuesten Diasporaliteratur und erarbeitet eine neue theoretische Grundlage für die Debatte rund um Generationen und Diaspora auf dem Gebiet der Postcolonial (Literary) Studies. Er stellt weit verbreitete statische Sichtweisen über Generationen im Kontext der Diaspora in Frage, indem er den Begriff der* diasporic generationality *entwickelt, der der komplexen Dynamik, in der diasporische Identitäten und Generationenbeziehungen verhandelt werden, Rechnung trägt. Anhand einer Analyse von David Chariandys Roman* Soucouyant *demonstriert der Beitrag, wie das Konzept der* diasporic generationality *funktioniert und wie es eine alternative und komplexere Perspektive auf „die Immigrantenfamilie" und die diasporischen Identitäten der zweiten Generation eröffnen kann.*

Abstract

This article examines the intersections of identity formation and generation relationships in recent diasporic writing and offers a new theoretical basis for the debate about generations and diaspora in postcolonial (literary) studies. It challenges the widespread static thinking about generations in the context of diaspora by proposing a notion of diasporic generationality that bears witness to the complex dynamics in which diasporic identities and generation relationships are negotiated. Illustrating the workings of diasporic generationality in an analysis of David Chariandy's novel Soucouyant*, this article shows how the concept can offer an alternative and more complex perspective on "the immigrant family" and second-generation diasporic identities.*

Résumé

Cet article analyse les interactions entre les constructions d'identité et les relations générationnelles dans la littérature diasporique actuelle. Il se propose d'élaborer, dans le cadre des études postcoloniale (littéraires), une nouvelle base théorique pour le débat sur la génération et la diaspora. En développant la notion de « diasporic generationality » (générationnalité diasporique) qui tient compte de la dynamique complexe entre les identités diasporiques et les relations générationnelles, il met en question un certain nombre de points de vue établis sur la question de la génération dans un contexte dias-

porique. Il s'agit de démontrer, à partir d'une analyse du roman Soucouyant *de David Chariandy, comment fonctionne le concept de « diasporic generationality » et dans quelle mesure il ouvre une perspective autre et autrement complexe sur la « famille des immigrants » et les identités diasporiques de la deuxième génération.*

Negotiating Identities and Generation Relationships in the Diaspora

"None of us ever knows the world of our parents."[1]

In this quotation, literary critic Marianne Hirsch uses the metaphor of the different worlds that parents and children inhabit to draw attention to the limits of understanding between family members of different generations. Hirsch thus underlines the different experiences of first and second generations in the diaspora that make the parents' world inaccessible to their children. While Hirsch writes about the transmission of traumatic memories between Holocaust survivors and their descendants, her ideas about the ways in which memories connect and separate the generations are meaningful in other contexts, too.[2] The connections to different temporal and spatial dimensions and the resulting limits of understanding between the generations are central themes in postcolonial and diaspora literature as the works of Canadian authors, among them Dionne Brand, Neil Bissoondath, David Chariandy, SKY Lee and Austin Clarke, exemplify. The gap between the generations in the diaspora is marked by conflicts and fights as well as by silence and alienation. Not only the metaphor of the different worlds but also other negative images of struggles, fights and even war usually associated with generation relationships draw attention to the difficulties and complexity of these issues.

Especially in the contexts of migration, diaspora and multiculturalism, questions of generations and generationality are of high interest to critics who discuss the changes in family structures or the approaches of first-, second- and third-generation immigrants to identity formation and cultural belonging. Although there is much interest in the topic of generations,[3] so far, postcolonial criticism has not given due attention to the theoretical conceptualisation of the intersections of diasporic identity and generation relationships and has interpreted generation conflicts and identification strategies in terms of static patterns and fixed categories. According to one set of these patterns, for instance, first-generation immigrants are mainly

1 Hirsch 1996, 661.

2 Hirsch's notion of *postmemory* describes the transmission of traumatic experiences from the parents to the children, who adopt the memories of the previous generation as if they were their own memories (2012, 5).

3 See, for example, Bald, Ball, and Chariandy (2007a). The work of Karl Mannheim and Marcus Lee Hansen illustrates that there has been a long tradition of criticism focusing on generational structures in migrant writing. For an overview see Langwald 2015, 78-104.

seen as representatives of a very traditional idea of diaspora,[4] while diaspora and the ancestral homeland no longer matter for the characters of the second generation. These ideas do not sufficiently account for the ambivalences of family relationships and the heterogeneous approaches to self-definition within generations.

In my study entitled *Diasporic Generationality: Identity, Generation Relationships and Diaspora in Selected Novels from Britain and Canada,* I introduce a dynamic notion of diasporic generationality which offers a new theoretical basis for the debate about generations in diasporic contexts. In order to examine the intersections between generation relationships and identity formation in diasporic writing and to develop my concept of diasporic generationality, I have analysed six novels from Britain and Canada: Andrea Levy's *Fruit of the Lemon* (1999), Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* (2000), Caryl Phillips's *In the Falling Snow* (2009), Neil Bissoondath's *The Worlds Within Her (*1998*)*, Dionne Brand's *What We All Long For* (2005) and David Chariandy's *Soucouyant* (2007).[5] Looking at the representation of identity formation and generation issues, I have identified three important discrepancies between the dominant point of view in the critical debate and the above mentioned novels: First, literary criticism strongly focuses on generational differences, conflicts and the stereotype of the disrupted and dysfunctional immigrant family.[6] Interestingly, the novels under discussion in my study present family life in the diaspora in a more ambivalent and complex way. Second, critics tend to concentrate on identifying unified generational patterns of identity formation (Kilian/Komfort-Hein 9) which contrast the traditional first-generation parents with their hybrid and rebellious second-generation children. The novels, however, include intragenerational differences and depict generations as dynamic and heterogeneous. The third assumption that dominates the debate about generations is the idea that diaspora loses significance for the second generation.[7] My reading of the novels has led to the conclusion that the second-generation characters rather redefine than abandon diasporic consciousness.

The static ideas about generations in the diaspora that dominate the scholarly debate do not adequately reflect the novels' perspectives. In *Diasporic Generational-*

4 Central characteristics of a "traditional idea of diaspora" are dispersal and a strong emotional connection to the (ancestral) homeland. The notion also involves a problematic, or even tense, relationship to the country of sojourn. My sense of a "traditional idea of diaspora" is based on William Safran's 1991 definition of diasporas.

5 This article is based on my PhD thesis entitled *Diasporic Generationality: Identity, Generation Relationships and Diaspora in Selected Novels from Britain and Canada* published with Wißner-Verlag Augsburg in May 2015. I am very grateful to the *Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien* for financially supporting the publication of this book.

6 See McLeod 237-38; James 233, 254; Lowe 256, 266; Foner 3-4. Offering a historical overview of the notion of diaspora and theories of generations would exceed the scope of this article. I have discussed these aspects in more detail in my study *Diasporic Generationality* (see Langwald 2015, 19-70, 78-104).

7 For further information on this perspective, see Quirke/Potter/Conway 9.

ity, I argue that the novels by Levy, Smith, Phillips, Bissoondath, Brand and Chariandy offer a shared perspective on identity formation and intergenerational relationships that makes it necessary to revise the static ideas about generations that are prevalent in critical discourse. Therefore, I suggest that it is necessary to find a different way of thinking about the intersections between processes of identity formation and generation relationships, the representation of diasporic families and second-generation diasporic identity. My study of six novels from Britain and Canada aims at theorising the intersections of generationality and diasporic identities. In this article, I introduce my theory of diasporic generationality[8] that avoids the problems of static models of diasporic identity and generation relationships because it bears witness to the dynamics, ambivalence and complexity of the processes in which they are negotiated. Before I define the concept of diasporic generationality and demonstrate how it works as an analytical tool in one of the Canadian novels I have examined – David Chariandy's *Soucouyant* – I will briefly elaborate on my choice of the texts on which my study is based as well as on the theoretical framework of my concept.

Defining Diasporic Generationality

My notion of diasporic generationality is informed by an interdisciplinary theoretical framework as well as by an in-depth study of six novels from Britain and Canada which were published between 1998 and 2009. Andrea Levy's *Fruit of the Lemon*, Zadie Smith's *White Teeth,* and Caryl Phillips's *In the Falling Snow* serve as examples of Black British writing, while Neil Bissoondath's *The Worlds Within Her*, Dionne Brand's *What We All Long For* and David Chariandy's *Soucouyant* represent the context of Caribbean-Canadian literature. This selection includes not only key texts that have featured prominently in the debate about generational differences in the diaspora, such as *White Teeth* and *What We All Long For*, but also works that have not received sufficient critical attention despite their interesting approaches to the topic, such as *Fruit of the Lemon* and *The Worlds Within Her*. Of course, the six novels analysed in my study cannot be considered to be representative of Caribbean diasporic writing in Canada and Britain in general, but they are exemplary because they reflect more general trends as they increasingly focus on the experiences of

8 I use the term *generationality* because it captures the complex dynamics of inter- and intragenerational relationships more accurately than the word *generation* and because it underlines the relevance of a generational framework without homogenising the characters' experiences. While the term *generation* is often associated with conflict (Kilian/Komfort-Hein 9) and a static pattern of age units, *generationality* avoids these problematic ideas. It highlights, first, that people can be part of different generational constellations (in the contexts of family and migration), and, second, that generational consciousness and belonging are dynamic processes that involve transformation as characters position themselves differently in relation to diaspora throughout their lives. Thus, *generationality* is a more suitable term than *generation* as it captures both differences and commonalities between the generations without homogenising them.

second-generation characters and their affinity to their local environment. These novels, which depict the lives of diasporic families – mainly of Caribbean background – in Britain and Canada, deal with similar themes such as the first and second generations' conflicts over different approaches to identity, belonging and diasporicity,[9] the lives of the second generation as well as the negotiation of filiative and affiliative relationships. In my analyses, I particularly focused on techniques of narrative transmission, setting and the novels' time structures, characterisation and the psychic dimensions of the characters as well as imagery, all of which reflect my idea of diasporic generationality as my discussion of *Soucouyant* will illustrate.

My close reading of the novels is complemented by an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that incorporates insights from the fields of sociology, psychology, postcolonial and diaspora studies, and, of course, literary and cultural theory. My study utilises both established and newer theoretical concepts. The notion of diaspora – especially the work of Robin Cohen, Stéphane Dufoix, Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy – and the concept of generations are central to the debate on migrant families. Karl Mannheim's work on generations has gained renewed interest among critics, especially in the US. Although Mannheim's notion of generations is problematic to a certain degree,[10] it has been vital for my study because he reconciles the ideas of generations and intragenerational differences. The work of Stuart Hall is particularly significant for a similar reason: he underlines the meaning of difference for identities in the diaspora. Paul Gilroy's focus on intercultural connections in the diaspora and his concept of the black Atlantic emphasise another important dimension of diasporicity and human relationships. The terms *filiation* (kinship) and *affiliation* (chosen bonds), as theorised by Edward Said, are helpful in a discussion of the dynamics of identity, family relationships and cultural affinity because they highlight different types of human bonds. I have also employed the concepts of hybridity (Homi K. Bhabha) and transculturality (Wolfgang Welsch) because of the ways in which they shed light on the interaction of different cultural influences.

While the theoretical framework of my study of diasporic generationality has been shaped by these well-established concepts, I have also integrated relatively new concepts into my discussion, which have not been applied in the context of identity and generation relationships in diasporic writing from Britain and Canada so far although they offer very important insights. Breinig/Lösch's notion of transdif-

9 The term *diasporicity* occurs frequently in the academic debate, but it has not been formally theorised. *Diasporicity* includes different forms of diasporic consciousness and underlines that diasporic consciousness transforms. It also bears witness to the fact that an individual can have a diasporic state of mind without considering himself or herself part of a diaspora. *Diasporicity* also highlights that individuals and communities can show some – but not necessarily all – features of a diaspora.

10 Sigrid Weigel criticises Mannheim's approach to generations because he locates the concept within a national context and because it is a static model (169-70). For a discussion of the uses of Mannheim's model today, see, for example, Kraft/Weißhaupt (17, 19) as well as Edmunds/Turner (7-12).

ference is a highly controversial concept,[11] but it strikingly captures the co-presence of differences and commonalities in human relationships and takes many types of differences into account. Marianne Hirsch's concept of *postmemory* offers a relevant perspective on the dynamics of processes of memory between generations theorising the transgenerational transmission of traumatic memories in the diaspora. At the same time, it is important to account for the unexpected links between different memories and people and to bear witness to the fact that memory and remembrance might also fail. Therefore, my theoretical approach incorporates Michael Rothberg's idea of multidirectional memory.

These theoretical concepts offer important insights into individual aspects of identity formation, diaspora and generation relationships; however, there is no theory that brings these concepts together looking at the intersections of diasporic identity and generationality from a larger perspective. This theoretical framework and the novels inform each other in terms of their views of diasporic identity and generation relationships and, thus, make it possible to develop a new perspective on the intersections of identity and generationality.

My theory challenges static thinking about generations and identity formation by offering a model of diasporic generationality that bears witness to the complex dynamics and contexts in which identity, generationality and diasporicity are negotiated. It describes generation relationships in the diaspora as well as a person's diasporic and generational consciousness incorporating different meanings of the notion of generations in the contexts of both family and migration.[12] Diasporic generationality understands identity formation as a dynamic and relational process: identity, differences and belonging are negotiated in the interactions between the generations and are subject to change. Therefore, diasporic generationality acknowledges the meaning of multiple cultural inventories for diasporic identity. Being cognisant of the significance of processes of unsteady remembering, the concept highlights both the importance as well as the limits of the past as a means of making sense of identity.

Diasporic generationality emphasises the limits of understanding between the generations and the role of a process which I call generational othering – a process that is marked by an increased perception of the other generation as different. The concept is cognisant of the relevance of shared generational consciousness and, at the same time, it draws attention to intragenerational differences and the limits of

11 Frank Schulze-Engler suggests that the concept of *transdifference* fails "to acknowledge the importance of globalised modernity" (123) and that Breinig/Lösch give different, contradictory definitions of transdifference.

12 In a family, the concept of generations refers to age structures, for instance those of parents and children, while in the context of migration, generational structures refer to the characters' place of birth or their affiliation with the (ancestral) homeland or the country of sojourn. For a more elaborate discussion of the meaning of generational structures from different vantage points see Langwald (2015, 80-105).

unified generational perspectives. In doing so, it offers room for a variety of approaches to diasporic identities in the first and second generations – such as traditional as well as multidirectional understandings of diasporicity. Diasporic generationality recognises the relevance of relationships based on filiation as well as affiliation conceiving of them as a space in which identity, differences and belonging are negotiated in a relational exchange between generations. My concept captures the ambivalences of generation relationships by acknowledging the simultaneity of conflict and connection as well as commonalities and differences in inter- and intragenerational relationships. By highlighting that intragenerational differences and shared generational consciousness can coexist, diasporic generationality reconciles the heterogeneity of generations with the idea of generationality.

In my study, I theorise the concept of diasporic generationality in relation to Black British and Caribbean-Canadian diasporic writing but the concept can also be applied to other diasporic communities. In his novel *Any Known Blood*, Lawrence Hill offers a transgenerational perspective on the Black experience in the USA and Canada, while Jean Kwok's *Girl in Translation* and Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Namesake* depict the lives of a Chinese and a Bengali migrant family in the USA. The notion of diasporic generationality might also offer interesting perspectives on the complex generational structures depicted in Black British novels, such as Monica Ali's *Brick Lane*, Bernardine Evaristo's *Lara* or Diana Evans's *26a*. In the following, I will demonstrate how my idea of diasporic generationality works in an analysis of a Canadian novel: David Chariandy's *Soucouyant*.

Diasporic Generationality in David Chariandy's *Soucouyant*

David Chariandy has emerged as a new and important voice in both Caribbean-Canadian writing and in the academic landscape. His debut novel *Soucouyant* (2007) explores intergenerational conflicts and the second generation in the context of the themes of memory and forgetting which are complicated by the issue of dementia. *Soucouyant* deals with a young black man who struggles to come to terms with his mother, Adele, and her early-onset dementia. As a young adult, the protagonist abandons his mother but returns after two years to make peace with her. Upon his return Meera, Adele's caregiver, confronts him with his failure to take care of his mother. Adele came to Canada from Trinidad, where, as a child, she was involved in a terrible accident in which her mother was severely burned. The novel shows how Adele and her son struggle with the disintegration of Adele's mind and the haunting memories of the past which manifest themselves in a story which Adele increasingly retells towards the end of her life: her encounter with a soucouyant – a mythical vampire figure from Caribbean folk tales.[13]

What insights about identity and generation relationships in *Soucouyant* does the notion of diasporic generationality offer? In order to illustrate this, I discuss the

13 Giselle Anatol offers more information on the soucouyant myth (45).

novel's technique of narrative transmission, the representation of place, space and multiculturalism, the role of transdifference, transculturality and multidirectionality, the depiction of memory and the past, and, lastly, the representation of generation relationships and family dynamics. All of these dimensions reflect important aspects of diasporic generationality.

In my analysis of narrative transmission, I follow Gabriele Helms's premise that narrative discourse often carries meaning in itself (15). One major characteristic of diasporic generationality that is reflected on the level of narrative transmission is relationality. Although *Soucouyant* uses a first-person narrator – Adele's son, the unnamed protagonist of the novel – the narrative goes beyond such a limited point of view by including passages which are focalised by other characters such as Adele and Meera. This approach reflects the protagonist's attempt to locate his identity in relation to his mother's past, for example, when he includes his mother's voice and her attempts at telling the story of the soucouyant in his own narrative: "'Soucouyant,' Mother said aloud to herself one day. '*I saw* one in the morning'" (Chariandy 2007b, 23, emphasis added). "'It happen …,' she tries again. 'It *happen* one fore-day morning'" (Chariandy 2007b, 47, emphasis added). Due to Adele's growing inability to tell her own story and the son's need to come to terms with that memory, the son tries to tell the story himself: "She saw a soucouyant. It happened long ago in a faraway place" (Chariandy 2007b, 173). "[T]here was once a girl named Adele […]" (Chariandy 2007b, 180). Interestingly, while Adele depicts her encounter with the mythic creature as a fact, her son's use of fairy tale language indicates a more distanced relationship to that story – and also to the space of the Caribbean, more generally (Salter 251-52).

In this context, the question of the ethics of narration becomes relevant (Salter 233): Is it appropriate that the son tells the story of his mother's past? On the one hand, Adele's story is not told in her original voice and, consequently, access to her authentic experience will not be possible. On the other hand, by narrating Adele's encounter with the soucouyant, Adele's life story is communicated – even though it may be influenced by her son's perspective. However, the contrast between Adele's and the narrator's versions of the story of the soucouyant illustrates that the protagonist negotiates his sense of identity and belonging in relation to his mother's narration. He feels connected to her past and, at the same time, distances himself from the soucouyant story (Salter 251). Adele's past matters for the protagonist and offers him the possibility to reflect on his own sense of self. Thus, *Soucouyant*'s technique of narrative transmission reflects the role of relationality for identity formation and generation relationships by illustrating that identities, differences and belonging are shaped in the interactions between the generations involving both connection and disruption.

The workings of diasporic generationality are not only evident in Chariandy's approach to narrative transmission but also in the novel's representation of place and space, which illustrates the complex dynamics and contexts in which identity and

family relationships are negotiated and it underlines the role of inter- as well as intragenerational differences. In the protagonist's family, there are both differences and commonalities between the first and the second generation. There are significant differences in the characters' sense of belonging to Canada and the Caribbean. Here, the traditional ideas of the first generation's stronger attachment to the Caribbean and its lack of a sense of belonging to Canada are contrasted with the second generation's alienation from the Caribbean and its stronger, though not unproblematic, sense of belonging to Canada. While the novel seems to underline the typical distinction between traditional migrant parents and their more progressive offspring, *Soucouyant* also emphasises that first and second generations share experiences, such as racism and exclusion in Canada. In the 1960s, Adele and Roger's apartment is destroyed by racists, and in the 1980s, Meera and the protagonist's brother fall victim to a racist attack on their way home from school. However, this commonality does not make the idea of generational consciousness obsolete since racism has a different quality for the second generation, as the brother's feelings about the attack illustrate: "As if someone there could have helped or advised him. As if any parent born elsewhere could have understood or even begun to grasp the contradictions" (Chariandy 2007b, 159). This passage highlights that, despite the fact that the first and the second generation experience racism in Canada, there are significant limits of understanding between the generations. The first-generation parents cannot entirely comprehend their son's feelings because of their different relationship to Canada: while Canada has never entirely become 'home' for them, it is the only space of belonging that is available to their son. Interestingly, *Soucouyant* not only depicts intergenerational differences but also draws attention to intragenerational differences by contrasting Adele and Roger as representatives of a rather traditional idea of diaspora with Meera's Caribbean mother Antoinette who has chosen to become a "successful immigrant" (Chariandy 2007b, 155) by assimilating into Canadian society. Thus, *Soucouyant* highlights the heterogeneity and diversity of generations and exposes the insufficiency of unified generational patterns of identity formation while simultaneously emphasising the importance of generational structures.

The workings of these generational structures are also evident in the novel's representation of memory. *Soucouyant* shows how the protagonist negotiates his identity in relation to his mother's past. In this context, Hirsch's concept of postmemory, of the transmission of traumatic memories across generations through stories as well as emotions, is relevant (Bowering Delisle 6, 8). The novel traces the protagonist's development through different phases of remembrance and forgetting: at the beginning, the protagonist cannot cope with Adele's traumatic stories and leaves for Toronto. "The city was for me a place of forgetting" (Chariandy 2007b, 30). And there, he "met others who were fleeing their pasts, the discontents of nations and cultures, tribes, and families" (Chariandy 2007b, 30). However, the protagonist cannot escape what Chariandy himself has once described as the "diasporic haunting"

of the second generation (2006, 105): the protagonist realises that the past still affects him when a friend tells him that he muttered the word *soucouyant* in his sleep. The protagonist realises that he cannot abandon his and his family's past and decides to return to his hometown to take care of his mother.

After his return, he is, again, frequently confronted with Adele's memories. When Adele suddenly disappears, wandering around the neighbourhood on her own, the protagonist calls the police to help him find his mother and is forced to explain her behaviour to a police officer:

> I mean, it's not really about a soucouyant. It's about an accident. It's about what happened in her birthplace during World War II. It's a way of telling without really telling, you see, and so you don't really have to know what a soucouyant is. Well, I guess you do, sort of. What I mean is, I'm not an expert on any of that sort of stuff. I was born here, you see. Not exactly here, of course. In a hospital farther west. But here, as in this land. (Chariandy 2007b, 66)

The protagonist assumes a more active role in relation to Adele's past and even begins to tell her life story. Interestingly, he moves from an explanation of his mother's behaviour to his own identity and his feelings of in-betweenness. He distances himself from her story but, at the same time, he explains her behaviour through her life story. This underlines that his relationship to his mother and her past is shaped by both distance and connection.

The protagonist's attitude towards the past changes yet again as he spends more time with his mother. Eventually, he incorporates this postmemory transmitted by his mother, which is evident in his statement: "My history is a travel guidebook. My history is a creature nobody really believes in. My history is a foreign word" (Chariandy 2007b, 137). Interestingly, there is a certain degree of tension between the anaphoric use of "my history" – through which the protagonist claims his mother's past as part of his own life story – and his awareness of the fact that most Canadians do not know anything about the creature that plays such an important role for his sense of self. This passage also illustrates his own familiarity with and alienation from the past which he acknowledges as part of his own life story and, thus, establishes a connection not only to his mother's personal trauma but also to a history of oppression and diaspora in the Caribbean.

Still, at the end of the novel, Adele's past recedes to the background. This is an aspect that is frequently neglected in the discussion of the novel. While the novel focuses on the protagonist's process of negotiating his relationship to his family and the past, it also significantly matters that, at the end of the novel, after Adele has died, he clears out the family's house – a place of historical and personal significance – and sells it. He has realised that his mother's past matters to him but also that he has to move beyond it. Thus, *Soucouyant* underlines the importance as well

as the limits of the past as a means of making sense of the present, demonstrating that diasporic generationality is marked by a process of unsteady remembering.

The protagonist's identity is not only influenced by his mother's past but also by a more complex web of histories, which reflects the idea of multidirectional memory. As a child, the protagonist often visits the local librarian Miss Cameron, who familiarises him with the "Scarborough Settler's Lament" – a poem by a Scottish immigrant to Scarborough written about 150 years ago. Miss Cameron wants to show the protagonist that he is not the only person who finds it hard to feel at home in Canada. Many years after their meetings, when Miss Cameron has died, the protagonist receives a parcel with the book that contains the "Scarborough Settler's Lament" and he feels deeply touched. This episode can be read as an example of multidirectional memory. The novel establishes a surprising connection between different people and their histories across time and space – visible minorities in the present and Scottish settlers in the 19th century – which helps the protagonist locate his own identity. This underlines that second-generation diasporic identity is not only shaped by ancestral memory but also by multiple influences and other cultural inventories.

Miss Cameron also exemplifies another important aspect of diasporic generationality. Her friendship with the protagonist can be read as a transdifferent affiliation – an issue that is very important for the second-generation characters in the novels I have analysed. This friendship is based on commonalities and differences. Miss Cameron and the protagonist share an interest in books, and their connection transcends differences of culture, class, gender and age. However, at the same time, there is still some tension in their relationship as the protagonist mentions that "something loomed between us all the same. Something vague and yet palpable, like a bruise or soreness after a night of fitful dreams" (Chariandy 2007b, 105-106). This illustrates that not only filiative relationships but also affiliative connections significantly matter for the second generation and that, although this transdifferent connection to Miss Cameron is very important for the protagonist, not all differences can be overcome.

Still, family relationships are at the heart of *Soucouyant*. Canadian novelist Alistair McLeod says about Chariandy's debut novel that it "bridges geographic, cultural and generational gaps" (Chariandy 2007b, blurb). Insofar as the protagonist negotiates his mother's past, develops empathy for her and, finally, makes peace with her, this is certainly true. However, the bridging of generational gaps does not imply that these gaps disappear entirely. *Soucouyant* presents families that are disrupted: silence and the inability to talk about the traumas of the first and the second generation create tensions that dominate family life. When Adele behaves strangely in a restaurant, her other son and her husband can only stare in silence at the mess she has made in the washroom and, even after that episode, the family members do not talk about what happened – or about Adele's dementia in general. The process of generational othering, of an increased perception of the other generation as differ-

ent, plays an important role for the generation conflicts in *Soucouyant* as Adele's otherness alienates her from her son. When the protagonist speaks to Adele about the soucouyant, she replies: "What would a nine-year-old boy who grow up in Canada know about soucouyants?" (Chariandy 2007b, 135). Adele intimates that her son is unable to understand the significance of this story because he is still very young and has not lived in the Caribbean.

Although *Soucouyant* foregrounds familial disruption, it offers a more ambivalent image of generation relationships by highlighting not only the conflicts but also the emotional connections in families as the protagonist's statements about his return exemplify: "I wanted to see her again. I wanted to see the life in her face. I longed for her as any son would for his mother, even so frightening a mother as she had become" (Chariandy 2007b, 33). Therefore, I argue that *Soucouyant* contests the stereotype of the dysfunctional diasporic family not by denying conflicts but by showing that conflicts exist alongside strong emotional bonds and by explaining familial disruption not in terms of an inherent dysfunctionality of the protagonist's family but in terms of the complex and difficult life situations of diasporic families.

Translating Diaspora into the Future

My analysis of *Soucouyant* has demonstrated that the concept of diasporic generationality can offer a more complex perspective on the intersections of diasporic identity and generation relationships. While my study exposes the shortfalls of stereotypical, unified generational patterns of identity formation, it emphasises that generational structures still matter. Diasporic generationality imagines family as a space where identity, difference and belonging are negotiated in the interactions between the generations and exemplifies the significant role of ambivalence, heterogeneity, relationality and transgenerational exchange for identity formation. The concept draws attention to the meaning of interactions of commonalities and differences as well as continuities and discontinuities for generation relationships highlighting that identities in the diaspora are shaped by highly dynamic processes involving multiple cultural inventories, processes of unsteady remembering and different types of human bonds. These characteristics are part of the concept of diasporic generationality, which offers a new theoretical basis for the debate on generations and identity formation as it reconciles the diversity and heterogeneity of generations with a sense of generationality.

The concept of diasporic generationality I have proposed in this article challenges static thinking about family life in the diaspora and second-generation diasporicity by highlighting the complexities and ambivalences of family relationships and the heterogeneous strategies of self-definition within generations. My analysis underlines that diasporic identity still matters for the second generation which redefines its diasporicity in terms of continuities as well as discontinuities with the experiences of its ancestors and develops multidirectional understandings of diasporicity. In that context, diasporicity can be understood as a state of mind and an emotional

investment of the second generation. This underlines that generational structures still matter, but they are no longer the only relevant factor in the complex web of influences that affects the second generation.

Soucouyant and the other novels discussed in my study draw attention to the difficulties of diasporic families, the complexity of intergenerational relationships in diasporic contexts and people's heterogeneous approaches to identity, diasporicity and belonging, which need to be considered and understood in order to renegotiate multiculturalism in Britain and Canada. While the novels emphasise that racism and exclusion are still present in contemporary societies, they imagine alternative models of identity and community based on transdifference and multidirectionality.

Generations and diaspora remain important topics in postcolonial studies, and I maintain that they also matter as analytical concepts. My study of diasporic generationality has focused on six novels from Britain and Canada, but the dynamics described in this concept are of broader relevance. Further research could apply the concept to other texts and contexts and look into the ways in which diasporic generationality offers insights into diasporic identities and generation relationships in other ethnic groups. The idea of diasporic generationality is not only relevant for literary criticism since moving beyond static ideas about immigrant families and diasporic identity and comprehending the role of multidirectionality for second-generation diasporicity also matters for intercultural communication and integration policies. Diasporic generationality is cognisant of the continuities and discontinuities of identities and generation relationships as well as the ways in which diasporic identities and generationality transform, and I think it will be fascinating to observe how coming generations will translate diaspora into the future.

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Sabine Jungk

"Relatively little is known": Kanadas Bildungserfolg von Zuwandererkindern

Ein Forschungsbericht

Zusammenfassung

Seit der PISA-2000-Studie gilt Kanada als eines der wenigen Länder, die Einwandererkindern zu hohem Bildungserfolg verhelfen. Daten und Erklärungsmuster hierfür werden im vorliegenden Forschungsbericht entlang der Dimensionen Kontextfaktoren sowie Herkunfts- und Bildungssystemeffekte rekonstruiert und systematisiert. Dabei werden auch spezifische Risikogruppen sichtbar, vor allem aber besondere Arrangements im kanadischen Bildungssystem.

Abstract

The educational success of Canadian immigrants is obvious since the PISA-2000-Test. In the following, data and explanatory models concerning the effects of family sources, school system and social context will be systematically reconstructed. A closer look will also identify smaller groups of students at risk of low achievement. The main focus, however, is to highlight the specific arrangements in the Canadian school system.

Résumé

Depuis l'Étude PISA 2000, le Canada passe pour un des seuls pays au niveau mondial qui procure aux enfants d'immigrés un succès élevé dans le système éducatif. Le rapport suivant essaie de recomposer et systématiser des données et modes d'explications vis-à-vis de cette réussite scolaire. Le texte considère surtout des facteurs contextuels, mais aussi les effets concernant les origines de ces enfants et l'influence du système de formation scolaire du Canada. En plus, l'auteure présente des groupes à risques spécifiques - parmi les enfants d'immigrés – et met en évidence les particularités du système éducatif canadien.

Kanadas Bildungserfolg wird seit den PISA-Vergleichstests Anfang der 2000er Jahre zitiert – ein überdurchschnittlich gutes Abschneiden der SchülerInnen, unabhängig von sozioökonomischen Benachteiligungen und ethnischer Differenz. Trotz

dieser oberflächlichen Popularität gibt es nicht allzu zahlreiche deutschsprachige Quellen, aus denen man sich genauer über das ‚Geheimnis' Kanadas bei der Eingliederung und insbesondere beim Bildungserfolg von Zuwanderern informieren könnte. Aber auch in Kanada selbst steckt die Forschung über Erklärungsmuster für den Bildungserfolg von Immigrantenkindern in den Kinderschuhen.

In der Bildungsforschung werden gemeinhin drei Argumentationslinien für Bildungserfolg vertreten: begünstigende Effekte der Herkunftsfamilie, spezifisch unterstützende Effekte des Bildungssystems sowie gesellschaftliche Kontextfaktoren. In Bezug auf Kanada ist allgemein die Einschätzung recht verbreitet, dass die günstige soziale Struktur von – zur Niederlassung ausgewählten – Einwanderern, mithin familiäre Herkunftseffekte, den Bildungserfolg erklärten. Insbesondere die Migrations- und Integrationsforschung hegt hingegen die Vermutung, dass die als vorbildlich charakterisierte Integrationspolitik sowie das Schulsystem ausschlaggebend für den Schulerfolg von Neuankömmlingen sind. Angesichts der Desiderate in einer auf Schul- und Bildungserfolg konzentrierten Forschung stellt sich die Aufgabe, Daten und Erklärungsmuster für Kanadas Bildungserfolg zu rekonstruieren und zu systematisieren, um Plausibilitäten zu erhärten und mögliche Schlussfolgerungen für die deutsche Bildungspolitik zu ziehen.

Nur kurz wird im ersten Teil auf ausgewählte Kontextfaktoren eingegangen (1) sowie auf zentrale Daten zum Bildungserfolg, wie sie aus internationalen Vergleichsstudien hervorgehen (2). Das dritte Kapitel (3) widmet sich der Diskussion von Erklärungsansätzen und stellt auch vom allgemeinen Erfolgsbild abweichende Erkenntnisse vor. Unabhängig davon, welche Evidenz man Aussagen der Vergleichsstudien angesichts methodischer Zweifel und hochaggregierter Daten beimisst, werden Erfolge wie anhaltende Herausforderungen sowie normative Grundhaltungen und organisatorische Arrangements sichtbar, die einen Unterschied zwischen Kanada und Deutschland markieren: eine multikulturelle, antidiskriminierende und partizipative Orientierung in Bildungspolitik, Schulorganisation, pädagogischer Praxis und Lehrerbildung. Dies wird abschließend resümiert (4).

In diesem Beitrag werden Literaturquellen angereichert mit paraphrasierten Aussagen aus offenen, leitfadengestützten ExpertInneninterviews, die die Verfasserin im September 2012 zur explorativen Felderschließung geführt hat (vgl. Meuser/ Nagel 1991). Mit Reva Joshee, Professorin an einem der größten Lehrkräfte ausbildenden Institute (*OISE, Ontarian Institute for Studies in Education* an der Universität von Toronto), und Mehrunnisa Ali, Professorin der Ryerson Universität, Toronto, wurden ausgewiesene Expertinnen im Feld der multikulturell ausgerichteten LehrerInnenbildung in Ontario v.a. zur Einschätzung, Kommentierung und ergänzenden Erklärung der PISA-Daten befragt. Darüber hinaus gaben sie orientierende Hinweise auf historische Entwicklungen und weitere gegenstandsbezogene Studien und Materialien. David Finkelstein, Schulleiter der Queen Victoria Junior School Toronto, ließ mich freundlicherweise den Alltag an seiner Schule erleben und erläuterte den Stellenwert von multikulturellem Curriculum, vielfalts-

orientierter Bibliothek und Elternarbeit. Die Interviewaussagen wurden mitgeschrieben, in einem Forschungslogbuch kommentierend dokumentiert und für diesen Artikel aufbereitet.

1. Gesellschaftliche Kontextfaktoren für Bildungserfolg in Kanada

Wohlstandsindikatoren wie das Bruttoinlandsprodukt pro Einwohner, geringe Arbeitslosenquote und öffentliche Verschuldung haben signifikanten Einfluss auf den Bildungserfolg (van Ackeren/Klemm 2007, S. 203). Strukturell ähneln sich Kanada und Deutschland darin; sie gehören zu den führenden Industrienationen mit niedrigen Geburtenraten, vergleichbarer Erwerbsbeteiligung der Frauen (OECD 2012) und einer wohlfahrtsstaatlichen Ordnung. Neoliberale Tendenzen bedrohen den Wohlfahrtsstaat beider Länder in den letzten Jahren (vgl. Joshee 2007, Joshee/Sinfield 2010); Kinderarmut ist in Kanada verbreiteter mit 13,3 % im Vergleich zu 8,5 % in Deutschland (Deutsches Komitee für Unicef 2012, S. 3).

Erhebliche Unterschiede sind v.a. in der Gestaltung des Migrationsregimes und der institutionalisierten Multikulturalismuspolitik, der Struktur der Einwanderer seit den 1970er Jahren wie auch für die Struktur des Bildungswesens zu konstatieren. So unterscheiden sich seit den letzten 40 Jahren die Muster der Migration; die meisten MigrantInnen in Kanada gehören den als ‚sichtbare Minderheiten' (*visible minorities*) bezeichneten Gruppen an. Seit 2004 halten Menschen aus China, Indien und den Philippinen mit über einem Drittel aller Einwanderer die Spitzenposition (Statistics Canada 2011, S. 5).

Die Steuerung der Einwanderung in Kanada privilegiert den Zuzug von gut gebildeten und hoch qualifizierten Personen. 2010 kamen im Bereich der permanenten Einwanderung fast 100.000 Einwanderer (69,3 %) aufgrund ökonomischer Kriterien und 24.934 (18,2 %) im Rahmen der Familienzusammenführung ins Land; 12.606 Personen (9,2 %) waren Flüchtlinge (CIC 2011, S. 10; Elrick 2013, S. 4). Doch die ehemals guten, teilweise sogar besseren Aufstiegs- und Einkommenschancen der zugewanderten Minderheiten haben sich eingetrübt. Verglichen mit früheren Kohorten brauchen Einwanderer heute länger, um an die Einkommen der in Kanada Geborenen heranzureichen, und sie haben ein höheres Armutsrisiko (CIC 2010, S. 21). Und das, obwohl sich das Bildungsniveau der Einwanderer stetig erhöht: 2006 verfügten von den zuletzt Eingewanderten 42,2 % über einen Bachelor- oder höheren Abschluss, 1981 waren es lediglich 13,9 % (RBC 2011, S. 2). Entsprechend, so die OECD (2011, S. 71), stammen Kinder der ersten Generation aus Elternhäusern, die genauso viele oder mehr Schuljahre absolviert haben wie in Kanada Geborene. Hinsichtlich der von der Unterrichtssprache abweichenden Muttersprachen, die eine Herausforderung für jedes Bildungswesen darstellen, sind Kanadas Einwanderer nicht privilegiert: 80 % der ersten Generation Migrantenkinder, 32.000 Schülerinnen und Schüler, die jedes Jahr neu die öffentlichen Schulen erreichen, sind nicht-englischer Muttersprache (OECD 2011, S. 70). Dennoch halten viele Autoren die mittelschichtige und bildungsorientierte Komposition der kanadischen Einwan-

derer für einen starken Indikator zur Erklärung von Bildungserfolg (Hörner/Werler 2007; OECD 2011, S. 71; Anisef et al. 2010, S. 54f.).

Unzweifelhaft verläuft die identifikatorische Integration von Neuzuwanderern in Kanada günstiger als in Deutschland (Hörner/Werler 2007). Kymlicka konstatiert, dass die multikulturelle Politik zu einem hohen Niveau der Identifikation und gegenseitigen Akzeptanz zwischen Immigranten und Kanadiern (*native-born Canadians*) geführt hat (CIC 2010, S. 7f.). *Diversity* bildete 2003 für 85 % der Bevölkerung den Kern kanadischer Identität; Einwanderer stimmen in einem hohen Maß den kanadischen Kernnormen zu (*Charter values*) (ebd.). Rassismus und Diskriminierung werden durch staatspolitische wie zivilgesellschaftliche Gegenpositionen delegitimiert, geächtet und zu begrenzen versucht. Die Multikulturalismuspolitik, 1971 mit einer Erklärung des Premierministers Trudeau zum tragenden staatlichen Konzept geworden und 1985 in der Verfassung verankert, spiegelt die sozialpsychologische *multiculturalism hypothesis* wider. Sie lautet: Angehörige ethnischer Gruppen werden umso eher eine neue nationale Identität entwickeln, je mehr sie erfahren, dass ihre eigene ethnische Identität öffentlich respektiert wird (Berry et al. 1977, zit. nach CIC 2010, S. 10). Erfolgreiche bürgerrechtliche Forderungen, in den 1980er Jahren erhoben, traten hinzu. Es gelte, den realen Problemen sozialer Ungleichheit sowie Rassismus gegen Angehörige der indigenen Bevölkerung (*First Nations*) und der *visible minorities* entgegenzutreten, anstatt diese durch eine als folkloristisch kritisierte Praxis zu verschleiern. Der *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* von 1988 fasst diese stärker auf Anti-Diskriminierung und Gleichstellung gerichtete Politik gesetzlich; bereits 1986 wurde der *Employment Equity Act* für gleiche Beschäftigungschancen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt erlassen. Im schulischen Bereich wird *Diversity* in Curricula abgebildet und mit antidiskriminierenden wie antirassistischen Aktivitäten gruppenbezogener Menschenfeindlichkeit und Diskriminierungen entgegengewirkt (Hormel/Scherr 2004; vgl. 3.3). Dennoch spielen Rassismus und Diskriminierung eine Rolle im kanadischen Alltag und auch in Schulen; insbesondere *visible minorities* und v.a. Schwarze sind betroffen (CIC 2010, S. 20; Pepler et al. 2004; Elrick 2013). Dies könnte auch Auswirkungen auf den Schulerfolg dieser Gruppen haben.

Die Unterschiede der Schulorganisation lassen sich vor allem durch Viel- versus Eingliedrigkeit (mit Binnendifferenzierung) charakterisieren. Die föderalen Zuständigkeiten im Bildungssystem mit überwiegend öffentlichen Schulen bringen in Kanada weniger Diskrepanzen etwa in Curricula und Lehrbüchern hervor als in Deutschland (OECD 2011, S. 69). Bereits seit den späten 1980er Jahren verfolgt Kanada einen zentralistisch-vergleichenden Ansatz der Schulreform, die damit wesentlich länger als in Deutschland auf Output und Kompetenzen fokussiert.[1] Sie wird ergänzt durch Sondermittel für Schulen mit benachteiligter Schülerschaft

1 Dies kann begünstigende Auswirkungen auf einige der uns vorliegenden Erfolgsergebnisse haben, denn insbes. die im Folgenden referierten PISA-Studien sind ebenfalls kompetenzorientiert angelegt (vgl. z. B. Meyerhöfer 2005).

sowie durch die partizipatorische Struktur der *school boards,* die offenbar auf lokalspezifische Bedürfnisse gut antwortet (vgl. 3.1 und 3.4).

2. Kanadas Bildungserfolg

Kanadas Bildungserfolg ist erst seit dem Jahr 2000 sichtbar. In den 1980er und 1990er Jahren beteiligte sich das Land bereits an internationalen Schulleistungsstudien und gehörte keineswegs zu den starken Bildungsnationen (OECD 2011, S. 65).

In der Auswertung der PISA-2000-Daten zeigte sich, dass es Kanada gelungen war, die „Koppelung zwischen Kompetenzniveau und sozialer Herkunft zu begrenzen" (Schwippert/Klieme/Lehmann/Neumann 2007, S. 221). Nennenswerte Schwierigkeiten bestünden nur für die erste Generation Zugewanderter, danach sei das Leistungsniveau für Zuwandererkinder günstiger als für solche ohne Migrationshintergrund (ebd.). Der PISA-Lese-Test 2006 bestätigte die glänzenden Daten (OECD 2011): Kanadas Schüler erbringen sehr gute Leistungen, und sie zeigen diese Leistungen unabhängig von ihrem sozio-ökonomischen Status und ihrer Muttersprache; es spielt auch keine Rolle, ob sie bereits in Kanada geboren wurden oder erst kürzlich eingewandert sind (S. 65).

Innerhalb von drei Jahren nach Einwanderung in Kanada erreichen SchülerInnen eine durchschnittliche Punktzahl von 500 im PISA-Test, das entspricht dem Mittelwert im OECD-Staatenmittel. Im PISA-Lesetest 2006 erreichten Immigrantenkinder der ersten Generation in Kanada im Mittel 520 Punkte, während die gleiche Kohorte in den USA weniger als 490 Punkte und in Frankreich weniger als 430 Punkte erzielten. Damit beträgt der Leistungsunterschied zwischen Kanada und den USA den Wert eines gesamten Schuljahres. Kanada ist eines der wenigen Länder, das – ausweislich hochaggregierter statistischer Daten – keine Leistungsschere zwischen den erst kürzlich eingewanderten und in Kanada geborenen Schülern kennt. Zum Vergleich: In den USA betrug 2006 der Unterschied in Bezug auf Leseleistungen 22 Punkte, in Frankreich und Deutschland jeweils rund 60 Punkte. Auch unterscheiden sich die Leistungen der Schüler nicht in Abhängigkeit davon, ob zuhause die Unterrichtssprache gesprochen wird oder nicht (ebd., S. 70f.).

3. Erklärungsmuster: „relatively little is known"

In Kanada selbst werden die PISA-Ergebnisse in der Öffentlichkeit, aber auch in der Fachwelt – insbesondere verglichen mit der hohen Aufmerksamkeit, die die Vergleichsstudien in Deutschland erzielten – relativ wenig beachtet und untersucht. In Kymlickas Forschungsüberblick (CIC 2010), der Empfehlungen für dringliche Forschungsthemen der Zukunft formuliert, taucht das Thema ‚Bildung' nicht auf. Über die Gründe kann nur spekuliert werden; ein Faktor dürfte fehlende bundesstaatliche Kompetenz und Finanzausstattung sein – es gibt kein nationales Bildungsministerium –, ein weiterer mangelnder öffentlicher Problemdruck. Dabei wird schon seit längerem beklagt, dass aussagekräftige Daten weitgehend fehlten. Erst in den 1990er Jahren seien Dokumentation und Statistik besser geworden: „We

know virtually nothing about satisfaction of learners much less about immigrants' perspectives on their needs" (Burnaby et al. 2000, o. S.). Auch der OECD-Bericht (2011, S. 66) konstatiert, dass die nationale wie internationale Aufmerksamkeit von Berichterstattern und Forschern noch unterentwickelt ist und mehr Forschung zur Erklärung dieser vorbildhaft erscheinenden Erfolge nötig sei: „relatively little […] is known", wird hier wiederholt. Vor allem die Auswertungen der erwähnten OECD-Studien haben einige Erkenntnisse zutage gefördert, jedoch differenzieren die hochaggregierten Daten nur unbefriedigend nach einzelnen Migrantengruppen (Hörner/Werler 2007, S. 137).

Im Folgenden werden weitere Einzelstudien zur Annäherung an Erklärungen für den Bildungserfolg kanadischer Einwandererkinder ebenso herangezogen wie Aussagen aus den ExpertInneninterviews.

3.1 Schulreform und angleichende Finanzierung der Schulen

Bereits seit Ende der 1980er Jahre – und damit 10 Jahre früher als in Deutschland – leitete Kanada Schulreformen ein; der Hauptfokus lag auf der Etablierung eines neuen Steuerungsmodells. Zu den Charakteristika zählen: Output-Orientierung, Zielvorgaben, Vorverlegung der Förderung kognitiver Fähigkeiten, eine Vielzahl von Leistungsmessungen, Transparenz, Evaluation und Rechenschaftslegung (Avenarius/Brauckmann/von Kopp 2007, S. 74 ff.). Dieses technokratisch-neoliberale, US-geprägte Modell sorgte jedoch für kontroverse Diskussionen bis hin zur Demotivation der Lehrerschaft (Brauckmann/Döbbert/Fuchs/Sroka 2007, S. 110). Wenn es mittlerweile akzeptiert ist, so wegen wesentlicher Ergänzungen: Der als „Lessons from PISA for the United States" geschriebene OECD-Bericht (2011) kann konstatieren, dass Kanada eines der wenigen Länder ist, in denen Migrantenkinder in den Schulen Zugang zu gleichen oder sogar größeren Ressourcen haben als Einheimische. Insbesondere die Schüler-Lehrer-Relation, die schulische Ausstattung und das Klassenklima seien im Durchschnitt günstiger für SchülerInnen mit Migrationshintergrund (OECD 2006, zit. nach OECD 2011, 71). Denn neben Finanzzuweisungen nach der Zahl der SchülerInnen gibt es Zuwendungen für spezifische Programme, etwa Förderunterricht, sowie kompensatorische Finanzmittel zum Ausgleich von migrations- und sozial bedingten Disparitäten (*equalisation funding*) für Schulen in sozial schwächeren Bezirken und mit hohen Anteilen förderbedürftiger Kinder (OECD 2011, S. 70).

Insbesondere für das Bildungssystem der Provinz Ontario kann der OECD-Bericht, im Sinne einer Fallstudie, auf ein nachhaltiges Schulreformprojekt verweisen. Seit 2003, unter liberaler Ägide, werden erhebliche finanzielle Mittel zur Verfügung gestellt, um Schulen mit zusätzlichem Fachpersonal in verschiedenen Bereichen und Lehrkräfte durch Beratung und Fortbildung zu unterstützen (ebd., S. 71-77). Die Reform fokussiert auf wenige Kernpunkte: *Literacy* und *Numeracy*, als unbestrittene Kernkompetenzen und zugleich zentrale Bereiche der PISA-Testrunden, sowie die Reduzierung der Zahl von Schulabbrechern. Zugleich ist sie angereichert mit schü-

ler- und communityorientierten Strategien und Haltungen, hinter denen eine Philosophie gelingender Bildungsprozesse steht. Fünf Komponenten sollen z.B. die *Model Schools for Inner Cities* auszeichnen, die in bestimmten Bezirken Torontos gefördert werden:

- innovative Lehr- und Lern-Formen;
- unterstützende Angebote, die das soziale, emotionale und physische Wohlbefinden der SchülerInnen fördern; Identifikation von Benachteiligungen und effektive Formen der Intervention;
- Schule als Herz der *Community*, Aufbau starker und effektiver Beziehungen und Partnerschaften für Bildung im Sozialraum;
- Forschung, Überprüfung und Evaluation von SchülerInnen und Programmen;
- Verpflichtung zur Verbreitung und Übernahme erfolgreicher Praxen.

Ziel ist es, aus jeder Schule eine „effektive Schule" zu machen. Insbesondere geht es um die Verwirklichung von Fairness, Gerechtigkeit und Inklusion, die sicherstellen, dass die Lebenswirklichkeit aller SchülerInnen, der *Communities* sowie der Belegschaft respektiert und berücksichtigt wird. Alle SchülerInnen, unabhängig von ihrem ökonomischen oder kulturellen Hintergrund, sollen ihre höchste Leistungsfähigkeit erreichen können, da Erfolg grundlegend für ein stabiles Selbstwertgefühl sei (Toronto District School Board o.J.). Einen knappen, anschaulichen und von tiefer Überzeugung hinsichtlich des Auftrags zu chancengleicher Bildung durchzogenen Bericht aus Sicht eines Schulleiters hat Kugler (2011) verfasst.

Mehrere Professionen wirken in der Schule zusammen. Pädagogische Diagnostik und Förderangebote in kleinen Gruppen oder mit einzelnen SchülerInnen gehören ebenso zum Standardangebot wie verpflichtende „individuelle Bildungspläne", in denen die Lernerfolge der Kinder verfolgt werden; sie bilden die Grundlage für kompensatorische Maßnahmen (Avenarius/Brauckmann/von Kopp 2007, S. 111f.).

In der zweiten Regierungsperiode der Liberalen in Ontario wurde zusätzlich die Initiative zur Ausweitung des Ganztagskindergartens (für Vier- bis Fünfjährige) an 600 Schulen zum Schuljahresbeginn 2010 gestartet; dies wird aktuell weiter ausgebaut (OECD 2011, S. 73).

Die OECD spricht anerkennend über den „konsistenten Ansatz" (ebd., S. 75), der klar definierte zentrale Reformziele – über die die Schulen in jährlichen, veröffentlichten Berichten Rechenschaft ablegen müssen – in Kombination mit intensiver Unterstützung (*capacity building*) der Schulen und Lehrkräfte verfolge. Kennzeichnend sei ein Klima hohen Vertrauens und gegenseitigen Respekts, das den Arbeitsfrieden und eine hohe Moral innerhalb des Systems erhalte.

3.2 Engagierte, diversitätsbewusste Lehrkräfte

Die „Lehrermoral", so betonen verschiedene Quellen, sei besonders hoch (OECD, 2006 zit. nach OECD 2011, 71). Es gälten hohe Standards bei der Auswahl von Lehrkräften bzw. Lehramtsstudierenden – diese repräsentierten das obere Leistungsdrittel einer Studierendenkohorte (Experte Ben Levin in OECD 2011, S. 69). Dies

wurde auch in meinen Expertinnen-Interviews bestätigt. So berichtete Reva Joshee, dass das OISE u.a. viele hoch qualifizierte QuereinsteigerInnen rekrutiere, die große Motivation und außerordentliche professionelle Kenntnisse aus früheren Studiengängen und dem Beruf mitbrächten. Übereinstimmend bestätigte Mehrunnisa Ali, der Lehrerberuf sei hoch angesehen; es gebe kaum öffentliche Diskreditierung von Lehrkräften, der Beruf verspreche einen guten sozialen Status und die Vergütung sei attraktiv – zurzeit überstiegen die Zahlen der Absolventen und der StudienbewerberInnen den Bedarf, so dass die Selektion noch schärfer sei.

Die Verpflichtung auf Multikulturalismus sowie die Wertschätzung von Diversity sei hoch. Die jüngeren Studierenden hätten selbstverständliche Erfahrung mit dem Aufwachsen in multikultureller Umgebung; die älteren hätten sich häufig in der einen oder anderen Weise mit Fragen von Gender- oder ethnischer Diversität auseinandergesetzt und brächten ein entsprechend hohes Reflexionsniveau mit.

3.3 Diversitätsbewusste und antirassistische Curricula

Je nach Provinz weisen die Curricula mehr oder weniger detaillierte Angaben zu den Lehrinhalten auf; in einigen Provinzen bilden sie eher ein Rahmencurriculum, in anderen geben sie – in Anlehnung an die US-Praxis – klar benannte Bildungsstandards vor. Während die Experten der OECD-Studie (2011) die Implementierung zentraler Curricula an sich für einen Erfolgsfaktor halten, geht die von mir interviewte Expertin stärker auf ihre multikulturelle Gestaltung ein. Die Curricula in Ontario im Bereich *Social Studies*, so M. Ali (2009), seien stark auf multikulturelle Themengebiete abgestellt, so dass sich Schüler gleich welcher Herkunft repräsentiert fühlen könnten. Allerdings, so schränkt sie ein, seien sich Lehrkräfte über die sich daraus ergebenden Möglichkeiten zu wenig bewusst oder scheuten sich, diese Gelegenheit zu nutzen, das nationale Narrativ aufzubrechen. Bereits in den 1990er Jahren würdigte eine Studie curriculare Aktivitäten, die mehr Vielfalt zur Geltung brachten. Stellten in den 1980er Jahren die *Black Studies* eine wichtige provinzweite Initiative dar, so brachte in den 1990er Jahren ein vierjähriges Modellprojekt der antirassistischen Erziehung in den innerstädtischen Schulen Torontos viele Innovationen hervor. Es wurde intensiv an Inhalten des Curriculums und entsprechendem Lehrmaterial gearbeitet, es wurden Aktivitäten zur Steigerung des Leseinteresses von Schülerinnen entwickelt, Schulpreise ausgelobt, besondere Bildungsprogramme vorgehalten, an der Verbesserung des Schulklimas, den Haltungen der Lehrkräfte gegenüber Rassismus wie dem pädagogischen Verhalten von Lehrkräften gegenüber SchülerInnen insgesamt gearbeitet. Weitere Aktivitäten bezogen sich auf die Zusammensetzung des Lehrerteams und die Verstärkung der Elternarbeit (Cheng 1996, zit. nach Burnaby et al. 2000, o.S.).

Auch die OECD (2011, S. 71) hebt die in Kanada herrschende Multikulturalismus-Philosophie und -Politik positiv hervor, die das eigene Recht verschiedener ethnischer Kulturen anerkenne und zugleich auf eine gemeinsame kanadische Identität setze. Dies schlage sich in der Einschulung von zugewanderten Kindern ohne engli-

sche (oder französische) Muttersprache in die Regelklassen nieder, während die Pflege der Muttersprache in den außerschulischen Bereich verwiesen werde. Die frühe Integration in Regelklassen erfordert gesonderten Unterricht in *English as a second language* (*ESL*). Während in einer Studie von 1993 (Cumming et al. 1993, zit. nach Burnaby et al. 2000, S. 5) eine Unterversorgung in Ontario beklagt wird, könnte sich die Situation verbessert haben. In der Lehrerbildung der Ryerson-Universität sei es z. B. selbstverständlich, dass Anforderungen von *ESL* in allen fachlichen Bereichen – von Mathematik bis Kunst – reflektiert würden (M. Ali). Der OECD-Bericht (2011, S. 71) hebt spezielle Programme einzelner Provinzen, beispielsweise von Britisch Columbia, im Bereich *ESL* hervor, die sich durch hohe Individualisierung, Prozessbegleitung, organisatorische Flankierung und Unterstützung für die Lehrkräfte auszeichneten (ebenso: Hörner/Werler 2007, S. 137).

In der Lehrerbildung würden Diversity- und Multikulturalismus-Inhalte als Querschnittskompetenz vermittelt. Die in Deutschland stark dominierende Debatte, in der (pädagogische) ‚Kulturalisierung' gegen antidiskriminierende Ansätze ausgespielt wird, ist in Kanada kaum präsent. *Colorblindness* zu vermeiden, sei ein wichtiges Vermittlungsziel; hierzu gehöre Wissen um und Repräsentanz kultureller Besonderheiten. Anerkennung, Dialog und Aushandlung von verschiedenen Deutungsmustern und Praktiken sei genauso wichtig wie Aufmerksamkeit für und Strategien gegen strukturelle Benachteiligungen, Rassismus und Diskriminierung (M. Ali, R. Joshee).

3.4 Partizipation

Die Partizipation von Eltern und gesellschaftlichen Gruppen in der Schulorganisation ist in Kanada ausgeprägt. Sie ermöglicht offenbar, lokalspezifische Bedürfnisse gut aufzugreifen. Neben der Struktur der *school boards* und der Elternkomitees in den *school councils* setzt sich die Einbindung von Familien und Communities in aktiver Elternarbeit und eigenen Familienzentren (*parenting and literacy centres*) in den Schulen fort. Dies könnte ein zentraler Grund für den bemerkenswerten Erfolg kanadischer Einwandererkinder im Schulsystem sein (Hörner/Werler 2007, S. 137). Schule ist die Angelegenheit der jeweiligen *Community*, Partizipation und Kontrolle sind breit lokal verankert (OECD 2011, S. 77). Eltern werden systematisch einbezogen; *parenting and literacy centres* sollen insbesondere den sprachlichen Integrationsprozess zugewanderter Kinder fördern (ebd., S. 129) – tatsächlich geht es aber um mehr als um diese Funktion. Eltern – meist Mütter – bewegen sich selbstverständlich im Schulgebäude, auch außerhalb der für sie speziell hergerichteten Räume, in denen sie verschiedene Kursangebote besuchen oder sich informell austauschen können. Die Elterngruppen, so der Schulleiter einer Model School in Toronto, D. Finkelstein, seien ein *asset*, der wahre Schatz der Schulcommunity. Ihre Kooperation ermögliche eine erfolgreiche Bildungspartnerschaft, oft nicht nur in Hinblick auf das eigene Kind, sondern mit Multiplikatorenwirkung für andere (vgl. auch Kugler 2011).

Die Schulausschüsse sind, vor allem wegen ihrer starken Verankerung in der *Community*, Wegbereiter für die Umsetzung bedarfsgerechter Maßnahmen, und zwar lange bevor übergeordnete Ebenen überhaupt aktiv werden. Sie spielen eine entscheidende Rolle, um die konkreten Bedürfnisse z. B. von Einwanderern für bedarfsgerechte Bildung an höhere Regierungsebenen heranzutragen (Burnaby et al. 2000, o.S.)[2]. Die *school boards* entscheiden z.B. über zusätzliche Angebote zu den Rahmenlehrplänen, wie Unterricht in Minderheitensprachen und andere Maßnahmen zur multikulturellen und antirassistischen Erziehung für Kinder, multikulturelle und diskriminierungsfreie Curriculumentwicklung sowie entsprechende Lehrerfortbildungen (OECD 2011, S. 128). Die Provinzregierung ist demgegenüber für zentrale Initiativen wie solche zur Chancengleichheit und der antirassistischen Erziehung, der *Black Studies* oder der Verbesserung der Qualifikation von *ESL*-Lehrern zuständig (Burnaby et al. 2000, o.S.).

3.5 Risiken und Risikogruppen im kanadischen Bildungssystem

Hoher Bildungserfolg aller Kinder ist das oberste Ziel – dies reflektiert die ambitionierten Erwartungen der Migrantenfamilien und scheint von den Lehrkräften geteilt zu werden (OECD 2011, S. 76). Hohe Bildungsaspirationen der Eltern, unabhängig vom sozio-ökonomischen Status, materialisieren sich durch konkrete Unterstützung der Kinder im Bildungsprozess, beispielsweise das hohe Engagement der Familien in *Literacy*-bezogenen Aktivitäten (Tibbetts 2007, zit. nach OECD 2011, S. 68¸ CMEC 2012).

Jenseits des bisher gezeichneten Bildes in Bezug auf den Bildungserfolg von nicht in Kanada geborenen Kindern identifizieren einige Untersuchungen spezifischer benachteiligte Gruppen, die in den hoch aggregierten Daten der PISA-Studien verschwinden. Und auch die befragten ExpertInnen, wiewohl insgesamt mit diversityorientierten und auf Chancengleichheit wie Antidiskriminierung gerichteten Anstrengungen im Bildungswesen und unter der Lehrerschaft zufrieden, äußerten – mit Verweis auf Einzelgruppen – Zweifel am generellen Erfolg (Joshee, Ali).

1997 wurde in den „Every Student"-Surveys aus Toronto erstmals ermittelt, dass viele der den *visible minorities* angehörenden SchülerInnen, die meisten davon Angehörige der ersten Generation und nicht-englischer Muttersprache, einen schwachen sozioökonomischen Status aufwiesen (Cheng und Yau 1999, zit. nach Burnaby et al. 2000, o.S.)[3]. Dieser korrespondierte mit Erwerbstätigkeit der Schüle-

2 Viele Schulausschüsse sind der Meinung, die zunehmend ethnisch diversen SchülerInnen mit besonderen Bedarfen ausreichend zu unterstützen. Dazu gehörten u.a. kompensatorische Bildungsangebote zur Erreichung altersadäquater Schulbildung, Beratung, Unterstützung bei der Niederlassung und enger Kontakt zur Community. Für eine progressive multikulturelle Schulpolitik stünden auch die großen Lehrergewerkschaften (*Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario; Ontario Secondary Teachers Federation*) ein (Burnaby et al., 2000, o.S.; ebenso Ali).

3 Heute erstellt der *Toronto District School Board* regelmäßig einen Lernchancen-Index für alle Schulen; er wird „vorrangig nach dem Familieneinkommen der Eltern berechnet, berücksichtigt

rInnen neben der Schule, geringen Bildungsaspirationen, fehlendem häuslichen Arbeitsplatz und unterdurchschnittlichem häuslichen Zugang zu Technologie wie zu allgemeinen kulturellen Angeboten.

Eine Langzeitstudie in Toronto mit SekundarschülerInnen, deren Schulerfolg von 2000 bis 2006 verfolgt wurde (Anisef et al. 2010), zeigte signifikante Risikofaktoren, die vergleichbar mit der Situation in Deutschland sind: verspäteter Eintritt in die *Highschool*, sozioökonomisch schwacher Status und der Besuch von Schulen mit hohem Anteil sozioökonomisch benachteiligter Schüler. Auch Orts- und Schulwechsel – bei Neuankömmlingen eher wahrscheinlich – wirkten sich negativ aus. Männliche Schüler, die diese Merkmale aufwiesen, erlangten deutlich seltener einen Abschluss, und zwar unabhängig von ihrer Muttersprache – während Mädchen in allen Gruppen erfolgreicher waren (ebd., S. ii; 49f.). Ein erstaunliches Ergebnis: Solche SchülerInnen, die in Schulen mit einem Anteil von 75% und mehr nichtenglischen Muttersprachlern eingeschult wurden, erreichten häufiger einen Schulabschluss. Hier spekulieren die Autoren, dass das Zugehörigkeitsgefühl der SchülerInnen gleicher ethnischer Herkunft ausgeprägter sei und die *Peer*-Kultur positiv unterstützend wirke (ebd., S. ii; 50).

Während eingangs Daten der PISA-Studie referiert wurden, die hohe Schulleistungen unabhängig davon konstatieren, ob die Unterrichtssprache zugleich Familiensprache ist oder nicht, werden auch einige Zweifel aufgeworfen. Der Faktor ‚Sprache' stellt für einige Einwanderergruppen eine signifikante Barriere dar. Der *Learning to Read Survey* der PIRLS-Studie (CMEC 2012) zeigt, dass Zuwandererkinder der 4. Klassenstufe, die nur „manchmal" oder „nie" die Unterrichtssprache zu Hause sprechen – und das sind 26 % der SchülerInnen – eine um 11 Punkte schwächere Leseleistung erbringen als diejenigen, deren Familiensprache der Unterrichtssprache entspricht (ebd., S. 40). Allerdings ist die Leseleistung kanadischer Schülerinnen und Schüler international eine der höchsten.

Die Langzeitstudie von Anisef et al. (2010, S. 50) ermittelte, dass bei nichtenglischen Muttersprachlern, die zusätzlichen *ESL*-Förderunterricht erhielten, der Schulabschluss in einem höheren Grad gefährdet war. Mehrunnisa Ali berichtet von kleineren Einwanderungsgruppen wie die afghanischer oder somalischer Flüchtlinge, deren sozioökonomische Lage häufig so prekär sei, dass Schulkinder gezwungen sind, zum Familieneinkommen durch eigene nachmittägliche Arbeit beizutragen. Dadurch könnten sie an zusätzlichen Englisch-Sprachkursen am Nachmittag nicht in dem Maße teilnehmen, wie es für sie förderlich wäre. Immigranten mit englischer Muttersprache (insbesondere aus der Karibik), die ebenfalls am *ESL*-Unterricht teilnahmen, konnten allerdings ihren Schulerfolg steigern (Anisef et al. 2010, S. 50). Dies, so die Autoren, verweise darauf, dass die *ESL*-Sprachförderung durchaus positive Effekte erziele, aber auf die Bedürfnisse der nicht-Muttersprachler

aber auch andere Kenngrößen wie den Prozentsatz an Sozialhilfeempfängern, den Bildungsstand der Eltern, den Anteil der Alleinerziehenden etc." (Kugler 2011, S. 286).

nicht ausreichend ausgerichtet sei (ebd.). Dieses Argument ergänzen die Autoren bei der Betrachtung des für Bildungserfolg nachteiligen Kriteriums ‚verspäteter Schuleintritt in die Sekundarschule'. Der Effekt entstehe vermutlich durch Lernschwierigkeiten, die Wiederholungen von Kursen in der Grundschule nötig machten. Er könnte darauf verweisen, dass insbesondere Immigranten-Kinder ohne englische Muttersprache mehr Zeit benötigten, um die Unterrichtssprache gut zu erlernen (ebd., S. 53).

Die kanadische *Highschool* differenziert in verschiedene Bildungswege; das Universitätsprogramm (*university program*) weist die höchsten Einschreibezahlen auf und wird von den englischen Muttersprachlern wie nicht-Muttersprachlern bevorzugt – von Letzteren sogar noch deutlicher, insbes. in Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften. Innerhalb dieser Gruppe wiesen die chinesischsprachigen SchülerInnen den höchsten Erfolg auf; zu den Risikogruppen gehörten die Portugiesisch, Spanisch und Somali sprechenden SchülerInnen (Anisef et al. 2010, S. 50). Vergleicht man die in Kanada Geborenen mit solchen von außerhalb, so gehörten die ostasiatischen SchülerInnen zu den erfolgreichsten in allen Fächern, inklusive Englisch. SchülerInnen aus Osteuropa schnitten in Englisch gut ab. SchülerInnen, die aus der Karibik eingewandert sind, hatten sowohl vergleichsweise geringe Beteiligung an den ‚Universitätskursen' als auch geringeren Erfolg.

In Toronto (Ontario) konnten als Risikogruppen insbesondere SchülerInnen aus der Karibik identifiziert werden: Sie wurden signifikant häufiger ein Jahr später als der Durchschnitt in die Sekundarschule eingeschult, sie waren häufiger in den ‚nicht-akademischen' *Highschool*-Programmen und erreichten seltener einen Abschluss. Ihre familiäre Situation war häufiger von einem ‚Standardmodell' abweichend (*alternative family structures*) (ebd., S. iii).

Auch Folgen von Diskriminierung können Schulerfolg beeinträchtigen. Trotz aller Bemühungen kommen in Grund- und Sekundarschulen ethnisch begründete oder gegen Immigranten gerichtete Angriffe vor (*ethnic victimization*), wie eine Untersuchung an fünf Schulen zeigt (Pepler et al. 2004).

Signifikant ist ferner, dass soziales und kulturelles Kapital der Familien und der *Community* die Bildungserfolge der Immigrantenkinder unterstützen kann, auch wenn ökonomisches Kapital fehlt (Anisef et al. 2010, S. 54f.). Dies scheint insbesondere auf die SchülerInnen mit osteuropäischem und asiatischem Hintergrund zuzutreffen – und umgekehrt einen Risikofaktor z. B. für SchülerInnen aus der Karibik darzustellen.

Resümierend betrachtet, lassen die genannten Studien Einflussfaktoren für Misserfolge einiger Minderheitengruppen erkennen, die auch in Bezug auf die bundesdeutsche Situation diskutiert werden. Allem voran ist zu konstatieren, dass sich bei den angesprochenen Risikogruppen auch in Kanada die Kopplung von sozio-ökonomisch prekärem Status, schwierigen familiären Verhältnissen, geringem kulturellem und sozialem Kapital sowie unzulänglicher Beherrschung der Unterrichtssprache bemerkbar macht.

Um dafür zu sorgen, dass mit Risikofaktoren belastete SchülerInnen mit den schulischen Anforderungen Schritt halten können, und Schulabbrüche zu vermeiden, werden Bildungspolitik und Schule zu Maßnahmen aufgefordert. Wiederholt wird eine bessere Versorgung der steigenden Zahl von SchülerInnen mit *ESL*-Bedarf durch zeitlich ausgeweiteten und besser qualifizierten *ESL*-Unterricht eingefordert. Viele Risikofaktoren könnten durch „effektivere Arbeit" der Schulen mit den SchülerInnen und ihren Familien beeinflusst werden (ebd., S. 58). Die Vorschläge dafür lauten: Weitere Anstrengungen zum Einbezug der Familien in die Schule sowie – insbesondere für verspätet in die Schule eintretende SchülerInnen – die Einführung von ‚Übergangsjahrs-Programmen' (*transition-year programs*). Letztere sollten auf gezielte kompensatorische Förderung (u.a. zum Erwerb der Unterrichtssprache) fokussieren und Mentoren- oder *buddy*-Unterstützung anbieten, die sich im ‚Host-Programm' (finanziert durch *Citizenship and Immigration Canada*) als erfolgreich erwiesen hätten (ebd., S. iii, 58).

4. Fazit – *Diversity* ist Mainstream

Was tragen die dargestellten Analysen zur Erklärung des Bildungserfolgs von Einwandererkindern in Kanada und für Empfehlungen für Deutschland bei? Deutlich werden einige zentrale Differenzen der Bildungsorganisation und -praxis zwischen Kanada und Deutschland. Insbesondere die Möglichkeiten zur Partizipation von Eltern und Schulgemeinde, das breite System der Modell-Schulen, wie am Beispiel Ontario/Toronto gezeigt, und ein offenbar durchgängig selbstverständliches, engagiertes Bemühen, den Bedürfnissen der Einwanderungsgruppen im Schulsystem gerecht zu werden, sind für das kanadische Bildungswesen markant. Empirische Evidenz hinsichtlich der Auswirkungen auf den in den Ländern unterschiedlichen Bildungserfolg lässt sich jedoch auf Basis heute verfügbarer Daten kaum herstellen. Dies wurde bereits in der aufwändigen Auswertung der PISA-Daten 2000 ernüchternd deutlich: Weder aus dem Ressourceneinsatzes im Bildungssystem noch von Faktoren wie innere Schulreform, Autonomie der Schule oder Partizipation von Lehrkräften an Entscheidungsprozessen konnte ausreichende Erklärungskraft hergeleitet werden (Schwippert/Klieme/Lehmann/Neumann 2007, S. 221ff.). Unzweifelhaft hätten sowohl das Bildungssystem als auch Kontextfaktoren einen Einfluss; empirische Bildungsforschung gerate jedoch an ihre Grenzen bei einem Gegenstand, der „von einem komplexen Faktorenbündel" abhänge (Hörner/ Klemm 2007, S. 228). Der unzureichenden Wirkungsklärung kann auch der hier vorliegende Forschungsbericht nicht abhelfen – wohl aber sind lohnende Anhaltspunkte für weitere sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen aufgezeigt worden, von denen sich die Bildungsforschung mehr Aufschluss über das Zusammenspiel verschiedener Faktoren für den Bildungserfolg verspricht (ebd.).

Unbedingt feststellen kann man, dass Kanada sich auf seinen im internationalen Vergleich guten Schulleistungen nicht ausruht und auch die im Durchschnitt günstige Ausstattung der Einwanderer mit kulturellem Kapital nicht zum Anlass gerin-

gerer Bemühungen um Schulerfolg nimmt. Im Gegenteil, mit Blick auf das Schulreformprojekt in Ontario wird deutlich, dass mit einer Mischung aus technokratischen Steuerungsstrategien und gezieltem materiellem Ressourceneinsatz, konsequenter *Community*- und Partizipations-Orientierung sowie einem am lernenden Individuum, seinen Besonderheiten und seinem Wohlbefinden ausgerichtetem Bildungsverständnis eine förderliche Schulkultur entstanden ist. Bei Schulbesuchen und in ExpertInnengesprächen kamen Topoi wie „resignierte Lehrkräfte" oder „schwierige Schülerschaft" nicht vor, wohl Klagen über zu geringe oder zu kurz greifende Förderangebote. In den nächsten Jahren wird sich zeigen, ob diese Bildungskultur auch die benachteiligten Gruppen erfolgreich fördern kann.

Die skizzierten kanadischen Reformstrategien folgen einem Ansatz, der klare Leistungsansprüche verfolgt und dabei unterschiedliche soziale Voraussetzungen von SchülerInnen selbstverständlich berücksichtigt, ethnisch-kulturelle Pluralität reflektiert, repräsentiert und einem verbreiteten antirassistischen Konsens verpflichtet ist. *Diversity* ist im Mainstream der öffentlichen Schule selbstverständlich – oder besser: *Diversity*-Strategien bilden den Mainstream. Kanada verfolgt einen universalistischen Ansatz zur Steigerung von Bildungserfolg und weist dabei ein hohes Niveau der Differenzierung auf in Abhängigkeit zu den jeweiligen Voraussetzungen und Bedürfnissen der die einzelnen Schulen besuchenden Kinder und Jugendlichen: Recht auf Verschiedenheit und Recht auf Gleichheit werden so in die Balance gebracht. Einrichtungen, die die Kraft der Familien wertschätzen und ihre Unterstützungsleistungen stimulieren, gehören an vielen Schulen dazu.

Kanada unterscheidet sich von Deutschland entscheidend in Hinblick auf die Voraussetzungen für Migration und Gestaltung von Integration. Es ist nicht allein guter Wille, pragmatische oder progressive Einstellung, die zu einer Offenheit für Migration und diversitätsbewusste Gestaltung des Bildungswesens führt, sondern die über Jahrzehnte konsistente Staatsräson. Insofern ist zu fragen, ob ohne eine korrespondierende symbolische, kodifizierte und materielle Grundlage für eine das Recht auf Gleichheit und Verschiedenheit gleichermaßen garantierende multikulturelle Gesellschaft bildungsförderliche Strukturen und Interaktionen für alle SchülerInnen im deutschen Bildungssystem verwirklicht werden können.

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FORUM

ANDRÉ DUDEMAINE

En toute visibilité

Notes sur l'inscription du discours identitaire des Premières Nations dans l'imaginaire québécois via la création artistique et l'occupation d'espaces culturels signifiants

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« Il n'y a pas lieu de craindre ou d'espérer,
mais de chercher de nouvelles armes. »
Gilles Deleuze

Quel est la place de l'Indien d'Amérique dans l'histoire, dans celle qui s'écrit comme dans celle qui se fait?[1] Cette dernière cherchant à s'inscrire dans la continuité de la première, les narrativités historiques qu'elles soient portées par l'école, la littérature ou le cinéma, instituent le passé, bien plus qu'elles ne le restituent, et constituent le fil de trame des imaginaires contemporains.

Il a été documenté que, longtemps, dans l'enseignement au Québec, l'Amérindien s'est vu reléguer à un rôle secondaire, les deux « peuples fondateurs», Anglais et Français, y occupant le devant de la scène[2]. Cette lecture réductrice a donc façonné la vision de plusieurs générations, et malgré les changements qui ont pu été avoir été apportés durant les deux dernières décennies à l'enseignement de l'histoire, les mêmes préjugés subsistent encore aujourd'hui dans de grands segments de l'opinion. Il y a là dans cette persistance un effet de système car le biais historique que nous venons d'évoquer n'est pas le propre des Québécois, ni des Canadiens. Il découle d'une vision occidentalo-centriste inspirée par les « grands récits de la mo-

1 Basé sur une intervention orale faite à Grainau en février 2015.

2 Voir : Vincent, Sylvie et Arcand, Bernard *L'image de l'Amérindien dans les manuels scolaires du Québec ou Comment les Québécois ne sont pas des sauvages*. Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise HMH, 1978 ; Collection: Cahiers du Québec, no 51. Cultures amérindiennes, Et en version numérique : http://classiques.uqac.ca/contemporains/vincent_sylvie/image_amerindien/image_amerindien.html.

dernité » (Lyotard) dans lesquels les « primitifs » sont objets de conquête, de conversion, de soumission, d'éducation et d'études, mais n'atteignent jamais le statut de sujet (cet aspect plus global ne sera pas traité ici, puisque nous nous centrons sur la question de la résurgence de l'Amérindien dans le paysage contemporain du Québec post-révolution tranquille).

On sait que les attitudes, les comportements, voire les décisions sont fortement influencés par des aprioris transmis et portés par la tradition, bagage qui se réalimente sans cesse de sa propre récursivité. Le caractère confus et largement inconscient de ce magma conceptuel et sa nature réitérative expliquent les difficultés que rencontre le discours rationnel quand il s'adresse à une opinion engoncée dans des présupposés qui semblent indéracinables.

Nous verrons avec quelques exemples, la plupart tirés des expériences directes de l'auteur de ce texte, lui-même activiste dans le champ des arts et de la culture, comment des stratégies se sont élaborées, du côté des nations originaires, pour réquisitionner leur espace dans le tissu social d'où elles ont été exclues. Nous insisterons sur les mécanismes de résistance qui se sont manifestés (et qui souvent perdurent) alors que nous passerons plus rapidement sur les ouvertures qui se sont opportunément offertes. Dans l'action concrète, là même où nous nous situons, il est normal qu'on s'attarde plus au travail qui reste à faire que sur les succès antérieurs.

Notre intervention veut d'abord offrir des pistes de réflexion aux chercheurs et ne se veut en aucun cas une vue définitive sur des questions complexes dont la proximité, professionnelle pour celui qui écrit, temporelle pour tout autre observateur, ne donne pas le recul voulu pour prétendre en fixer un portrait définitif. Une telle contiguïté offre par contre un poste d'observation privilégié ; c'est là, sans doute, ce qui me vaut l'honneur de m'adresser aux savants canadianistes de l'association.

Le retour de l'Indien

C'est à partir des années 1970 que l'Indien fait doublement retour dans l'histoire au Québec. D'abord par la grande porte de l'actualité quand les Cris et les Inuit réussirent à obtenir un jugement reconnaissant leurs droits territoriaux sur le Nord du Québec où le gouvernement Bourassa venait d'entamer, dans une tranquille assurance coloniale, de vastes chantiers hydroélectriques.[3]

D'autre part – le phénomène échappa largement au grand public – une série de publications présentaient un nouveau regard sur la période historique des empires coloniaux en Amérique du Nord afin de dégager le rôle qu'ont joué les Amérindiens

3 Une injonction interlocutoire obligea la suspension des travaux en novembre 1973; ce jugement provoqua un état de choc au Québec. Voir : Blancquaert, Loïc, *L'impact du jugement Malouf au Québec (1973-1974)*, Fondation Jean-Charles-Bonenfant, Assemblée nationale du Québec Juin 2011 http://www.fondationbonenfant.qc.ca/stages/essais/2011Blancquaert.pdf.

dans les soubresauts politiques, diplomatiques et militaires qui ont préludé à la formation du Canada et des États-Unis tels que nous les voyons aujourd'hui[4].

Mais, ce changement de perspective ne dépassant pas de beaucoup les cercles savants, l'opinion publique demeura perplexe et partagée face à l'émergence inopinée de revendications très fortes par des populations qui, dans la vision la plus répandue, auraient dû appartenir à un passé révolu. Au Québec, où la majorité francophone vivait elle-même un réveil national, cet Amérindien qui sortait de l'oubli venait brouiller les cartes, son discours identitaire ne cherchant nullement à coïncider avec celui, omniprésent, du nationalisme québécois. Pour beaucoup, ce sursaut autochtone fut perçu comme un obstacle surgissant sur le chemin de l'émancipation du peuple québécois. Un clivage social et ethnique se creusa davantage d'une année à l'autre et prendra même des allures de guerre ouverte lors de la fameuse « crise d'Oka » à l'été 1990.

Un bouillonnement artistique

Pendant que les leaders politiques menaient le combat pour la reconnaissance des droits territoriaux, la jeunesse des Premières Nations plus scolarisée[5] faisait elle-même face à sa propre crise d'identité. Le monde avait considérablement changé en un siècle et les activités traditionnelles, pivot immémorial de la culture distincte des sociétés amérindiennes, ne pouvaient plus constituer un mode de vie et un moyen de subsistance.

Une nouvelle génération d'artistes apparut alors, exprimant ce déchirement de l'individu tiraillé entre deux mondes, l'un pratiquement disparu, l'autre antagonique et étranger. Même dans les expressions de la nostalgie et de la perte, la parole artistique pose, parfois à son corps défendant, cette dualité non pas comme une fatalité inéluctable qui laisse sans voix (ce qui serait une contradiction dans les termes) mais comme un défi à relever, voire comme une opportunité de renaissance culturelle et spirituelle. Dans cette posture, les artistes viendraient reprendre, selon certains[6], la

4 On fait ici principalement référence aux travaux de Denis Delâge, Bruce Trigger et Francis Jennings. Voir pour une plus ample discussion historiographique : Fortin, Sylvain, *Stratèges, diplomates et espions. La politique étrangère franco-indienne 1667-1701*, Les cahiers du Septentrion 2002. p.21 à 28.

5 Durant les années soixante, suite à la fermeture des tristement célèbres pensionnats pour Indiens, les jeunes autochtones se sont vus progressivement intégrés dans le système scolaire québécois où ils ont eu enfin droit à l'enseignement public normal. Auparavant, ils étaient obligatoirement relégués dans des écoles résidentielles dirigées par le clergé. Ces établissements avaient d'abord pour but d'éradiquer les cultures anciennes du pays et ne se sont pas distingués par la qualité de l'éducation qui y était dispensée, loin de là. . Une commission d'enquête a conclu qu'un véritable génocide culturel y était perpétré. Voir le rapport de la Commission de vérité et de réconciliation du Canada au http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=891.

6 Ainsi la version anglaise du film d'Arthur Lamothe, *L'écho des songes* (1992), dédié à cette émergence d'un art autochtone contemporain au Canada, s'intitule *Shaman Never Dies.*

fonction qui fut autrefois celle du chamane, ce personnage légendaire doté de pouvoirs exceptionnels à qui on faisait appel en temps difficiles.

Or, les institutions qui donnent écho à l'expression artistique et qui consacrent les créateurs par leur programmation (festivals, chaînes télévisuelles, théâtres, salles de concert, etc.) appartiennent à la société dominante et vont naturellement donner place à ce que celle-ci détermine comme valable, souhaitable et présentable, selon sa propre perspective et sa propre échelle de valeur. Difficile donc pour les arts issus des Premières Nations, fussent-ils novateurs, d'y trouver place.

L'effervescence est là pourtant. Dans la décennie qui va de 1980 à 1990, dans des cabarets impromptus et dans des soirées culturelles, des chanteurs se font entendre, dont le duo innu Kashtin qui allait bientôt devenir célèbre, des films se montrent, dont les premiers documentaires d'Alanis Obomsawin, des toiles s'accrochent sur les murs dans des cafés et dans des centres d'amitié autochtone[7]. Une mouvance artistique réclame sa place au soleil, mais éprouve des difficultés à obtenir reconnaissance.

C'est dans ce contexte particulier, en 1990, qu'est fondée Terres en vues, société pour la diffusion de la culture autochtone dans le but d'instituer à Montréal, comme événement annuel, un festival de films des Premières Nations. Il s'agit à ce point de départ de l'initiative de quelques individus[8] qui ont décidé de changer la donne. Dans leur visée, il y a la volonté d'instituer quelque chose de durable dans la métropole du Québec, ville de festivals, autrement dit, d'inscrire dans le temps, au-delà des expériences ponctuelles mais éphémères, une manifestation culturelle dédiée aux Première Nations.

25 ans plus tard un long chemin a été parcouru et aujourd'hui le festival Présence autochtone est devenu un événement qui compte dans la vie culturelle de la cité[9]. Voici maintenant un regard rétrospectif sur la trajectoire de cette manifestation culturelle et artistique unique.

Création et développement de Présence autochtone

Sur la toute nouvelle place des festivals (inaugurée en 2009) destinée à accueillir les événements majeurs de l'été Montréalais (le célébrissime Festival de Jazz, notamment), un décor amérindien impressionnant est installé pour le premier week-end d'août 2014. Au programme : des concerts, des démonstrations des arts et

7 Les centres d'amitié autochtone sont des lieux d'accueil et de services, situées en milieu urbain, s'adressant à une clientèle autochtone. Ainsi à Val d'Or, en 1985, le centre d'amitié local avait organisé une fin de semaine d'activités artistiques avec la projection du film *Mère de tant d'enfants* d'Alanis Obomsawin et des prestations de l'auteur-compositeur-interprète d'origine mi'gmaq Willie Dunn.

8 Parmi ceux-ci l'auteur du texte qui de fondateur est passé à directeur de l'organisation dont il tient la barre depui plus de vingt-cinq ans.

9 On pourra consulter les sites Internet nativelynx.qc.ca et presenceautochtone.ca pour avoir un plus large aperçu sur le festival et sur l'association.

métiers de la tradition, du théâtre de rue, des danses traditionnelles, des installations d'art médiatique, etc. Cette programmation éclectique sur la grande place fait écho aux activités en salle qui se déroulent concurremment à la Cinémathèque québécoise, au musée McCord, à la Guilde canadienne des métiers d'art, dans diverses galeries et maisons de la culture, etc. En 2014, Présence autochtone s'offre au premier regard comme un festival montréalais de premier plan.

Pourtant, en 1991, cet événement aura connu des débuts on ne peut plus modestes. Les passions exacerbées par les soubresauts de l'été précédent n'étaient pas encore apaisées[10] ; dire que le climat n'était pas alors propice au dialogue est un euphémisme. Aucune institution, ni aucun sponsor, ne souhaita s'associer à la nouvelle manifestation. Ce sont des artistes québécois et amérindiens (parmi ceux-ci l'Innu Florent Vollant et le Québécois Richard Desjardins), soucieux de rétablir les ponts, qui ont accepté de donner un concert-bénéfice qui aura permis la tenue du tout premier festival.

Le plus grand sujet d'étonnement des organisateurs lors du lancement de Présence autochtone fut le silence des médias sur leur initiative, alors même que les sujets amérindiens étaient d'une brulante actualité. Or, bien des années plus tard, en 2014, alors que l'événement aura connu une progression spectaculaire, la couverture journalistique n'aura pas suivi la même trajectoire. Ainsi, lorsque interrogés sur le site du festival, les visiteurs montréalais ou québécois sont nombreux à dire qu'ils viennent de découvrir l'existence de Présence autochtone au hasard d'une promenade. Silence têtu dans certains cas, ou couverture déficiente dans d'autres, le traitement médiatique dont Présence autochtone est l'objet au Québec témoigne d'une véritable censure, d'autant plus étonnante qu'elle est le fait d'une classe journalistique qui se donne comme mission de tout dire.

Présence autochtone, au cours de son histoire, dût surmonter quelques phases critiques (le festival demeure mal-aimé dans certaines officines); la contestation résolue de décisions menaçant sa survie s'avéra nécessaire pour que Présence autochtone puisse continuer sur sa lancée; et, à toutes les fois des solutions furent trouvées.[11]

10 On parle ici de la « crise d'Oka » de 1990.

11 Quelques exemples : En 2009, le service de la culture de la ville de Montréal ignora Présence autochtone dans la programmation de la nouvelle place des Festivals qui allait bientôt être inaugurée et devenir le parc des événements majeurs; un autre festival allait donc, aux mêmes dates que Présence autochtone tenait ses activités, occuper le devant de la scène marginalisant alors davantage l'événement consacré aux cultures des Premières Nations et ainsi handicaper son développement. Après protestation et représentation, il fut convenu que Présence autochtone allait pouvoir accéder à la place des Festivals en se déplaçant au mois d'août.
En 2014, c'est une coupure de cent mille dollars dans les budgets alloués au festival par le Partenariat du Quartier des spectacles qui menace la tenue de Présence autochtone. Finalement, la municipalité décida d'accorder un budget spécial annuel pour permettre à la manifestation de survivre.

La grande réussite de Terres en vues, après toutes ces années d'effort, est d'avoir su arrimer le réveil artistique et identitaire des Premières Nations au dynamisme culturel d'une métropole moderne. Ce succès demeure cependant mitigé par le peu d'écho qu'il reçoit et par le manque de visibilité résultant de ce que nous avons qualifié par ailleurs d'*apartheid médiatique*[12]. Il y a là un blocage singulièrement durable et constant.

Commémoration et remémoration

En 1992, un jeune chercheur, Gilles Havard, voit sa thèse de doctorat sur la Grande paix de Montréal de 1701 publiée[13]. Cette étude portait sur ce qui est considéré comme le plus important événement politique de la présence française en Amérique. La conclusion de ce traité est un geste fondateur de l'Amérique du Nord contemporaine et les nations amérindiennes y ont joué un rôle premier.

Or, ce grand acte pacificateur avait pratiquement disparu de la mémoire populaire et si le livre de Havard, issu de la nouvelle donne des études historiques que nous évoquions plus haut, allait susciter un intérêt passager, celui-ci ne dépasserait vraisemblablement pas le cercle d'un lectorat érudit.

Terres en vues met alors de l'avant le projet d'une commémoration à grand déploiement, en 2001, trois-centième anniversaire de la conclusion du traité. Cette idée suscita l'enthousiasme, notamment à Pointe-à-Callière, le musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal, qui s'associa à Terres en vues pour réaliser une série d'événements commémoratifs.

La commémoration de 2001 fut un succès dont les effets perdurent : le nom de Kondiaronk[14] fut donné au belvédère du mont Royal; les programmes d'histoire des écoles publiques donnent aujourd'hui à la Grande Paix de 1701 la place qu'elle mérite; la Ville de Montréal procéda, dans le cadre des activités commémoratives, à la création du jardin des Premières Nations à l'intérieur du Jardin botanique, une installation scientifique majeure de la municipalité; Présence autochtone a acquis une reconnaissance et un prestige qui vont enfin lui permettre de progresser.

À retenir : le partenariat avec un musée aura été un élément décisif pour la suite des choses, mais ici l'arbre ne doit pas nous cacher la forêt. Terres en vues a tissé au cours des ans un important réseau de collaborations avec des institutions montréalaises; la commémoration de 2001 aura été le résultat le plus spectaculaire de cette

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La Société de développement des entreprises culturelles, la SODEC, ne reconnait plus le festival comme un événement cinématographique depuis 2014, prétextant que le succès de fréquentation des grands concerts extérieurs en aurait changé la nature. Pendant ce temps, Terres en vues continue néanmoins de recevoir de l'aide de Téléfilm Canada comme manifestation cinématographique.

12 Voir notre texte : *Cachez cet Amérindien que je ne saurais voir ! La question autochtone et les médias au Québec*, in Nouveaux cahiers du socialisme, numéro 11, hiver 2014.

13 Havard, Gilles *La Grande Paix de Montréal de 1701 : Les voies de la diplomatie franco-amérindienne*, Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1992.

14 Chef de guerre et diplomate wendat qui fut l'architecte de la Grande Paix de 1701.

stratégie de développement. Les liens multiples qui se sont établis au cours des ans avec des établissements montréalais[15] auront permis de prendre assise dans la ville et d'y insuffler une offre culturelle amérindienne et inuit renouvelée permettant au public de découvrir un courant artistique porté par le souffle créateur venu du questionnement identitaire des peuples autochtones; ce qui contribua en retour à donner légitimité à ce mouvement artistique et au festival qui s'en fait le héraut.

Nouveaux artistes

La poésie est un langage hautement chargé de signification, disait Ezra Pound. L'art parle directement à l'âme et atteint les couches inconscientes où est programmé le regard. L'artiste s'avère pour cette raison un bien meilleur ambassadeur que le diplomate le plus habile ou l'orateur le plus éloquent, puisque le détour vers le sensible est le meilleur chemin pour pouvoir s'adresser à l'intelligible.

Autant pour les autochtones eux-mêmes, en quête de nouveaux repères identitaires, que pour la population majoritaire qu'il faut rallier à la cause des Premières Nations, l'artiste représente un guide et un prophète capable d'offrir une grille de lecture du présent et d'ouvrir la porte des possibles futurs. Le festival Présence autochtone aura su se développer en symbiose avec la nouvelle mouvance artistique autochtone et agir comme catalyseur sur celle-ci.

Les cas de Samian est emblématique. Un jeune rappeur de Pikogan[16], qui s'appelle Samuel Tremblay, est remarqué grâce à une vidéo issue de la première tournée du Wapikoni mobile[17]. Mis en contact avec le groupe phare du rap francophone au Québec, Loco Locass, il se laisse convaincre d'écrire et d'interpréter des textes dans la langue de ses ancêtres (« je vais aller voir ma grand-mère » nous a-t-il alors dit). Suite à ces arrangements, Présence autochtone organise en juin 2004 le premier spectacle conjoint avec Loco Locass et le rappeur abitibien qui y interprète pour la première fois un rap dans la langue algonquine. Pour ce dernier, qui va désormais porter le nom Samian, c'est le début d'une carrière qui va le transformer. Ses premiers textes parlent de rédemption personnelle, de guérison individuelle. Mais peu à peu, prenant conscience de ce qu'il représente désormais pour les siens, ses chansons prennent un tour plus engagé et plus politique[18]. En 2011 d'abord , puis en 2014, lors du lancement de son troisième album, *Enfant de la Terre*, c'est en véritable

15 Mentionnons le Musée McCord, la Cinémathèque québécoise, la Guilde canadienne des métiers d'art, plusieurs des maisons de la culture dans les différents quartiers de Montréal, la Grande Bibliothèque, etc.

16 Pikogan est une communauté algonquine, fondée en 1954, établie à 3 km au nord d'Amos, en Abitibi-Témiscamingue.

17 Studio ambulant permettant à des jeunes des communautés autochtones éloignées de réaliser des courts métrages. Voir : wapikopni.ca.

18 On notera que son premier album, lancé en 2007, s'intitule *Face à soi-même*. Alors que son second, publié en 2010, porte le nom de *Face à la musique*. Voir le site officiel samian.ca.

vedette qu'il donne un spectacle sur la place des Festivals devant des milliers de personnes réunies sur le site de Présence autochtone.

La nouvelle poésie innue, le reggae de Shauit, les chants inuit d'Elisapie Isaac, les performances audiovisuelles du groupe électro A Tribe Called Red, les films de la cinéaste mohawk Tracy Deer, etc. : autant d'expressions artistiques, dont Présence autochtone s'est fait le relais, qui se sont révélées porteurs de transformations, en proposant de nouvelles façons de voir et de vivre l'amérindianité.

Nouvelles images : Wapikoni et APTN

Le Wapikoni mobile[19], à partir de 2004, en fournissant à des jeunes autochtones l'encadrement et les moyens techniques pour réaliser leurs propres courts métrages, a permis que l'audiovisuel rende lisible et visible un regard générationnel qui n'avait pas encore trouvé son champ d'expression : celui d'adolescents et de jeunes adultes pour qui le monde traditionnel aussi bien que les écoles résidentielles se situent dans un autrefois. La réserve est pour eux un horizon assumé et le sentiment de perte par rapport à ce qu'aura été le mode de vie de leurs antécédents, ne se vit plus comme une brulante déchirure. Cette initiative a eu un retentissement important au Québec et au-delà. Elle aura permis à de jeunes Amérindiens de sortir d'un isolement social qui semblait ne jamais pouvoir être brisé.

Un réseau de télévision des peuples autochtones, APTN[20], qui est en onde depuis 1999, a donné un élan décisif pour l'émergence d'une industrie télévisuelle autochtone. En effet, le canal spécialisé qui, pour sa programmation, a un besoin continuel de productions audiovisuelles émanant de l'univers des premiers peuples a conséquemment provoqué dès son apparition une explosion de la demande dans ce secteur. Une politique d'attribution prioritaire des contrats aux maisons de production contrôlées par des Autochtones a favorisé le développement d'une myriade d'entreprises bien ancrées dans leurs milieux respectifs et capables de rendre compte des réalités autochtones avec une acuité remarquable.

Il est cependant à noter que, au Québec, la même opacité médiatique dont nous parlions plus haut vient aussi faire masque à cette réussite. Les émissions d'APTN n'apparaissant pas dans les grilles horaires publiées dans les quotidiens montréalais, à les lire, on pourrait croire que le réseau des peuples autochtones n'existe pas.

19 Voir note 15.

20 Il s'agit d'un canal spécialisé qui fait aujourd'hui partie du bouquet de canaux offerts à tous les abonnés du câble au Canada. APTN perçoit à ce titre une redevance des cablodistributeurs, ce qui lui assure des revenus réguliers. Les Inuit ont fait œuvre de pionniers en matière de télévision autochtone. Et c'est une association des télévisions nordiques qui a amorcé en 1998 les démarches pour obtenir de la Commission de la radio-télévision canadienne les autorisations voulues pour créer une chaine nationale au service de tous les peuples autochtones du pays. Sur les débuts de APTN, voir David, Jennifer *Original People, Original Télévision*, Debwe Communications, 2012.

Conclusion

Représentation : Le même mot désigne le spectacle artistique et la légitimité politique. Le pouvoir est aussi un spectacle, et le spectacle pouvoir[21]. *Occuper le devant de la scène est d'ailleurs une autre métaphore qui s'applique à la politique aussi bien qu'aux arts.*

Certaines places publiques, certaines institutions (galeries, salles de spectacles, musées, cinémathèque, etc.) dans les capitales et les métropoles, sont les théâtres où sont en quelque sorte accrédités les discours sociaux qui s'y déploient: ce sont des lieux de légitimation que différents acteurs en quête de reconnaissance cherchent à investir. Il n'est donc pas anodin que Terres en vues, pour ne prendre que cet exemple-là, soit parvenu à tenir des activités d'envergure à un emplacement central officiellement consacré *place des Festivals* par les pouvoirs en place. Et encore moins qu'il fallût une mobilisation pour y parvenir puisqu'on avait d'abord voulu en écarter Présence autochtone.[22]

Maintenant, les efforts se poursuivent pour qu'un lieu permanent de transmission, de mise en valeur et d'interprétation des cultures autochtones voie le jour à Montréal : une véritable ambassade culturelle dont l'architecture marquera le paysage urbain de la métropole du Québec. Une partie qui n'est pas gagnée.

Tout mouvement de transformation doit faire face à des résistances. De nouvelles chaines signifiantes viennent chercher à s'introduire, comme par effraction, dans l'espace public, transgressant les cloisons sémantiques instituées par le discours colonialiste.

Au Québec, où un mouvement nationaliste s'est construit en rupture avec la proximité historique des Français du Canada avec les populations amérindiennes, l'affirmation nationale, culturelle et artistique des premiers peuples progresse dans un contexte bien particulier; des stratégies appropriées ont donc dû être imaginées pour aplanir les obstacles, coaguler les solidarités et ouvrir de nouveaux horizons.

Nous avons voulu ici, à partir du terrain des opérations, dresser un bref état des lieux.

21 Nous empruntons bien sûr ces concepts à Louis Marin. Voir notamment : *Politiques de la représentation*, éditions Kimé, coll. "Collège International de Philosophie", 2005.

22 Voir note 9.

Von der GKS unterstützte Publikationen

Sylvia Langwald, *Diasporic Generationality: Identity, Generation Relationships and Diaspora in Selected Novels from Britain and Canada,* Studies in Anglophone Literatures und Cultures 7, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2015 (534 S.; ISBN 978-3-95786-027-9; EUR 32,80)

siehe Beitrag in dieser Ausgabe

Stefanie Fritzenkötter, *Das akadische Französisch an der Baie Sainte-Marie/ Neuschottland/Kanada: Ausgewählte soziolinguistische, morphosyntaktische und lexikalische Aspekte in einem jugendsprachlichen Korpus*, Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2015 (318 S.; ISBN 978-3-503-15569-9; EUR 59,80)

Acadien-Français-Franglais? Was und vor allem wie spricht man heute an der Baie Sainte-Marie? Die vorliegende Dissertationsschrift liefert eine synchrone Beschreibung der akadischen Jugendsprache dieser überwiegend frankophonen Region in der kanadischen Provinz Neuschottland, Kanada. Hier konnte bis heute eine Vielzahl archaischer und dialektaler Züge bewahrt werden, die in anderen nordamerikanischen Varietäten bereits verdrängt wurden. Im Zentrum der Arbeit stehen die Analyse ausgewählter englisch-französischer Sprachkontaktphänomene und der punktuelle Vergleich mit anderen französischen Varietäten Nordamerikas.

Die Grundlage der Studie bildet ein elf Stunden umfassendes, im Frühjahr 2011 von der Autorin der Arbeit in der Region aufgenommenes Gesprächskorpus, welches auf Interviews mit 44 Jugendlichen im Alter von 14 bis 26 basiert. Die Umfragen fanden hauptsächlich an der *École Secondaire de Clare,* der *École Secondaire de Par-en-Bas* sowie der *Université Sainte-Anne* statt. Der verwendete Fragebogen deckt Fragen zum Alltagsleben in der Region, zu Hobbys und Zukunftsplänen der Jugendlichen ebenso ab wie solche zum *fait français* in der Region. Die Interviews dauerten zwischen zwanzig und vierzig Minuten und wurden digitalisiert und transkribiert. Ein schriftlicher Fragebogen ergänzt das mündliche Korpus („Erhebungsmethode und Untersuchungskorpus, S. 51-60).

Im Rahmen der soziolinguistischen Analyse der Daten zeigen sich folgende, exemplarische Ergebnisse („Die Jugendlichen an der Baie Sainte-Marie und ihre Sprache(n)", S. 61-100): Die Jugendlichen definieren ihre kulturelle Identität in hohem Maße über das Sprechen des akadischen Französisch sowie über ihre akadischen Vorfahren. Fast liebevoll sprechen sie von *notre langue*, was den besonderen Bezug zu ihrer Sprache offenlegt (S. 64-66). Die in der Vergangenheit lange vorherrschende Diglossiesituation, im Rahmen derer das akadische Französisch zu Hause als Familiensprache sowie in der Heimatregion gesprochen wurde und das Englische als Distanzsprache fungierte, ist mittlerweile aufgebrochen: Die Grenzen der Verwendungsbereiche der beiden Sprachen sind verwischt, wobei das Englische in die Domänen des akadischen Französisch vordringt. Aufgrund des Einzugs des Standardfranzösischen in die akadischen Schulen kann heute von einer Triglossiesituation gesprochen werden, deren Auswirkungen auf die akadischen Varietäten Neuschottlands in Zukunft weiter zu untersuchen sein wird (S. 72-74).

Für den Sprachgebrauch im Nähebereich wird festgestellt, dass die Jugendlichen zwar in einem mehrheitlich frankophonen Milieu leben, mit älteren Familienmitgliedern jedoch häufiger Französisch sprechen als mit ihren Geschwistern. In den Medien spielt das Französische für die Jugendlichen kaum eine Rolle. Als Gründe werden mangelnde Verständlichkeit der verwendeten Varietät (oft das Québecfranzösische) und eine fehlende Auswahl an geeigneten Filmen, Büchern oder Musik angegeben (S. 75-80).

Die Jugendlichen wehren sich vehement gegen das Konzept eines *guten* und dem

gegenüber gestellt eines *schlechten* Französisch. *Parler bien* bedeutet für sie mehrheitlich, sich verständlich machen zu können. Trotzdem finden sich auch in der vorliegenden Studie pejorative Einschätzungen gegenüber der eigenen Sprache. Bei der Untersuchung der sprachlichen Unsicherheit hat sich beim Vergleich der Ergebnisse der Schülerinnen und Schüler mit denen der Studierenden gezeigt, dass ein längerer Verbleib im frankophonen Bildungssystem die sprachliche Unsicherheit und die damit einhergehende Vermeidungshaltung bei der Verwendung des Französischen reduzieren kann (S. 81-95).

Eingangs wurde bereits der archaische Charakter der akadischen Varietät an der Baie Sainte-Marie betont, der jedoch aufgrund der momentan vorherrschenden Triglossiesituation von einigen Sprachwissenschaftlern als bedroht angesehen wird. Im Kapitel „*Une variété archaïque?* Ausgewählte morphosyntaktische und lexikalische Charakteristika" (S. 101-148) dient die Frage, ob der Zugang zu französischsprachiger Bildung sowie ein längerer Verbleib im französischsprachigen Bildungssystem zum Verlust akadischer Charakteristika führt, als Leitfrage. Die hier hauptsächlich untersuchten Phänomene sind das *je collectif,* der Negator *point* und die Verbalendung der dritten Person Plural *-ont*.

Als Vergleichskorpus dienten Karin Flikeids Aufnahmen aus den 1980er Jahren. Erst seit 1996 haben die akadischen Kinder Zugang zu französischsprachigen Schulen, sodass sich ein Vergleich mit Flikeids Daten zur Untersuchung der oben genannten These anbietet. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Verwendung des *je collectif* tatsächlich abgenommen hat (S. 107-111). Die beiden anderen Charakteristika werden jedoch auch zwanzig Jahre nach Flikeids Vergleichsstudie (1989, 1991) noch immer ähnlich häufig verwendet: Der Negator *point* wird in 69,4 %, die Verbalendung *-ont* in 72,3 % der möglichen Fälle gebraucht (S. 119-129).

Die These, dass ein längerer Verbleib im französischen Bildungssystem zu einer vermehrten Verwendung standardfranzösischer Charakteristika führe, konnte durch einen Vergleich der Sprache der Schülerinnen und Schüler auf der einen und der Studierenden auf der anderen Seite verworfen werden: Die Studierenden der *Université Sainte-Anne* verwenden alle untersuchten Akadianismen/Dialektalismen deutlich häufiger als die Schüler.

Das längste Kapitel der Untersuchung widmet sich den englisch-französischen Sprachkontaktphänomenen in der akadischen Jugendsprache („*Moitié anglais moitié français?* Der englische Einfluss", S. 149-276). Neben umfangreichen Wortlisten u.a. zu den entlehnten Substantiven (S. 168-171), Adjektiven (S. 186-187), Verben (S. 193-194) und Adverbien (S. 222-223) sind die wichtigsten Untersuchungsergebnisse aus diesem Bereich die folgenden:

1. Die englischen Substantive werden meist mit dem französischen Artikel in die Matrix integriert. Ausnahmen sind bei Aufzählungen und vor Toponymen möglich: Hier steht in den meisten Fällen der Nullartikel ø. Das englische, hörbare Plural *-s* verstummt üblicherweise, es sei denn es handelt sich um Substantive, die in der Ausgangssprache nur im Plural existieren, so beispielsweise das englische *NEWS* (S. 178-185).

2. Die englischen Adjektive stehen in der Regel – wie im Englischen – vor dem Substantiv. Partizipial gebildete Adjektive stehen mit den französischen Endungen, *-é, -ée, -és, -ées* oder mit der englischen, *-ED*, wobei die englische Endung häufiger verwendet wird (S. 191-192).

3. Die englischen Verben werden immer in die Gruppe der Verben auf *-er* eingeordnet (*WATCH-er, CALL-er*). Auch im englischen unregelmäßige Partizipien werden meist regelmäßig in die Matrix integriert (z.B. *DRIV-é* statt *DROVE*). Ausnahme ist, wie im *Chiac*, das Partizip *GONE* (S. 197-201).

4. Englische Verben mit englischen Adverbialpartikeln wie *FILL-er IN* oder *(se) PISS-er OFF* werden als Einheit in die Matrix integriert, die im Gegensatz zum Englischen, bei dem das Einschieben eines Objekts zwischen Verb und Partikel möglich ist, nicht aufgebrochen werden kann (S. 201-208).

5. Ein in der Forschungsliteratur häufig angesprochenes Charakteristikum der akadischen Varietäten, die Verwendung französischer und englischer Konnektoren wie *mais* –

BUT, *ça fait que – SO* oder *ben – WELL* als Diskursmarker, findet sich auch in der vorliegenden Varietät. Diese gedoppelten Diskursmarker werden in der Regel synonym verwendet (S. 227-238).

Das an der Baie Sainte-Marie gesprochene Französisch ist eine Varietät im Umbruch: Es befindet sich zwischen drei Polen, dem akadischen Französisch, dem Englischen und einem in Schule und Universität vermittelten standardnahen Französisch. Obwohl sich die Varietät in Richtung des englischen Pols zu bewegen scheint, werden akadische Charakteristika vor allem von denjenigen Sprechern beibehalten, die sich in besonderem Maße mit der Varietät verbunden fühlen.

Die vorliegende Arbeit ist seit mehr als zwanzig Jahren die erste, die eine synchrone Beschreibung dieser Varietät anstellt und die erste größere Arbeit überhaupt, die den englisch-französischen Sprachkontakt in dieser ruralen Gegend in den Mittelpunkt rückt. In Zukunft können und sollen die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit als Grundlage für weitere synchrone als auch diachrone Analysen dienen.

Besprechungen/Reviews/Comptes rendus

Marie Carrière/Patricia Demers (eds.), *Regenerations. Canadian Women's Writing / Régénérations. Écriture des femmes au Canada*, Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press 2014 (*Elisabeth Tutschek*)

Denyse Baillargeon, *Brève histoire des femmes au Québec*, Montréal : Boréal, 2012 (*Francine Descarries*)

Éric Bédard, *L'Histoire du Québec pour les nuls*, Paris : Éditions First, 2012 (*Yves Laberge*)

Renée Legris, *Le Téléroman québécois 1953-2008*, Québec: Septentrion, 2013 (*Christoph Vatter*)

Valentina Adami, *Bioethics through Literature: Margaret Atwood's Cautionary Tales*, Trier: wvt, 2011 (*Dunja M. Mohr*)

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Aurélien Boivin, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Jacques Walter (Hrsg.), *Régionalismes littéraires et artistiques comparés. Québec/Canada – Europe. Questions de communication*. Série actes 22, 2014 (*Rolf Lohse*)

Rosemary Chapman, *What Is Québécois Literature: Reflections on the Literary History of Francophone Writing in Canada*, Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2013 (*Marie Carrière*)

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Eddy Weetaltuk in Zusammenarbeit mit Thibault Martin, *Mein Leben in die Hand nehmen – Die Odyssee des Inuk E9-422*, übersetzt aus dem Englischen und Französischen von Rolf Sawala, herausgegeben von Helga Bories-Sawala, Hamburg: Dobu Verlag, 2015 (*Elke Nowak*)

George Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation,* Early Canadian Literature Series, Afterword by Shelley Hulan, Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014 (*Michael Friedrichs*)

Gordon W. Smith, *A Historical and Legal Study of Sovereignty in the Canadian North: Terrestrial Sovereignty, 1870-1939*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2014 (*John Woitkowitz*)

Robert Zacharias, *Rewriting the Break Event: Mennonites & Migration in Canadian Literature*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013 (*Lutz Schowalter*)

Marie Carrière/Patricia Demers (eds.), *Regenerations. Canadian Women's Writing / Régénérations. Écriture des femmes au Canada*, Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press 2014 (310 pp.; ISBN 978-0-88864-627-9; CAD 39,95)

Der vorliegende Band erschien 2014 und wurde durch eine im Frühling 2015 veröffentlichte digitale Version vervollständigt. Diese Publikationsstrategie verweist nicht zuletzt auf ein zentrales Thema bzw. Anliegen des Bandes: Die Aufmerksamkeit gilt den Publikationsbedingungen, Publikationsmöglichkeiten und Publikationsmedien, die kanadische Frauenliteratur und feministische Kritik für ein breites Publikum zugänglicher werden lassen. Die Publikation ist das Produkt einer Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Bibliothek der University of Alberta, der University of Alberta Press, des CWRC (The Canadian Writing Research Collaboratory) und des CLC (Canadian Literature Centre). Gemäß dem Nachwort besteht ihr Ziel darin, die Veränderungen der Beziehungen z wischen den verschiedenen Institutionen im Wandel der Zeit und den Rezeptionsradius von einschlägigen Forschungsarbeiten am Beispiel Kanada in den Blick zu nehmen. Angesichts des sich verändernden Schreib- und Leseverhaltens im Zeitalter des Internets sprechen die Autor_innen von einem *digital turn*. Der Sammelband selbst entstand aus den Vorträgen, die 2010 im Rahmen der Canadian Women Writers Conference 7 des Colloque écritures des femmes au Canada gehalten wurden. An der Konferenz nahmen u.a. Nicole Brossard und Lucie Hotte sowie die Herausgeber_innen selbst teil.

Die im Sammelband publizierten Beiträge analysieren das Schreiben und die kulturelle Produktion von Frauen in Kanada vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute, wobei transnationale, transkulturelle und transgenerationelle Perspektiven in ihrem Verhältnis zu aktuellen Möglichkeiten der Kommunikation und Archivierung in den Blick genommen werden. Die vier Abschnitte, die auf ein zweisprachiges Vorwort folgen, wechseln zwischen englischer und französischer Sprache und stehen in einem Dialog zueinander. Die Bewegung, die durch das Hin und Her zwischen den Sprachen entsteht, spiegelt sich auch in den vier Teilen und deren Überschriften wider: „I. Au fil de la narration", „II. Back to the Future", „III. Des contextes minoritaires" und „IV. Women in Movement". Die einzelnen Artikel sind, wie schon gesagt, entweder auf Englisch oder Französisch verfasst, was der bilingualen Tradition kanadischer feministischer Projekte entspricht, die insbesondere seit den 1960er Jahren auf interlinguistischen Austausch setzen. Dank dieser Bewegung zwischen Mehrheits- und Minderheitssprache wird ersichtlich, wie sehr die anglokanadische Frauenliteratur letztlich mit der *écriture au féminin* verbunden, ja ein Teil von ihr ist.

Die Herausgeberinnen versuchen zudem, nicht nur die dem Leser_innenpublikum bekannte *écriture au féminin* im Wandel der Zeit darzustellen, sondern auch Texte vorzustellen, die wenig rezipiert wurden, nicht in Vergessenheit geraten sollten und das Phänomen der *écriture au féminin* gewissermaßen erweitern bzw. vervollständigen. Der Beitrag von Mary McDonald-Rissanen („Crooked Ribs, Modern Martyrs, and Dull Days", Kapitel 10) bietet ein Beispiel dafür, wie das Erforschen von nicht publiziertem Material – im vorliegenden Fall handelt es sich um Tagebücher und Briefe von Frauen auf Prince Edward Island aus dem späten 19. und dem frühen 20. Jahrhundert – ein neues Licht auf stereotype Frauenbilder der Epoche wirft und diese verschiebt. Sheena Wilson („Recuperating Oblivion in *The Displaced View* (1988)", Kapitel 12) illustriert ihrerseits am Beispiel der japanisch-kanadischen Filmemacherin Midi Onodera und ihren experimentellen Produktionen, wie wichtig es ist, vergessene Verbindungen wieder herzustellen und zu beleben, sowohl solche zwischen den Generationen als auch zwischen den Medien. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Midi Onodera erlaubt es Sheena Wilson darüberhinaus, sich kritisch mit dem Modell des kanadischen Multikulturalismus

zu befassen. Onoderas Werk kritisiert den zwischen Ideologie und sozialer Praxis angelsiedelten Begriff, der, anders als er es verspricht, diverse Sprachen und Kulturen nicht integriert, sondern ethnokulturelle Gruppen von der kolonialen kanadischen Identität abgrenzt und marginalisiert. In ihrem kreativen Schaffen distanziert sich Onodera vom Konzept des Multikulturalismus zugunsten von Interkulturalität. Wilson erläutert strukturiert, wie die Filmemacherin dieses theoretische Paradigma, das Transformation und Neuerfindung durch Interaktion ermöglicht, in *The Displaced View* bearbeitet. Um die Bedeutung der neuen Medien für die Kommunikation – und ihre „Erneuerung" – zwischen Schriftsteller_in und Leser_in geht es schließlich in Mäité Snauwaerts Beitrag, der Catherine Mavrikakis gewidmet (Kapitel 15) und der als Antwort auf Nicole Brossards „Au fil de la narration et des génération" zu verstehen ist (Kapitel 1). Am Beispiel von Catherine Mavrikakis' *e-carnets* und ihrer Radiosendung *Rêvez pour moi* (Radio Spirale) diskutiert Mäité Snauwaert, wie die Schriftstellerin sich nicht nur moderner Medien bedient, sondern diese als Reflexionsflächen unserer Zeit und unseres Verhältnisses zu sowie unseres Interagierens mit den Medien versteht.

Im Zentrum des hier besprochenen Bandes stehen also das Schreiben, Publizieren und Lesen als spiralförmige interaktive Praxen, wobei insbesondere die Bedeutung der neuen Medien und die daraus entstehenden neuen Formen der Zusammenarbeit sowie insgesamt des Denkens, Schreibens und Lesens in den Blick genommen werden. Was etwas zu kurz kommt, ist die Problematisierung der Genderpolitik, die daraus folgen könnte, sowie eine erweiterte Definition von *écriture au féminin* im Spannungsfeld von Literaturgeschichte, Kanonisierung und digitalen Forschungsmöglichkeiten.

Wie bei den Überschriften der vier Abschnitte könnte man auch dem Titel des Bandes Auslassungspunkte hinzufügen – *Régénérations* … –, die für all jene Texte stehen, die unsichtbar bleiben und noch eingefügt werden könnten; die eine Aufzählung der unzähligen Werke suggerieren, die es zu ergänzen gilt, die unbekannt oder noch nicht erfasst sind; die seine Offenheit unterstreichen – *to be continued* – und auf eine digitale Weiterführung hoffen lassen, was wiederum die Bedeutung der vernetzten Zusammenarbeit im Sinne der Frauenliteratur unterstreicht. Neben einer Webpublikation im herkömmlichen Format gibt es nämlich auch noch eine *open access* Version. Sie wurde unter der Leitung von Susan Brown an der *University of Alberta* und der *University of Guelph* als Prototyp einer dynamischen *online* Publikation und als Alternative zum traditionellen *e-book* entwickelt (http://voyant-tools.org/?skin=dtc&corpus=1369422830248.654&docId=d1369370428939.32fbacc2-e8a2-5bcc-461e-7c4f81699195). In ihr lässt sich nicht nur blättern, sondern mit Hilfe eines mit dem Index verknüpften Inhaltsverzeichnisses lassen sich Informationen suchen und neu verbinden. Dadurch eröffnet sich die Möglichkeit, beim Browsen semantische Cluster herauszufiltern und hervorzuheben, diese nach eigenen Interessen zu ordnen, wobei das Inhaltsverzeichnis individuellen Forschungsschwerpunkten entsprechend neu organisiert werden kann. Diese Übertragung der Druckversion ins Web 2.0 ist nicht nur innovativ, sondern hebt hervor, wofür kanadische Frauenliteratur seit jeher steht: Übersetzung und/in Zusammenarbeit.

Elisabeth Tutschek

Denyse Baillargeon, *Brève histoire des femmes au Québec*, Montréal : Boréal, 2012 (281 pp.; ISBN 978-2-7646-2205-6; CAD 21,95)

L'intérêt de *la Brève histoire des femmes au Québec* est de nous proposer dans une langue vivante et accessible une synthèse actualisée de l'histoire des femmes au Québec, de la Nouvelle-France à nos jours. Avec l'intention de manifester « ce qui la distingue et permet de mieux l'appréhender », Denyse Baillargeon s'appuie sur

des travaux récents pour aborder cette histoire à partir d'un triple questionnement : quel rôle ont joué les femmes dans le développement de la société québécoise depuis les premiers temps de la colonie ? Quelle place leur a été réservée dans cette société ? Et, enfin, comment s'inscrit leur histoire dans celle de la société entière et s'expliquent les mutations observées ? Un des objectifs premiers de l'auteure au vu de ces trois questions est incontestablement de sortir de l'ombre le rôle vital joué par les femmes dans la transformation de la société québécoise. Cependant, une autre intention sous-tend son propos et le traverse, celle de faire apparaître « dans le cadre souvent étroit des contraintes qui pesaient sur elles et des normes qui dictaient leur conduites » les différentes configurations de leur résistance au patriarcat au fil des siècles,

Affichant les « idées fortes » d'un féminisme assumé, celle notamment de division sociale des sexes, d'articulation complexe entre sphère privée et sphère publique et de la construction sociale des identités sexuées variables dans le temps et l'espace, Denyse Baillargeon n'hésite pas, dès la première page du manuscrit, à déboulonner le mythe d'un Québec qui aurait été, sinon serait encore, une société matriarcale. Sans insister indûment ni lourdeur, elle déconstruit progressivement cette fable à travers l'évocation d'un patriarcat qui s'est appliqué à restreindre les droits des femmes et leurs champs d'activités. Le ton est donné, c'est une analyse sociopolitique féministe située que nous propose l'auteure des grands phénomènes et événements dont il faut tenir compte pour comprendre les particularités de l'histoire des femmes au Québec, en exposer la complexité et donner sens à leur expérience. Autrement dit, une analyse ancrée dans l'histoire générale du Québec et indissociable des grands courants de fonds, idéologique, politique et économique qui en ont tissé la trame historique depuis l'époque de la colonisation.

Le lectorat avide d'une narration linéaire et factuelle n'y trouvera pas son compte, mais ceux et celles qui sont intéressés à voir comment l'histoire des femmes nous oblige à repenser l'histoire nationale, et bien sûr celle des femmes, y trouveront un ouvrage riche d'enseignements et novateur.

Écrire une synthèse historique n'est jamais simple en soi. À plus forte raison, s'il s'agit d'inscrire un horizon temporel qui se déploie sur plus de trois cents ans dans les limites éditoriales imposées par une collection qui s'appelle « Brève histoire », le défi est d'autant plus difficile à rencontrer. Denyse Baillargeon réussit cependant à le relever avec intelligence. Soucieuse de ne pas s'éparpiller et consciente que « la richesse de la recherche rendait illusoire d'en faire une synthèse exhaustive », elle choisit judicieusement de s'arrêter à six thèmes majeurs abordés sous l'éclairage des « courants de fond » qui ont traversé la société québécoise. Les six thèmes retenus sont la démographie, le travail salarié et domestique à l'aune de la transformation des modes de production, la religion, l'éducation, le droit et les rapports des femmes à l'État et, enfin l'engagement social et politique des femmes. Si ces thèmes constituent la charpente de l'ouvrage, ils sont par ailleurs inégalement traités dans les différents chapitres, sans doute pour des raisons d'espace, mais plus fondamentalement de manière à assurer la fluidité du propos et de l'aiguiller sur les tendances fortes que l'auteure souhaite mettre en évidence.

D'emblée l'auteure affirme que l'influence de l'Église catholique dès les premiers temps de la Colonie, la prégnance de la question nationale dans la société québécoise à partir du XIXe siècle et, plus récemment, la forte présence d'un mouvement féministe québécois dont les acquis se voient cependant dorénavant menacés par les politiques néolibérales et la contestation du « modèle québécois », sont les « lignes de force » qui confèrent sa particularité à l'expérience historique et quotidienne des Québécoises. Une expérience, et cette thèse traverse le livre, également profondément marquée par l'évolution du capitalisme marchand, puis industriel et néolibéral. Ce qui explique la place importante qu'occupe

dans le livre l'analyse des effets de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation sur l'identité, le travail et la place des femmes dans la société québécoise, ainsi que ceux inscrits dans les mutations démographiques et migratoires.

Cela étant, le mode de présentation retenu par l'auteure permet de voir comment et combien l'expérience des femmes est marquée par les représentations sociales de la féminité et de la maternité qui prévalent à chacune des périodes considérées et modulée par la place qui leur est consentie dans les sphères publique et privée selon les conjonctures socio-culturelles et politiques. S'appuyant sur des travaux déjà publiés et également sur ses propres recherches sur la maternité et le travail des femmes, Denyse Baillargeon s'attache donc plus particulièrement à mettre en lumière l'évolution des rôles et des responsabilités assumées par les femmes au sein de la société québécoises et à dégager les principaux enjeux des luttes qu'elles ont menées pour élargir leur espace d'autonomie et d'implication sociale et citoyenne au fil des époques.

L'effort de Baillargeon pour présenter, en autant que cela soit possible dans l'état actuel des connaissances, une histoire inclusive face aux lacunes de l'historiographie traditionnelle, l'amène à tracer sur quelques pages un portrait, généralement escamoté, de la situation des femmes autochtones au moment de l'arrivée des Français. Elle s'attache à décrire leur mode de vie, surtout en ce qui concerne leurs rapports avec les hommes et leur contribution essentielle à l'organisation et à la survie des sociétés autochtones du nord-est de l'Amérique. Elle se montre d'ailleurs attentive, et c'est là un mérite évident de cet ouvrage, à traverser les siècles de l'histoire collective du Québec à partir du point de vue de toutes les femmes, de ce qui les réunit tout comme de ce qui les sépare selon leur origine ethnique, leur classe sociale, leur religion, leur place sur le marché du travail, au regard tant des grands phénomènes historico-politiques que des repères propres à l'histoire des femmes et à l'évolution de leurs revendications et de leurs luttes.

En huit chapitres concis, structurés autour d'un découpage chronologique inédit, l'auteure nous propose une interprétation de la division du temps des femmes québécoises qui s'éloigne des découpages androcentriques généralement utilisés, car établie en fonction des temps charnières qui ont entrainé l'expérience des femmes dans de nouvelles directions, pour, précise-t-elle « des raison qui relèvent parfois d'un facteur unique, mais le plus souvent d'un ensemble de facteurs économiques, idéologiques, politiques et autres », Une personne qui, comme moi, a appris une histoire *mainstream* du Québec et du Canada se surprendra, par exemple, de ne pas retrouver la date de la Conquête comme moment de césure. Pour Baillargeon, du point de vue des femmes, une telle césure n'a pas sa raison d'être puisque la vie quotidienne des femmes et le mode de production domestique n'ont été que très peu bouleversés dans les premiers temps du régime britannique, alors que l'arrivée, à partir des années 1780, d'une immigration britannique aura une incidence beaucoup plus marquée au regard de l'établissement de nouvelles structures politiques et du bouleversement du « visage sociodémographique de la société francophone et catholique ». De même, en évitant de marquer le temps par les guerres ou les soubresauts constitutionnels, l'auteure nous convainc que l'évolution du travail des femmes et les avancées juridiques et sociales qu'elles arrachent de haute lutte constituent de bien meilleurs marqueurs de la temporalité de leur histoire propre.

C'est donc sur la période du Régime français mais aussi des débuts du Régime britannique que Baillargeon aborde l'histoire sociale des femmes pour rappeler à quel point, bien que les deux sociétés soient marquées par une division sexuelle du travail assez rigide, « la place des femmes dans les sociétés françaises et autochtones à l'époque de la colonisation de la vallée du Saint-Laurent » était radicalement diffé-

rente. Elle s'attache d'abord à souligner un aspect, trop longtemps ignoré par l'histoire, à savoir combien l'installation des colons français bouleversera progressivement l'organisation des sociétés autochtones et, en particulier, la qualité et la nature des rapports entre les femmes et les hommes au sein de celles-ci. Par la suite, en mettant l'accent sur le travail des pionnières, la diversité de leurs charges et responsabilités familiales, leur statut juridique et leur indispensable apport à l'établissement et à l'exploitation du territoire, elle en arrive néanmoins à conclure que, malgré une croyance populaire à cet effet et l'existence d'une certaine latitude d'agir accordée aux filles du Roy et à leurs héritières, la période de la colonisation française ne correspond en rien à un « âge d'or », Les femmes de la société coloniale française, affirme-elle « subissent tout autant la domination masculine, même si celle-ci a sans doute pris des formes différentes ».

Le second chapitre couvre la période 1740-1840 et illustre à quel point, plus que la Conquête, c'est l'arrivée d'une importante vague d'immigration britannique qui viendra progressivement modifier le portrait sociodémographique de la société francophone et catholique, tandis que la consolidation de la société coloniale britannique aura une forte incidence sur l'évolution des droits politiques et juridiques des femmes, dans un Bas-Canada qui demeure néanmoins préindustriel.

Le chapitre trois s'intéresse à la courte période de 1840-1880 qui voit l'instauration progressive d'un ordre capitaliste industriel. L'urbanisation, la financiarisation et la bureaucratisation de l'économie qui s'amorcent alors, différemment pour les populations francophones et anglophones, transforment en profondeur les relations de classe et de genre au sein de la société québécoise. Au cours de la période suivante, 1880-1920, qui fait l'objet du chapitre 4, les phénomènes d'industrialisation et d'urbanisation rejoignent davantage les femmes et mènent à l'intégration, pour la première fois, d'un certain nombre d'entre elles, des célibataires pour la plupart, au marché du travail rémunéré hors les emplois liés à la domesticité. C'est aussi la période des premières brèches dans un système d'éducation postsecondaire jusque-là réservé exclusivement aux hommes. Il s'agit d'une période fondatrice pour les femmes qui se regroupent au sein de différentes organisations, souvent départagées sur une base linguistique ou religieuse, pour entreprendre des actions collectives d'entraide à l'égard des femmes et des familles les plus démunies des grands centres urbains, mais aussi pour militer en faveur des droits des femmes et de l'obtention du droit de vote. Malgré l'opposition des élites traditionnelles canadiennes-françaises, l'octroi du droit de vote aux Québécoises par le gouvernement fédéral, au terme de la première guerre mondiale, inaugure les changements à venir.

Le chapitre 5 s'attache à la période de l'entre deux-guerres, 1920-1940 qui se distingue par l'émergence de nouveaux modèles de féminité et une plus grande présence des femmes dans l'espace urbain et associatif, bien que leurs rôles et places dans la société continuent d'être largement définis par un cadre culturel et juridique traditionnel. Sans transformer de manière fondamentale les rapports de genre, le quotidien des femmes sera de plus en plus façonné par une « modernité » par ailleurs décriée par les élites traditionnelles qui y voient une menace à la féminité des femmes et aux « assises » traditionnelles de la société québécoise.

Au chapitre 6, Denyse Baillargeon nous amène à voir une société en profonde mutation. Si la période débute en 1940 avec l'obtention du droit de vote au provincial, elle se termine en 1964 sur l'adoption du projet de loi 16 qui met un terme à l'incapacité juridique des femmes mariées et proclame l'égalité des conjoints, C'est un pas d'importance vers l'obtention de la pleine et entière égalité juridique des femmes qui sera au cœur de l'intensification des luttes menées par le mouvement des

femmes dans la période suivante. Mais déjà, une « parole féminine dissidente » s'élève pour réclamer des mesures correctrices orientées vers l'acquisition des pleins droits juridiques pour les femmes mariées, l'accès à la contraception et l'instauration de politiques favorables aux femmes. Si l'époque est encore traversée par un discours traditionaliste sur les rapports de genre et que les médias continuent de refléter une « image plutôt conformiste de cette période où la contestation est pratiquement absente et où le modèle de la famille nucléaire, dont les femmes occupent le centre, est présenté comme la norme endossée par tous », les transformations de l'organisation sociale provoquées par la participation des femmes à l'effort de guerre, l'intensification et la diversification de leur présence sur le marché du travail et de l'action syndicale, l'entrée dans la société de consommation, le déclin progressif du taux de natalité ainsi que de nombreuses premières dans les domaines législatif et professionnel sont autant d'événements et de phénomènes évoqués par Denyse Baillargeon pour, d'une part, rendre compte de l'important décalage qui s'instaure entre l'idéologie traditionnelle et les pratiques quotidiennes des femmes et, d'autre part, témoigner de l'existence d'une parole féministe contestataire.

Le chapitre 7 s'ouvre sur la révolution féministe qui conduit à une dénonciation collective des règles, normes et institutions qui maintiennent les femmes dans une situation d'inégalité et entraînent des bouleversements sans égal, « une empreinte indélébile ». L'enjeu, observe l'auteure, devient l'obtention d'une autonomie complète pour les femmes dans toutes les facettes de leur vie, y compris le contrôle de leur capacité reproductive dans une conjoncture où la question nationale est aussi omniprésente et divise les femmes entre elles. L'éclatement du modèle de la ménagère vivant sous la dépendance économique d'un mari pourvoyeur en place depuis le XIXe siècle constitue sans doute l'une des premières conséquences de cette dénonciation souvent virulente « des rôles et du statut des femmes […] alors que le visage et la fonction de la famille se modifie radicalement sous l'effet du recours massif à diverses méthodes contraceptives, une baisse drastique de la fécondité, […] les désunions conjugales », la réduction de la taille des familles et la progressive insertion des femmes dans le marché du travail et la sphère publique.

Le dernier chapitre se déploie sur un ton plus alarmiste quant à l'avenir et les capacités de ralliement du mouvement des femmes dans le contexte actuel. Les observations de l'historienne laissent entrevoir les inquiétudes de la militante face à une société néolibérale qui menace des acquis obtenus de haute lutte. Déjà ébranlé par l'horrible tuerie de l'école polytechnique en 1989, le mouvement des femmes, observe Baillargeon, bien que demeurant fort actif, doit dorénavant composer avec un antiféminisme latent au sein de la société québécoise. Et cela, alors que sous l'effet de « la montée du néolibéralisme, le désengagement de l'État dans les programmes sociaux et la récurrente remise en cause du « modèle québécois », les femmes, estime-t-elle, « vivent une époque de reculs » et voient leurs droits questionnés, alors que les mains-d'œuvre féminines les plus vulnérables sont souvent exposées à une double discrimination raciale et sexuelle. À l'appui de cette assertion, Baillargeon énumère certains des problèmes irrésolus introduits par les accommodements raisonnables, les nouvelles technologies de la reproduction, le travail atypique, l'équité salariale, la faible représentation politique des femmes aux lieux de pouvoir, le décrochage social des garçons et le brouillage des identités genrées. Elle insiste également sur les dissidences et tensions générées au sein du mouvement des femmes par les débats sur la question nationale, le voile, l'hypersexualisation et la prostitution « pour démontrer, entre autres, que la sexualité et le corps des femmes représentent plus que jamais une question fondamentale du féminisme qu'il parvient difficilement à

trancher. » Dans un tel contexte, conclut-elle « le mouvement des femmes doit se redéfinir », élargir ses terrains de luttes et prendre en considération la nouvelle donne introduite par la diversification de la composition de la société québécoise et l'appartenance de plusieurs des nouveaux arrivants à des communautés culturelles et religieuses dont les pratiques s'éloignent sensiblement des pratiques de la majorité. C'est donc en se questionnant sur la définition même du féminisme que Denyse Baillargeon nous invite indirectement à poursuivre la réflexion.

Ce livre ne dit pas tout, bien évidemment, mais sa ligne de force est de nous amener à comprendre que la structuration historique des rapports sociaux de sexe, et plus particulièrement le rapport des femmes à la fécondité, à la maternité, à la famille, au travail de même que leur implication sociale et politique se construisent en étroite relation et interdépendance avec les grands moments, les grandes tensions de l'histoire générale du Québec. Une autre contribution importante de cette reconstitution historique genrée de l'histoire des femmes est d'actualiser cette lecture en accordant une attention particulière aux marqueurs classe, statut civil, ethnicité qui, en interaction avec le genre » et diverses instances économiques, sociales, politique et idéologique, forcent à voir, au-delà des conditions socio-politiques communes qui les définissent comme femmes, la diversité des vécus historiques des unes et des autres.

Bref la synthèse proposée par Baillargeon, nous aurions été prête à en lire davantage, ne fait pas « qu'ajouter à notre compréhension du passé ». Elle va au-delà d'une simple narration, elle éclaire le jeu des forces sociales en tension qui ont « aussi bien provoqué des avancées que des reculs » pour les femmes québécoises. Elle constitue aussi un jalon important de la démarche menée par les féministes depuis plus de quarante ans pour faire sortir de l'ombre la contribution des femmes de la périphérie dans laquelle la mémoire collective les a reléguées, faire sens de leur contribution et les poser comme sujet de l'histoire. Ce qui fait de cette *Brève histoire* un livre un incontournable pour qui s'intéresse à l'histoire des femmes et à l'histoire sociale du Québec.

Francine Descarries

Éric Bédard, *L'Histoire du Québec pour les nuls*, Paris : Éditions First, 2012 (xx+394 pp.; ISBN 978-2-75403-885-0; € 22,95)

L'historien Éric Bédard a produit une synthèse de l'histoire nationale du Québec dans la célèbre collection « pour les nuls » (aussi connue sous le nom « *for dummies* »). Comme il se doit, l'auteur procède chronologiquement en partant de la présence amérindienne, des premiers explorateurs européens, des débuts de la colonisation, des guerres et des alliances, du peuplement du Québec et de son évolution, tout en présentant le Québec contemporain. Naturellement, les grandes mutations du Québec moderne y sont décrites et mises en contexte : l'industrialisation, les crises, les efforts de guerre, le duplessisme, la Révolution tranquille, et bien sûr le rêve de la souveraineté du Québec. Les dernières pages présentent des célébrités québécoises, des symboles québécois, des lieux célèbres du Québec. Comme tous les titres de cette collection, l'ouvrage est d'abord destiné aux néophytes mais offre néanmoins un certain esprit comparatif, même s'il procède systématiquement par des capsules d'information tenant souvent en un seul paragraphe par sujet, ce qui a parfois le défaut de rester superficiel. Même les adolescents pourront l'apprécier.

On pourrait reprocher à l'auteur, historien et professeur, de ne pas avoir inclus de notes en bas de page pour indiquer ses sources; mais on devine que cette exigence lui était dictée par l'éditeur qui a relégué la bibliographie en annexe (voir l'avertissement, p. 2). Les proportions et l'équilibre entre les différentes époques pourraient être discutés : ainsi, pourquoi seulement

une quarantaine de pages pour couvrir les débuts de la Confédération canadienne, alors que la période coloniale anglaise totalise 133 pages ? Et pourquoi réduire le régime français s'étendant sur plus de deux siècles à seulement 64 pages? On peut conclure que les historiens seront toujours limités par l'espace disponible et qu'aucun ouvrage général ne peut viser l'exhaustivité… On ne peut qu'espérer que les éventuels lecteurs de ce livre auront le goût de poursuivre leur réflexion et leurs lectures. Une version en anglais de ce livre est parue en 2013 (*History of Quebec For Dummies*, Wiley, 2013).

Yves Laberge

Renée Legris, *Le Téléroman québécois 1953-2008*, Québec: Septentrion, 2013 (440 pp.; ISBN 978-2-89448-752-5; CAD 39,95)

Seit der Einführung des Fernsehens als Massenmedium ab Anfang der 1950er Jahre hat die frankophone kanadische Provinz Québec eine erstaunliche Vielfalt an Fernsehserien hervorgebracht, die häufig die eigene Geschichte und Gegenwart widerspiegeln und reflektieren. Viele dieser „téléromans" haben sich als regelrechte Gassenfeger über zahlreiche Fernsehabende, manchmal auch Jahre hinweg tief ins kollektive Gedächtnis der Québecer Bevölkerung eingeschrieben: *La Famille Plouffe* (1953-1959), *Les Belles Histoires des pays d'en haut* (1956-1970), *Rue des Pignons* (1966-1977), *Le Temps d'une paix* (1980-1986), *Le Parc des Braves* (1984-1988), *Cormoran* (1990-1993), *Montréal P.Q.* (1991-1994), um nur einige der bekanntesten Beispiele zu nennen. Unter den Autoren finden sich auch prominente Vertreter aus dem literarischen und kulturellen Leben der Provinz wie Germaine Guèvremont, Fernand Dansereau, Pierre Gauvreau oder Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, die sich des Mediums Fernsehen bedienten, um Bilder von Québec und seiner Bevölkerung zu entwerfen.

Renée Legris, die sich seit 40 Jahren mit der Geschichte der fiktionalen Radio- und Fernsehgattungen im frankophonen Kanada befasst, legt mit *Le Téléroman québécois 1953-2008* eine umfassende Studie zu diesem Genre vor, das sich als so produktiv für die Hervorbringung kollektiver Identifikationsfiguren und -geschichten Québecs, von „fictions nationales" (28), erwiesen hat. Es ist Legris ein wichtiges Anliegen, die „téléromans" bzw. „téléséries" nicht als zweitrangig zu anderen kulturellen Medien zu sehen, sondern als eigenständige Gattung zu etablieren, die zwar auf Theater, insbesondere auf dem „radioroman" und „téléthéâtre" aufbaut, aber eigene thematische und filmisch-ästhetische Orientierungen entwickelt hat, eine veritable „écriture téléromanesque" (12), die neben der Ebene der Dialoge auch die Verknüpfung von Text und Bild umfasst. Im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen Untersuchungen, die in erster Linie soziokulturelle Aspekte verfolgen, bezieht die Verfasserin diese dramaturgisch-ästhetische Dimension des „téléroman" mit ein. Beginnend mit *14, rue de Gallais*, dem ersten „téléroman" Québecs, der 1953 ausgestrahlt und von André Giroux geschrieben wurde, bearbeitet die Verfasserin das äußerst umfangreiche Korpus der Québecer Serienproduktion bis in die Gegenwart und fragt, wie soziokulturelle und politische Realität im Genre der Fernsehserie dargestellt werden.

Das Buch enthält acht umfangreiche Teile sowie eine hilfreiche Auswahlbibliographie mit den wichtigsten bislang erschienen Veröffentlichungen zum Thema. Die ersten drei Teile sind eher theoretisch angelegt, während die übrigen Kapitel thematische Analysen anhand von Beispielen der wichtigsten Produktionen enthalten, z. B. zur Repräsentation sozialer Milieus oder auch die Entwicklung der Rolle der Frau im „téléroman".

Am Anfang ihrer Studie führt die Verfasserin in Fragen des Genres sowie der damit verbundenen Schreib- und Produktionsweisen ein, wobei sie die Auswirkungen der Entwicklungen im Bereich der (film)technischen Möglichkeiten auf die Produktion

ebenso berücksichtigt wie die Gruppe der Autoren selbst oder wirtschaftliche Einflussfaktoren. In Teil II diskutiert Renée Legris die Frage, inwiefern der „téléroman" eine Funktion als Spiegel oder Widerschein („reflet ou miroir", 70) der Gesellschaft einnimmt. Während sie dies für die ersten Jahrzehnte eindeutig bejaht, konstatiert sie ab 1980 eine Entwicklung zu einem eher lückenhaften und deformierten Abbild („miroir déformant", 84). Dies stehe im Zusammenhang mit der Ablösung der Moderne durch die Postmoderne, die für Legris auch einen ethisch-moralischen Bruch für den „téléroman québécois" ab den 1980er Jahren bedeutet sowie mit Kommerzialisierungs- und Ideologisierungstendenzen verknüpft ist, wie sie an der Darstellung von Gewalt und Sexualität aufzuzeigen bemüht ist.

Als besonders reichhaltig und aufschlussreich erweisen sich die thematischen Analysen, in denen beispielsweise die Darstellung der verschiedenen Regionen Québecs oder die Opposition von städtischem und ländlichem Raum über den Untersuchungszeitraum detailreich nachvollzogen werden. Die Entwicklung der Gesellschaft Québecs und ihre Transformationen spiegeln sich auch in den nuancierten Ausführungen zu Männer- und Frauenfiguren wider, bei denen immer auch sorgfältig genre-spezifische Differenzierungen vorgenommen werden, wie z.B. zwischen televisuellen Sittengemälden („téléromans de mœurs"), in denen Frauen zunächst zwar vornehmlich als Mütter und Gattinnen, dann aber auch als aktiv Berufstätige und in anderen sozialen Rollen zu finden sind, und historischen Serien, in denen soziokulturelle Aspekte z.B. in der Zwischenkriegszeit oder während des Zweiten Weltkriegs im Vordergrund stehen. Aufschlussreich sind auch die Kapitel zur Religion und zur Darstellung der kanadischen Ureinwohner, die vor allem in historischen Serienstoffen in Szene gesetzt werden. Im Kontext der Analyse zur Rolle der Religion wird beispielsweise die Rolle des geizigen Séraphin als kollektive Symbolfigur, die ausgehend von Claude-Henri Grignons Buch *Un homme et son péché* (1933) als zentraler Charakter in *Les Belles Histoires des pays d'en haut* den Weg ins Fernsehen fand, herausgearbeitet.

Der ökonomisch-ästhetische Wandel ab den 1980er Jahren, der auch über den Kontext des „téléroman" hinaus die gesamte televisuelle Kultur betrifft, äußere sich nach Legris in den Fernsehserien vor allem durch eine exzessive Darstellung von Gewalt und Sexualität („culture de mort, de violence et le fétichisme sexuel"), die von der gesellschaftlichen Realität der Mehrzahl der Québecer weit entfernt sei und deren Ausmaß auch über die Widersprüchlichkeit postmoderner Lebenswelten deutlich hinaus ginge. Wenn sich auch diese Diagnose sicher nicht ganz von der Hand weisen lässt, so befremden bisweilen einige der moralischen Urteile und normativen Setzungen der Verfasserin in diesem Zusammenhang den Leser der ansonsten sehr subtilen Analysen. Nicht zuletzt fallen schließlich auch einige der besonders vielschichtigen und anspruchsvollen historischen Serien, die von Legris auch ausführlich gewürdigt werden, in eben diesen Zeitraum ab Mitte der 1980er Jahre, der sich durch eine größere Anzahl an Produktionen und eine damit verbundene Ausdifferenzierung der Genres auszeichnet, u.a. gefördert durch technische und ökonomische Entwicklungen.

Renée Legris' Buch baut auf zahlreiche Vorarbeiten der Verfasserin auf und schließt durch die Gesamtschau über den Korpus der Fernsehserien Québecs eine wichtige Lücke zur bereits vorliegenden wissenschaftlichen Literatur. Allerdings vermisst der Leser einen Index der behandelten Serien oder zumindest einen konzisen Überblick über den Korpus und seine Strukturierung, die leider nur vage angedeutet wird (z. B. S. 160). Schade ist auch, dass nur wenig aktuelle Forschungsliteratur zum Phänomen des seriellen Erzählens herangezogen wird. Insbesondere die jüngeren betrachteten Produktionen stehen schließlich in Konkurrenz zu beliebten US-amerikanischen Serien und greifen, wie die Verfasserin ausführt, z.T. auf deren narrative-ästhetische Muster zurück. Schließlich wäre

es wünschenswert, das Korpus unter dem Aspekt der Darstellung kultureller Diversität präziser zu untersuchen. Die Überlegungen zur Repräsentation der „Amérindiens" weisen zwar in diese Richtung, doch birgt die Frage, wann und unter welchen Umständen die „communautés ethniques" Eingang in die TV-Serien Québecs finden, noch ein großes Forschungspotenzial.

Der vorliegende Band führt breit und kenntnisreich durch beinahe 60 Jahre Québecer Fernseh(serien)geschichte und zeigt auf, wie Medien Gesellschaften und Identitäten widerspiegeln, aber auch prägen können. Am Genre des „téléroman", der eine wichtige Quelle nationaler Narrative Québecs ab der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts darstellt, wird dies besonders deutlich, so dass er eine größere wissenschaftliche Aufmerksamkeit als bisher in den Québec-Studien verdient.

Christoph Vatter

Valentina Adami, *Bioethics through Literature: Margaret Atwood's Cautionary Tales*, Trier: wvt, 2011 (190 pp.; ISBN 978-3-86821-281-5; € 21,50)

Bioethics as an interdisciplinary field of study has been around for almost fifty years, but only in the twenty-first century and along with the rise of ecocriticism, environmental and animal studies this important field with its focus on life sciences – the groundbreaking advancements in biotechnology and in genetic engineering – has truly hit home on a larger scale. In terms of linking bioethics, literary studies, and the material reality of our time, a brief introductory tying in of contemporary examples of bioethical problems and topics would have been desirable in this rather short study aimed at an undergraduate readership. Naturally, bioethics as a "science of survival" (9) seems quite an appropriate approach for an investigation of Margaret Atwood's dystopian novels, so much concerned with the notion of *survival* in the Canadian and North American context but also on a global scale and particularly considering Atwood's general long standing interest in survival – and the victim (position) – as one of the key issues of Canadian literature and (national) identity.

Valentina Adami's study contributes to a growing field of literary studies that investigates the literary engagement with bioethics. Her book basically falls into two sections: an overview of bioethics and, after a short introduction to Margaret Atwood as author, the textual analyses of body politics in *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) from a Foucauldian perspective and of ecological and bioethical issues in *Oryx and Crake* (2003) and *The Year of the Flood* (2009), the first two books of the *MaddAddam* trilogy (2003-2013).

In the first part, Adami focuses on the field's theoretical and philosophical genealogy and the definition of the term 'bioethics' – 'bios' meaning 'life' and 'ethos' meaning 'ethics' –, the field's interdisciplinary establishment in both Europe and the US with its divergent backgrounds (religion vs. medical and law), and then turns to the humanities and narrative bioethics, literature in particular. Surprisingly, Adami begins her overview with a faux pas: she claims that the American scientist Van Rensselaer Potter coined the term 'bioethics' in 1970. The term's origin is, however, much older, as Rolf Löther of Berlin Humboldt University revealed in 1997. Fritz Jahr, a German Protestant pastor and the acclaimed 'European father of bioethics', coined the term 'bio-ethics' in 1927, postulating the necessity of a turn towards an adapted Kantian imperative, a 'bioethical imperative' that would include plants and animals. Potter revitalized the term and concept, but where Jahr, true to the definition Adami correctly gives, joins bios and ethos, Potter advocates an ethical turn for biological science. Adami then proceeds with a concise sketching of the philosophical origins of bioethics, outlining the key concerns of contractarianism, deontology, utilitarianism, the Aristotelian ethics of virtue, communitarianism, and moral pluralism. Turning to the bioethical meth-

odologies of a deductive or inductive approach or a combination thereof, the reflective equilibrium, and its prescriptive normative or descriptive non-normative method, Adami outlines the specific relationship between feminisms and bioethics, often culminating in an "ethics of care" (25). Occasionally, a more critical engagement with the referenced theories and methodologies would have seemed appropriate, for instance, with bioethics' but also with the natural sciences' claim (reminiscent of C.P. Snow's "two cultures" declaration) that the humanities and literature in particular provide a mere supplementary framework for their fields. However, with a nod to Matthew Arnold, John Gardner, and C.S. Lewis, Adami argues for literature's important contribution towards problematizing socio-cultural and technological realities.

Swiftly, Adami then intersperses a brief outline why Atwood's dystopian novels are central to bioethical criticism. Without further ado about generic classifications quite a number of critics have indeed fumbled with – the choices being classical, feminist, critical or transgressive utopian dystopia, speculative fiction or 'ustopia' (Atwood's own term) – Adami subsumes Atwood's novels under the heading 'cautionary tales', which have a decidedly more folkloristic touch, although as a literature of shock and warning these tales share some features with the dystopian genre. Where Atwood herself has classified her novels as 'ustopias' and 'speculative fiction', Adami initially stresses the warning function, but over the course of her study never really returns to this function. Instead, she then reads all three novels in the tradition of the dystopian genre as ecofeminist novels.

In the second part Adami begins her critical analysis of the novels with somewhat lengthy plot summaries and at times clumsy circumscriptions of narratological aspects (cf. 60). These minor flaws aside, the study provides a thorough reading of *The Handmaid's Tale*, particularly of the female body, through the lens of Foucault's biopower. Adami proceeds to read the novel's critical engagement with (reproductive) technology against the liberatory and controlling potential of "assisted reproductive technologies" (101) in the light of radical feminist positions (e.g. Shulamith Firestone vs. Gena Corea and Andrea Dworkin). In her discussion of *Oryx and Crake* and *The Year of the Flood* Adami reads the novels (the God's Gardeners' philosophy in particular) as an argument for the "relational interdependence of all living things" (115), and directly links them with Rachel Carson's and Aldo Leopold's stance on connectivity, the necessity to include more than humans in an environmental ethics. Adami then contrasts the novels' exploration of bioengineering and the role of the posthuman with Francis Fukuyama's, Marvin Minsky's, and Bill McKibben's posthumanist ventilations and arrives at the conclusion that literature provides a futuristic lens to consider potential effects relevant for the present.

Adami's study provides a useful and concise introduction to bioethics for undergraduates, apart from the error of omitting Fritz Jahr, and convincingly illustrates bioethic's importance as a link between science and the humanities. However, a more direct juxtaposition of bioethical theories and methods and Atwood's novels might have provided a number of new insights which, regrettably, remain relatively small in the analytical chapters. Additionally, a contextualization of Atwood's work within the larger context of environmentalist/bioethical literature would have provided the study with a larger scope and outlook, further underlining the importance of the approach Adami rightly argues for.

Dunja M. Mohr

Tomáš Pospíšil (ed.), *The Five Senses of Canadian Cinema*. Brno Studies in English 39, 2, 2013 (155 pp.; ISSN 0524-6881; open access journal)

This special issue of *Brno Studies in English*, edited by Tomáš Pospíšil, is devoted to contemporary Canadian cinema. It features eight original essays – some written by emerging scholars and some written by leading scholars in the field – that cover a wide range of cinematic genres, including avant-garde films, documentaries, melodramas, and horror films. In his introduction, Pospíšil explains that the aim of the issue is to move beyond the traditional emphasis on vision and "incorporate other, previously neglected senses," such as "the aural, tactile, kinesthetic – or haptic – sides of cinema" (5). This focus clearly informs the first essay, Dan Browne's "Objects of Vision: The Polymorphic Cinema of Michael Snow," which argues that Snow's avant-garde films integrate all of the senses by employing the cinematic apparatus as an extension of human perception and consciousness. Snow's films thus facilitate the rediscovery of the body as a mediator or bridge that connects all of the senses – not just the sense of sight. Samantha Wilson's "*Sirmilik*, Geographical Experience, and the Question of Landscape" engages this theme in a slightly different way by examining how Zacharias Kunuk's short film about the Sirmilik national park challenges the implicit ideology of landscape photography, which distances the viewer and creates "the illusion of a total domination over space" (43). According to Wilson, Kunuk's film challenges this ideology by cutting from static aerial shots to close-up tracking shots of the indigenous population. While the aerial images reflect the perspective of geographical surveyors, the more intimate tracking shots allow audiences to see the landscape from the perspective of the Canadian Inuit who live there. The contrast between these shots thus establishes a contrast between scientific knowledge and lived experience, which is designed to make the audience aware of their own complicity "as detached observers" by forcing them "to ask what we really know about the arctic just by looking at it" (52). While this film does not necessary appeal to the other senses, it does challenge the privileging of vision by associating visual knowledge with the colonial gaze.

While the first two essays clearly address the central theme of the issue, it is often difficult to determine how this theme is related to the remaining essays. Darrell Varga's "On True Meaning(s) and the Impossibility of Documentary in the Films of Jennifer Baichwal," for example, examines a series of documentary films that do not present empirical truths but rather suggest a range of possible interpretations. According to Varga, these films thus deal with "the human desire to make meaning out of the chaos and violence of nature," but also affirm that "we cannot know the truth directly" (57). Nathan Clarkson's "Aura, Aurora and Aurality: The Narrative of Place in *Picture of Light*" addresses a similar idea in relation to Peter Mettler's documentary about the Northern Lights, which focuses primarily on the experience of filmmaking rather than the lights themselves: "It is the construction of the film which becomes the audience's experience" (81). This focus on the mediating role of the camera encourages viewers to "bring their own unique notions of the Northern Lights and cinema into dialogue with the images and sounds" (78). When Mettler includes shots of the Northern Lights without sound, for example, viewers are able "to hear their own interpretation of the lights on the screen" (84). Like Varga, therefore, Clarkson emphasizes the inherent ambiguity of contemporary Canadian documentaries.

The remaining essays focus on a range of contemporary genre films. Jim Leach's "In-Between States: Sarah Polley's *Take This Waltz* and Xavier Dolan's *Laurence Anyways*" examines two mainstream films in which the protagonists experience "changes that leave them in 'in-between' states that call into question the categories through which

their culture (including movies) defines what is 'normal'" (93). In particular, both films deal with the perceived "normality" of traditional gender roles, from which the protagonists wish to escape. While this desire to escape is certainly laudable, Leach adds that these films are somewhat ambiguous, as the protagonists fail to find happiness and only end up hurting those around them: "Both films deal with characters who challenge what they experience as oppressive gender roles … but whose determined pursuit of these desires is ultimately seen as destructive both for them and the other people in their lives. In doing so, they make it difficult for the spectator to identify in a straightforward way with characters who are in many ways attractive … but whose actions are often highly dubious" (104). José Rodriguez Herrera's "*Away from Her*? Sarah Polley's Screen Adaptation of Alice Munro's 'The Bear Came Over the Mountain'" similarly examines how the female protagonist of Munro's story and Polley's adapted screenplay seeks to escape the restrictions of "normal" heterosexual marriage. Herrera also explains how Polley's screenplay employs a cinematographic equivalent of Munro's narrative strategies through the use of the "space-off," when the female protagonist moves off-screen: "Once Fiona decides to enter into a care facility [for the treatment of Alzheimer's], she leaves the space of the frame where she has been represented until now and starts to occupy new spaces of self-representation outside the framework of 'dependent wife'" (119). Herrera thus concludes that Polley's film represents an explicitly feminist adaptation, which does not convey the kind of ambiguity that Leach sees in her later work.

The remaining two essays deal with entirely different topics. André Loiselle's "Canadian Horror, American Bodies: Corporeal Obsession and Cultural Projection in *American Nightmare*, *American Psycho* and *American Mary*" examines three Canadian horror films that depict negative aspects of contemporary Canadian culture, such as the objectification of women, the obsession with conspicuous consumption, and the narcissism of the plastic surgery industry, as problems that are distinctly American. According to Loiselle, these films thus reflect a common tendency "to project onto the other (America) the unbearable abjection that is excruciatingly intolerable in the self (Canada)" (126). Marcel Arbeit's "When Seeing and Hearing Do Not Help: Communication Failures in Canadian Films" also addresses the problem of intercultural communication between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians. While filmmakers often attempt to overcome this problem using subtitles, Arbeit shows that these subtitles are often incorrect, which ends up creating more problems than they solve. Arbeit thus concludes that creative non-linguistic communication is potentially more effective, as "artists … can at least use signs in ways that do not call for ultimate, non-ambiguous interpretations" (152). Creative ambiguity can be productive, in other words, because it allows for audience engagement.

While it is doubtful that this issue will be particularly useful for scholars interested in studying the "haptic" experience of cinema, it will be an extremely valuable resource for scholars working at the intersection of Canadian studies and film theory. It will also help to expose readers to the tremendous wealth and scope of Canadian cinema, which is sadly not very well-known among Canadians much less international audiences.

Anthony Enns

Aurélien Boivin, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Jacques Walter (Hrsg.), *Régionalismes littéraires et artistiques comparés. Québec/Canada – Europe. Questions de communication*. Série actes 22, 2014 (308 p., ISBN 978-2814302068, 15,45 €)

In einer globalisierten Welt scheint die kleinräumliche Kategorie der Region von schwindendem Belang zu sein. Dass dem nicht so ist, darauf weist der auf Französisch

verfasste Sammelband mit dem Titel *Régionalismes littéraires et artistiques comparés. Québec/Canada – Europe* nachdrücklich hin. Der Sammelband thematisiert in 17 Beiträgen die vielfältigen Facetten regionalistischer Literaturen und Kunsttendenzen und unterstreicht damit die Aktualität dieser Fragestellung. Die Beiträge thematisieren Fragen nach der Entstehung, den Stellenwert und die Funktionen unterschiedlicher Spielarten von regionalistischer Literatur und Kunst. Die Beiträge, die sich einem internationalen Kolloquium verdanken, das im Jahr 2007 von der lothringischen Maison des sciences de l'homme, der Université Paul Verlaine in Metz sowie der Universität des Saarlandes veranstaltet wurde, sind in drei unterschiedlich umfangreiche Abschnitte des Bandes gegliedert. Unter der Überschrift „Approches théoriques et conceptuelles" (19–85) sind vier Aufsätze der theoretischen Einordnung der regionalistischen Literatur gewidmet, vier weitere Aufsätze thematisieren weit über eine spezifische Region hinausreichende Beziehungen zwischen regionalistischen Tendenzen in Literatur und Kunst („Régionalismes transatlantiques" 87–155), neun Aufsätze (157–300) liefern Überblicksdarstellungen und Fallstudien zu regionalistischer Literatur und Kunst in Europa und in Übersee, wobei dieser umfangreichste Abschnitt des Bandes neben der im Titel – „Ancrages socio-culturels des régionalismes" – angekündigten soziokulturellen Perspektive noch weitere erkennen lässt: historiographische, medienkritische und kunsthistorische Perspektiven. Es lohnt sich, die auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen argumentierenden Aufsätze genauer in den Blick zu nehmen, da gerade diese Vielfalt deutlich macht, welches Erkenntnispotential die Erforschung regionalistischer Literaturen und Kunsttendenzen mobilisieren kann und welche methodisch unterschiedlichen Zugriffe dazu entwickelt werden. Der Blick auf die kanadische, aber auch die französische, die Schweizer und die deutsche Literatur und Kunst zeigt, dass zwar das dominante Verständnis des Begriffs Regionalismus mit der Darstellung von Ruralität verknüpft ist, dass dies jedoch nicht zwingend ist. Dies macht spätestens der letzte Beitrag dieses Bandes deutlich, der den regionalliterarischen Bezugnahmen auf das im deutsch-französischen Grenzgebiet gelegene Konzentrationslager Neue Bremm nachgeht. In diesem Fall ist die Wahrnehmung der Region nicht durch die nostalgische Konstruktion einer unverfälschten agrarischen Lebensweise, sondern durch die Bearbeitung des Grauens der nationalsozialistischen Vernichtungsmaschinerie bestimmt.

In der Einführung „Penser les régionalismes littéraires et artistiques" (7–18) thematisieren Aurélien Boivin, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink und Jacques Walter, die Herausgeber des Bandes, die übergreifenden Forschungsfragen und präsentieren in Form knapper Abstracts die spezielleren Fragestellungen, die in den einzelnen Beiträge verfolgt werden. Den Herausgebern gelingt es, die thematisch und methodisch divergierenden Beiträge in Beziehung zu der zentralen Fragestellung zu setzen, die dem Regionalismus in literarturhistorischer und kulturpolitischer Hinsicht gilt. Im ersten Beitrag „Qu'est-ce que le régionalisme littéraire?" (19–30) nimmt Armin von Ungern-Sternberg kritisch zu dem Konzept eines literarischen Regionalismus Stellung und konterkariert die Annahme, diesem Sammelband liege eine konsensuelle Definition des Begriffs Regionalismus zugrunde. Armin von Ungern-Sternberg stellt heraus, dass der Begriff Regionalismus in vielfacher Hinsicht aporetisch ist, weil sich kaum eine literarische Bezugsgröße (Autorbiographie, Werk, Ausstrahlung, Rezeption) auf eine Region beschränken lässt. Andererseits stellt Armin von Ungern-Sternberg deutlich heraus, dass damit das gemeinsame Anliegen des Bandes keineswegs ausgehebelt ist, sondern dass die Offenlegung von aprioristischen Setzungen es ermöglicht, den Konstruktcharakter des Begriffs des literarischen Regionalismus in den Blick zu bekommen und kritisch zu befragen. Als kritische Stellungnahme wurde dieser

Beitrag geschickt an den Anfang des Bandes platziert, um aus den sicherlich berechtigten kritischen Einwendungen gegen ein solches Konzept Fragestellungen zu gewinnen, die in den folgenden Aufsätzen diskutiert werden, so etwa die Frage nach Stellenwert und Relevanz von Selbstdeklarationen literarischer und künstlerischer Gruppen. Der Beitrag Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmanns „Aspects d'une exploration comparatiste de l'histoire culturelle des régions" (31–54) ist als ein Referat über wichtige Forschungen und lokale Schwerpunkte der Forschung zu dieser Thematik angelegt. Der Beitrag entwirft ein weites Panorama von Untersuchungsgegenständen, die sich für eine Betrachtung unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Regionalismus anbieten, ohne eine spezifische Fragestellung zu privilegieren. Günter Scholdts Beitrag „Le régionalisme littéraire dans la zone transfrontalière franco-allemande. Contribution à l'édification d'une typologie (55–71) analysiert narrative Texte der Regionen Saar und Elsass, in denen das kulturelle Selbstverständnis von Grenzregionen thematisiert wird. Seine Inhaltsanalysen bringen zutage, dass diese Regionalliteratur keineswegs als rückwärtsgewandt, anti-modernistisch und nationalistisch gelten kann, sondern auch – je nach politischer Großwetterlage – modernistische und avantgardistische Tendenzen erkennen lässt, die sich mit dem Blick auf ein plurilinguales Europa als fortschrittlich charakterisieren lassen. Der vor der Publikation seines Beitrags „Trois entraves à l'étude du régionalisme" (73–85) verstorbene kanadische Kunsthistoriker David Karel kritisiert ebenfalls eine überholte Sicht des Regionalismus, die allzu leichtfertig die Bindung an eine Region mit der Thematik des Ruralen unterstellt. Zwar finden sich in der Literaturgeschichte eine Reihe regionalistischer Literaturprojekte, die die Daseinsform des Bauern thematisieren, dies bedeutete jedoch nicht, dass der literarische Regionalismus per se thematisch und auf eine bestimmte Epoche festgelegt sei. Die interdisziplinär orientierte Betrachtung von Literatur und Kunstwerken lässt erkennen, dass sich kein Gegensatz von Modernismus und Regionalismus konstruieren lässt.

Michel Grunewald stellt in seinem Beitrag „D'*Anthinea* à *L'étang de Berre*. Régionalisme et nationalisme chez Charles Maurras" (87–102) den französischen Autor Charles Maurras als einen der bedeutenden Protagonisten eines literarischen Regionalismus heraus, dessen spezifische Ausformung darin liegt, dass er mit nationalistischen Anliegen Hand in Hand geht. Diese Symbiose regionalistischer und nationalistischer Anliegen machte Maurras' Überlegungen exportierbar nach Übersee. Eng an Grunewalds Überlegungen schließt sich der Beitrag Olivier Dards „Régionalisme et politique : l'exemple de la Jeune Droite de l'entre-deux-guerres au début des années 50" (103–120) an, in dem Dard die Entwicklung des Regionalismus und seine Verankerung in der bzw. seine Vereinnahmung durch die politische Rechte anhand der Jeune Droite dargestellt wird. Aurélien Boivin erarbeitet in seinem Beitrag „Régionalisme transatlantique: Henri Pourrat, René Bazin, Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz et Damase Potvin" (121–135) heraus, inwieweit der Regionalismus kein regionales, sondern letztlich ein globales Phänomen ist, dessen Basis in einer Haltung zu verorten sein dürfte, die der Abwehr des Verlusts von Identifikationsmöglichkeiten im Zeitalter eines entfesselten Industriekapitalismus im 19. Jahrhundert dient. Dies könnte die Gleichzeitigkeit des Phänomens in Frankreich und der Provinz Bas Canada (heute Québec) erklären. Am Beispiel der publizistischen Aktivitäten eines der namhaftesten Verfechter eines im Nahbereich verorteten Regionalismus untersucht Brigitte Nadeau in ihrem Beitrag „Albert Tessier, intermédiaire culturel entre le régionalisme de Frédéric Mistral et le Canada français" (137–155) den Transfer des wohl ursprünglich französischen kulturpolitischen und literarischen Trends des Regionalismus in die Québecer Region um Trois Rivières. Der kanadische Kleriker Tessier, der den regionalistischen Literaturtrend im Werke Frédéric Mistrals zum Vorbild erhebt, nutzt alle Medien der modernen Kommuni-

kation (Zeitung, Foto, Film), um eine spezifisch lokale Vision des Regionalstolzes hoffähig zu machen.

Den Abschnitt mit Überblicksdarstellungen und Fallstudien – „Ancrages socioculturels des régionalismes" – eröffnet der Spezialist der Québecer Literatur Maurice Lemire mit seinem Beitrag „Aspects comparés du régionalisme français et canadien-français" (157–168). Lemire, der umfangreiche und relevante Forschungen in diesem Bereich vorgelegt hat, stellt in diesem Grundlagenaufsatz wesentliche Berührungspunkte und differenzierende Aspekte des Regionalismus in Frankreich und in Québec heraus. In den folgenden Beiträgen von York-Gothart Mix und Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink wird erkennbar, dass der literarische Regionalismus – wiewohl er zur Migrationsproblematik im Gegensatz zu stehen scheint – auch in Beziehung zu der Frage von Migration zu sehen ist. York-Gothart Mix stellt in seinem Beitrag „La référence socioculturelle régionale dans les calendriers populaires germano-américains du XVIIIe et du XIXe siècles" (169–187) die Frage, wie sich größere Einwanderergruppen definieren. Anhand der deutschen Einwanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika lässt sich verfolgen, mit welchen publizistischen Strategien die gruppenspezifischen Anliegen der Einwanderer zum Ausdruck gebracht wurden. Die Einwanderer, die ganze Regionen prägen, artikulieren wesentliche Aspekte ihres kulturellen Selbstbildes durch Druckschriften, die große Verbreitung finden. Mix weist insbesondere auf Almanache hin, die sich im 19. Jahrhundert in Amerika großer Beliebtheit erfreuen und die sich auf in Deutschland verbreitete Modelle stützen. Er arbeitet die Bedeutung dieser Almanache für die Konstruktion von stabilen Selbstbildern der Einwanderergruppen heraus. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrinks Beitrag „Identité régionale et médias populaires: espace régional, mémoire historique et modernité culturelle dans les almanachs canadiens-français, 1918–1939" (189–202) richtet den Fokus ebenfalls auf Almanache – nun der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts – sowie auf weitere publizistische Aktivitäten und entwickelt daraus Einsichten in die Relevanz solcher Aktivitäten für die regionalistische Dynamik. Seine Untersuchung zeigt, wie sich spezifische Zielsetzungen von Interessengruppen in die Verlagsaktivitäten und strategischen Entscheidungen hinein verfolgen lassen. Diese Einsichten helfen zu erklären, wie es klerikal konservativen Kräften in einem historischen Moment, der von zunehmender Industrialisierung geprägt ist, gelingt, das Leitbild eines agrikulturell geprägten literarischen Regionalismus durchzusetzen.

Kenneth Landry geht in seinem Beitrag „« Other days, other ways » : la diffusion de quelques «classiques», du régionalisme littéraire québécois par des traductions anglaises, 1921-1929" (203–215) der Frage nach der Funktion, der Rezeption und der Wertschätzung von Übersetzungen vor allem rural-regionalistischer Texte ins Englische nach. Landry stellt die sehr positive Rezeption englischer Übersetzungen frankokanadischer regionalistischer Texte im anglophonen Kanada sowie in den USA heraus. Diese Frage ist zudem insofern interessant, als im Rahmen der québecischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung anglophone literarische Aktivitäten aus durchaus nachvollziehbaren Gründen bislang eher vernachlässigt wurden und der Entdeckung harren. In dem gemeinsam von Denis Saint-Jacques und Marie-Josée des Rivières verfassten Beitrag „Une nouvelle phase du régionalisme littéraire canadien-français" (217–226) wird die bisherige historiographische Beschreibung regionalistischen Schreibens in Frankokanada, die eine Früh- und eine Hauptphase unterscheidet, durch eine dreistufige Modellierung weiter ausgebaut. Insbesondere die letzte Stufe, die durch die Umformung rural-agrarischer Regionalität in eine urbane gekennzeichnet werden kann, steht im Vordergrund dieses Beitrags. Hélène Destrempes interessiert sich in ihrem Beitrag „Régionalisme et différenciation identitaire dans les écrits acadiens (1880–1930)" (227–240) für die kulturpoliti-

sche Dimension des Regionalismus in der Großregion Acadie (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia). Führt die literarische Selbstbetrachtung zu einer Betonung der großregionalen Eigenheiten der Acadie in Abgrenzung zu den dominierenden québecischen frankokanadischen Selbstdeklarationen, so lässt sich auch eine atomisierende Tendenz beobachten, die auf die regionale Differenzierung unterschiedlicher akadischer Regionen im Inneren der auf Differenzierung bedachten Großregion zielt.

Der Kunsthistoriker Christophe Bardin untersucht in seinem Beitrag „L'Art nouveau et la question identitaire régionale. L'exemple de l'École de Nancy" (241–251) am Beispiel der nordostfranzösischen Ausprägung des Jugendstils die produktiven Wechselwirkungen zwischen überregionalen, internationalen, auch nationalen Kunststilen und ihren regional durchaus spezifischen Ausprägungen.

Frank Wilhelm untersucht in seinem Beitrag „Le projet des Cahiers luxembourgeois et ses manifestations littéraires dans l'entre-deux-guerres : une tentative d'élever le discours régionaliste au niveau d'un discours international" (253–272) die Zeitschrift *Cahiers luxembourgeois* (1923–1940), deren Interesse der lokalen literarischen Szene Luxemburgs als auch der Wahrnehmung vor allem französischer und deutscher Entwicklungen der Literatur galt. Der Autor geht der Frage nach, inwieweit diese beiden konträren Interessen sich zu einer kohärenten Publikationsstrategie zusammenführen ließen. Jacques Walter diskutiert in dem Beitrag „La dynamique lorraine de l'édition de témoignages sur le camp de la Neue Bremm en 1945" (273–300) die Bedeutung, die ein zu Recht extrem negativ konnotierter Ort in der Bestimmung einer regionalistischen Literatur erhalten kann, und weist auf eine in diesem Band bisher nicht diskutierte Dimension des Regionalen hin: Die an das Konzentrationslager Neue Bremm geknüpften Memorialliteratur etabliert ein in der Region lokalisiertes und auf die Region perspektiviertes Verständnis des Begriffs des Regionalismus, der weniger im Sinne identifikatorischer Bestrebungen zu verstehen ist, sondern eher im Sinne eines „lieu de mémoire", d.h. einer auf Mitgefühl und Abwehr zielenden Mahnung vor dem Rückfall in die Barbarei. Damit thematisiert dieser Beitrag eine Position, die mit den Beschreibungen von mehr oder weniger positiv konnotierten Designs des Regionalen nur locker verknüpft ist, die jedoch einfordert, nach weiteren Orten, Mythen, Lebensformen zu forschen, die ebenfalls zum Fokus einer regionalistischen Literatur- und Kunstpraxis geworden sind oder werden können. An diesen letzten Aufsatz schließen sich die Abstracts der Beiträge in Englisch an (301–308).

Jedem Aufsatz ist ein Resümee in Französisch vorangestellt, und es sind die Kernschlagworte verzeichnet, die auch in ein Register hätten Eingang finden können. Das wäre in Hinsicht auf zentrale Autoren, auf die mehrfach eingegangen wird, sicherlich sinnvoll gewesen. Dieser Aufsatzband eröffnet ein weites Panorama an Fragestellungen und an Einsichten, die deutlich machen, dass die Frage des Regionalismus als geographisch-kultureller Selbstentwurf durch literarische und künstlerische Eliten ein Phänomen von großer Aktualität ist – gerade zu Zeiten, die eher durch eine entfesselte Globalisierung und weltweite Migration geprägt sind.

Der Band lädt mit Blick auf kommende Forschungen dazu ein, auch in anderen als den inhaltlich vor allem auf die Darstellung von Ruralität zielenden Gattungen nach Spuren regionalistischer Diskurse zu suchen. Zu denken wäre an den kanadischen Feuilletonroman in der Nachfolge Eugène Sues, etwa an Hector Berthelots und Auguste Fortiers gleichnamige Romane *Les mystères de Montréal* (1879–81 bzw. 1893). Auch die literarische Darstellung von Urbanität könnte in Québec, aber auch in anderen Weltgegenden, im Rahmen regionalistischer Selbstbesinnung und Selbstdeklaration stehen. Eine von der Ruralität abgelöste Definition des Begriffs der Regionalität, die in dem Band schon vorsichtig angedeutet wird, würde den Blick auch auf den frühen

frankokanadischen Großstadtroman (Bessette *Le débutant*, 1914; Harvey *Les demi-civilisés*, 1934) öffnen, der als spezifischer Ausdruck einer modernen, urbanen Regionalität lesbar gemacht werden könnte, in deren Rahmen spezifische regionale Anliegen artikuliert werden. Es könnte auch die Frage gestellt werden, welcher Stellenwert Texten zukommt, die eine der üblichen Darstellung des Ruralen entgegenlaufende kritische Tendenz vertreten: wie zum Beispiel Albert Laberges *La scouine* (1918).

Rolf Lohse

Rosemary Chapman, *What Is Québécois Literature: Reflections on the Literary History of Francophone Writing in Canada*, Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2013 (viii + 292 pp.; ISBN 978-1-84631-973-0; £75.00)

In a way, Rosemary Chapman seems to answer the question posed in the title of her book with the subtitle she has chosen for it. "Québécois Literature," or so it seems, is equivalent to "Francophone Writing in Canada." However, the question is much more vexed than what the title and subtitle combined suggest. Perhaps none other than Chapman is more keenly aware of the complications. The opening paragraph of her Introduction necessarily underlines the historical and contextual specificity of the very appellation of *littérature québécoise*, the naming of which, like that of French writings in Canada generally, has never been straightforward, but was officially coined during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. Meanwhile, Francophone Writing in Canada, Chapman argues, points to writing in French within – but more often outside – Quebec. The text remains insistent on although not always clear about this delineation, and devotes the book's fourth and final chapter to Indigenous literatures and to Francophone writings outside Quebec.

The approach of the work also sets out to widen the notion of what constitutes literature and its history. Convincingly revealed is how religious, political and historical texts make up the literary histories of Quebec and French Canada as much as their poetry, fiction, drama, and essay form. This is no innocent literary history unaware of its own methodologies, powers of construction, or cultural processes. The book's primary reflections fall on the very making of literary histories, particularly in relation to nation, identity politics, the history and legacies of colonialism, and cultural exclusion.

The Introduction provides a useful look into elements that constitute literary history, particularly its imperialist and nationalist impulses. Chapman advocates for a post-colonial approach carefully conceived and appropriate to Francophone writing in Canada, mindful of its invader-settler composition, and so of its internal colonization of Indigenous peoples. The study also pays due attention to the high stakes of the cultural production and institutionalization of literature as defining aspects of any literary history. The veritable focus and undeniable strength of the study is its highly meticulous and critically acute – and most of all *decentered* grappling with the very beast that is literary history – its active constructions and ideological functions in the French-language contexts not just of Quebec but also of minority and Indigenous writing in Canada.

Chapter 1 examines the history of literary histories in French Canada, particularly the evolving appellations of literatures written in French, their various and contentious forms of periodization, as well as their traditionally exclusive, white and Eurocentric focus on the nation. The influential role of education in constituting literary history specifically in Quebec is the focus of Chapter 2. It effectively recalls the important roles played by the *collège classique*, the Parent Commission's secular overhaul of public education and access in Quebec, and the province's *cégep* curricula in mediating and institutionalizing its literature. Chapter 3 is a useful reflection on the textbook and the anthology, and their determining

role in constructing literary history, nation, and cultural representations. Chapter 4 considers what the nationalist or homogenizing impulses of Quebec literary history have excluded: Canada's Indigenous literatures and minority writing in French. Noted are the ground-breaking anthologies by non-Indigenous critics Diane Boudreau in the mid-nineties (in 1993) and Maurizio Gatti more recently (in 2004), and their attempts at resisting the pull of the national centre in their assemblage of Indigenous writing in French. The chapter's section on Francophone literatures beyond Quebec reveals literary histories having grappled once again with the problem of appellation, from *littératures minoritaires, mineures or exiguës.* Moreover, with Indigenous and minority writing in French seems to rest the future of literary history as a necessary practice still in need of "doing nation" but "differently," to quote, as does Chapman, Donna Pamateer Pennee.

In different parts of her study, Chapman is frank and open about its non-exhaustibility. The disclaimer, however, does not prevent this reader from being left wanting more, for instance, on the internal disturbances caused by *écriture migrante* (migrant writing) whose own literary and critical history in Quebec, for better or for worse, cannot be ignored as a defining and happily decentering factor. Another absence is a significant acknowledgment of feminism and its undeniable impact on the very aesthetic turns and practices of Québécois and French-Canadian writings and their literary history since the nineteen seventies. It is also at this point that one is left to wonder once again about the book's title, *What Is Québécois Literature?* The aim of this book is not to survey, thoroughly or at all, the social and aesthetic movements (like migrant and feminist writing, but also regionalism, surrealism, nationalism, formalism, or the relationship to urban landscape and the *arrière pays*) that are at the very core of what constitutes Québécois Literature, indeed distinct from a Franco-Ontarian or Acadian one. These literatures, of course, have in turn their own literary histories, internal multiplicities, canons, and institutional stakes. Given Chapman's chosen focus on the very makings of literary history and especially on what it excludes in the name of steadiness and wholeness, was the title for this book an ill-advised editorial choice, its question destined to remain in suspension, if not peripheral at best? The work, in short, is at times powerfully lucid, and the content that it does cover is contextualized in detail, especially when pertaining to the ideological and cultural impact of historicizing literature. But *What Is Québécois Literature?* remains an oddly incomplete response to its own question – but, one might counter, incomplete just as any textbook, anthology or literary history is bound to be.

Marie Carrière

John English, *Ice and Water: Politics, Peoples, and the Arctic Council*, Toronto: Allen Lane, 2013 (x + 367 pp.; ISBN 978-0670065387; CAD 34)

This is the first historical monograph on the Arctic Council. Rather than exclusively retelling immediate events and decisions that led to the creation of this important circumpolar organization in Ottawa in 1996, eminent historian John English places the development within a larger Canadian and global context. As the subtitle "Politics, Peoples, and the Arctic Council" indicates the focus is on domestic and international politics surrounding the founding of the organization as well as on the main actors – both individuals and groups – who were instrumental in its creation. In a prologue, English manages to set the stage for his story by using more recent events – such as the 2010 meeting of the so-called Arctic Five (coastal states) in Québec, at which U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton criticized her Canadian hosts for excluding other important Arctic actors from the meeting, particularly indigenous groups – and linking them to earlier historical instances that

highlight both the geopolitical aspects as well as cultural significance of the Arctic region for Canada. Like many other Arctic scholars, English identifies a speech given by Mikhail Gorbachev at Murmansk in 1987 as one of the decisive incidents operating as one of the "principal catalysts" (p. 11). In this speech, the Soviet leader proposed Arctic demilitarization and collaboration. The end of the Cold War and increasing environmental concern ensured that "the spark" of the Murmansk speech was transformed into a flame. But it was especially indigenous groups who engaged in circumpolar political activism since the 1970s who "kept [the flame] burning" (p. 7). These three main concerns – environmentalism, security and indigenous peoples – drove intergovernmental, circumpolar initiatives by the two main state actors, Finland and Canada, and ultimately led towards the Arctic Council. English would not be a historian without pointing out the complexity as well as contingency of these developments. For him "the Arctic Council was far from inevitable" (p. 13). Reconstructing the complex interplay of diplomatic and indigenous agency on domestic and international stages lies at the heart of English's very specific account, which is subdivided into eight chapters.

The first three chapters introduce the reader to the history of Canada and the Arctic. While the first chapter addresses the significance of the Arctic as a place in the Canadian imaginary tracing the emergence of the region from being a "sideshow" for "Europe on the eve of its world empire" (p. 27) to becoming the target of British explorations in the 19th century, the following chapter engages with the historical discussion on ownership of and sovereignty in the Arctic. Focusing on the late 19th and early 20th century, English shows how ownership of the Arctic islands was contested after 1880, when the British handed over their Arctic claims to the Dominion. Expeditions by Stefansson and Bernier in the early 20th century as well as U.S.-Canadian collaboration during the Second World War solidified Canada's sovereignty narrative that incorporated the Arctic as a quintessential Canadian space. The third chapter then provides an account of Cold War antagonisms in the Arctic, which functioned as a thoroughfare between the two superpowers. Two sets of issues impacted the region during this time: geopolitical and security considerations on the one hand, economic development and natural resources, specifically oil and gas, on the other. The latter contributed to an important development, the emergence of indigenous political activism in the 1960s. In 1971 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami) was founded and in 1977 the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (now Inuit Circumpolar Council) came into being. That same year, the Report of the Berger Commission, an inquiry into the construction of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, emphasized the necessity to deal with indigenous land claims. According to English, private foundations also played a role in facilitating indigenous agency. He specifically mentions the Duncan Gordon Foundation and its northern programs (p. 98).

The following four chapters are devoted to the Finnish and Canadian proposals for circumpolar cooperation, which eventually led to the creation of the Arctic Council in Ottawa in 1996. While the Finnish initiative was focusing on addressing environmental issues leading to the so-called Rovaniemi process and the adoption of the Arctic Environmental Protection Agency (AEPS) in 1991, the Canadian initiative went beyond a functionalist approach focusing exclusively on environmental issues and instead proposed a more formal cooperative framework which would also address security issues and give indigenous peoples an institutional voice. Based on archival material and interviews English analyzes the intricate development of the two initiatives as well as the role of various actors in pushing them. He argues that "indigenous peoples were the main architects" (p. 286) of the Arctic Council. Among these Mary Simon, who was appointed as Canada's first ambassador for the Arctic and circumpolar affairs

in 1994, was one of the central figures. In addition, Franklyn Griffiths and Tom Axworthy as well as the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation are portrayed as instrumental. At the same time it was important that foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy championed the creation of the Arctic Council. English spends quite some time sketching the bureaucratic politics involved. In his story, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was mainly supportive (Jack Stagg is an important actor here) and the Department of Foreign Affairs much less so. This observation also fits with his overall verdict that "Canada's Arctic policy grew from domestic needs" (p. 295). For Canada the creation of the Arctic Council was less a foreign policy issue. More important was the inclusion of indigenous peoples as permanent participants and a circumpolar agenda that would not exclusively focus on environmental issues based on the concepts of sustainable development as proposed by the Scandinavians.

English provides a well-written account of the very complex historical antecedents as well as events and decisions that led to the creation of the Arctic Council in Ottawa in 1996. Of course, a complex story such as this one means that many parallel developments have to be told at the same time, history is not seriatim. Maybe a chronological approach would have worked better if it had been combined with clearer themes or focus on specific actors. Also, while the first three chapters are extremely informative and contextualize events since the 1970s, English could have been more explicit in how exactly they help us understand the story behind the founding of the Arctic Council. By focusing on the Canadian side of the story readers fail to acknowledge its importance as an example of international and transnational history. The 1990s were indeed a time of optimism that drove the creation of a number of international institutions (p. 216).

English bases his analysis on archival sources and interviews but as it is the case with any topic in recent history there are challenges involved, mainly how to provide a balanced account with limited access to material. Despite the use of Canadian Foreign Affairs records it seems as if most of the argument is based on translated material from the Finnish Foreign Ministry. And while the interviews are very useful and English was able to talk with an impressive list of people, they do not seem to give everyone involved a voice. I wonder whether the emphasis on the role of organizations such as the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation or the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC) also had to do with the availability of sources. Finally, the book appeared in the History of Canada Series, which aims to address "crucial turning points" and "defining moments" in Canadian history (p. ix). Admittedly the Arctic in itself plays a critical role in Canadian history. However, it is not particularly clear why the founding of the Arctic Council would be the "defining moment" and focal point of that story.

Aside from these questions, English has produced an important history of the Arctic Council that will provide a good starting point for future historians of Arctic cooperation and appeal to readers interested in understanding the complex and contingent circumstances that led to the formation of this important circumpolar institution.

Petra Dolata

Eddy Weetaltuk in Zusammenarbeit mit Thibault Martin, *Mein Leben in die Hand nehmen – Die Odyssee des Inuk E9-422*, übersetzt aus dem Englischen und Französischen von Rolf Sawala, herausgegeben von Helga Bories-Sawala, Hamburg: Dobu Verlag, 2015 (273 S.; ISBN 3-934632-95-5; € 24,90)

Bei der vorliegenden Publikation handelt es sich um die aufwändig gestaltete Autobiographie des Inuk Eddy Weetaltuk, der 1932 auf einer Insel in der südlichen James Bay geboren wurde. Die Originalfassung

erschien 2009 in Frankreich unter dem Titel *Eddy Weetaltuk – E9-422: un inuit* [sic] *de la toundra à la Guerre de Corée*. Das der Publikation zugrundeliegende Manuskript stammt aus dem Jahr 1974 und wird nun, samt einigen von Eddy Weetaltuk angefertigten „Aquarellzeichnungen" (7) und ergänzt durch andere Illustrationen, dem deutschsprachigen Publikum zugänglich gemacht. Dem Text ist ein Vorwort der Herausgeberin und eine Einleitung von Thibault Martin vorangestellt. Den zweiten Teil der Publikation bildet ein Aufsatz von Thibault Martin mit dem Titel „Die Geschichte von Eddy Weetaltuk und die Mitwirkung von Indigenen an kanadischen Kriegseinsätzen" (239–261). Das Buch wendet sich erklärtermaßen, siehe etwa den rückwärtigen Klappentext, an ein breites Publikum; dass die Herausgeberin ein Glossar anfügt, entspricht dem. Man kann sich erhoffen, dass die Lebensgeschichte des Eddy Weetaltuk einen Blick in eine Zeit erlaubt, die heute zwar nicht vergessen ist, aber doch einer anderen Epoche angehört, die selbst Kanadisten nicht selbstverständlich gegenwärtig ist. Hintergrundinformation dazu wird dem Leser jedoch nicht angeboten, auch nicht in Thibault Martins Aufsatz.

Als Kanada zur Vervollständigung seines Territoriums 1870 der Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) Rupert's Land abkaufte, wurde der größte Teil als Nordwest Territories direkt der Verwaltung Ottawas unterstellt, Teile den Provinzen zugeschlagen. Das Gebiet der James Bay, um das es hier geht, kam bereits 1898 zu Quebec, 1912 folgte dann die Erweiterung zum heutigen Bezirk Nord-du-Québec, der 55% der Gesamtfläche Quebecs ausmacht. Diese ‚Neuordnung' brachte der ansässigen Bevölkerung, die seit dem 18. Jahrhundert mit der HBC Handel trieb und seit dem 19. Jahrhunderts mit protestantischen Missionaren in Kontakt war, zunächst kaum Veränderungen, wohl jedoch katholische Gegenmission; sie spielt im Text eine Rolle. Im Geburtsjahr von Eddy Weetaltuk, 1932, wurde ‚Kanada' durch die HBC Posten repräsentiert, die die Tauschhandelsökonomie kontrollierten; es gab hier und da Missionsstationen, die teilweise auch Schulen betrieben. Die Bundespolizei (RCMP) unterhielt nur sehr vereinzelt Posten. Eddy Weetaltuks Kindheit ist geprägt von Hungersnöten, von denen in den 1930er Jahren viele Inuit betroffen waren. Die Begeisterung eines Sechsjährigen für die katholischen Missionare beginnt mit einem breiten Lächeln, Kuchen und Süßigkeiten (40/41); für seine Eltern, die zu dieser Zeit noch entscheiden konnten, ob sie ihre Kinder einem Missionsinternat anvertrauen wollten, spielte wohl die Hoffnung, zumindest zwei ihrer Kinder versorgt zu sehen, eine Rolle. Dass Eddy Weetaltuk, wie von der Herausgeberin behauptet, von ‚rundweg positiven Erfahrungen' (8) berichtet, kann ich dem Text nicht entnehmen. Er erzählt auch vom Drill, von Grausamkeiten wie langen Schweigegeboten, brutalen Körperstrafen; sein Bruder will dies nicht ertragen und verlässt die Mission. Eddy Weetaltuk berichtet vom Arbeitsdienst, den die Kinder leisten; er ist wesentlich für den Unterhalt der Missionsstation. Eddy Weetaltuk schließt die Schule mit der 8. Klasse ab und beginnt im Alter von 16 Jahren auf der Missionsfarm eine Art Lehre. Nachdenklich stimmt die Geschichte seines Mentors Bruder Martin (75ff), dessen Verhältnis zum jungen Eddy Weetaltuk so eng ist, dass er ihn als Erben einsetzen will. Die äußerst harsche Reaktion der Mission und Martins Verfrachtung in eine psychiatrische Klinik gibt nicht nur dem jungen Eddy Weetaltuk zu denken. Er verlässt die Mission, arbeitet zunächst für die HBC und geht dann zusammen mit Freunden nach Ontario, arbeitet als Holzfäller, mal hier mal da, vertreibt sich die Zeit mit seinen Freunden, hat aber keine Perspektive. Von einem Teenager wäre das wohl auch zu viel verlangt, mehr noch von einem, der bis dahin kaum Gelegenheit dazu hatte, eigene Entscheidungen zu treffen. Eddy Weetaltuk wählt das, was ihm bereits vertraut ist, nämlich ein geregeltes Leben unter dem Kommando anderer. Da er davon überzeugt ist, dass Inuit nicht in die Armee aufgenommen werden, legt er sich eine neue Identität zurecht. Mit

welcher Energie und welchem Erfindungsreichtum er das macht, ist beachtlich. Er ist bereit, jeden Kontakt zu seiner Familie abzubrechen, und er wird alles dafür tun, damit sein Betrug nicht auffliegt. In diesem Sinne nimmt er sein Leben tatsächlich in die Hand. Mit 19 Jahren, 1952, tritt er in die kanadische Armee ein, angeworben für den Einsatz im Koreakrieg. Er ist mächtig stolz darauf, der erste Inuk in der kanadischen Armee zu sein: „Ich war entschlossen, der Welt zu zeigen, wie Inuit zu kämpfen und zu sterben verstehen" (123). Die Schilderung dieser Umstände ist im Hinblick auf den zweiten Teil des Buches, den Artikel von Thibault Martin, bedeutsam. Die folgenden Kapitel kann man kurz zusammenfassen: Es geht um Ausbildung und Drill, aber es geht ebenso ums Saufen und Feiern, um Sex und überhaupt ums über die Stränge schlagen – dann um Krieg, den Krieg in Korea: „Es war immer das gleiche: jede Nacht hörten wir die Explosionen und warteten auf den Angriff" (157). Nach dem Waffenstillstand 1953 „geht das Leben weiter" (170ff), das Leben als Soldat, nun wieder ohne Krieg, ansonsten unverändert. Bei allem Schwadronieren scheint doch immer wieder einmal eine kritische Distanz auf, ein Hauch von Ironie, manchmal auch von großer Naivität. Wann genau Eddy Weetaltuk in Deutschland stationiert wird, ist schwer zu rekonstruieren. Eine auf 1955 datierte Photographie zeigt ihn im Kreise deutscher Freunde in Iserlohn. Man ist natürlich gespannt, wie er das Nachkriegsdeutschland der 1950er Jahre wahrnimmt. Aber wie schon bei der Schilderung seiner Eindrücke von Japan deutlich wird, spielt sich sein Leben im Umfeld seiner Kaserne ab, der Kontakt zur einheimischen Bevölkerung ist weitgehend auf Kneipen und Bordelle beschränkt. Von den Verwüstungen, die er in beiden Ländern so kurz nach dem Krieg gesehen haben muss, spricht er nicht. Natürlich fällt ihm auf, dass Menschen, die vor kurzem noch Todfeinde waren, nun zu Freunden geworden sind, in schicken Uniformen, wie er findet, und dass besonders die Frauen, in Japan wie in Deutschland, sehr freundlich sind. Der Leser lernt die Kneipe von Heinz, Willi und Clara kennen. Dass aus der Beziehung zu Clara nichts wird, liegt an Eddy Weetaltuk. Der Rest ist schnell erzählt. Als sein Jugendtraum, im Süden Kanadas zu leben, Wirklichkeit werden kann, schlägt er auch das aus: „Es war Zeit für mich, nach Hause zu kommen" (225). 1967 verlässt Eddy Weetaltuk die Armee, ein Mann im besten Alter. Hier ist man nun wieder gespannt, denn in den späten 1960er Jahren beginnt in Kanada eine turbulente und hoch politisierte Zeit der Veränderung, besonders für die indigene Bevölkerung. Davon spricht Eddy Weetaltuk leider überhaupt nicht. 1974, als der Text geschrieben wird, tobte seit Jahren die Auseinandersetzung um das James Bay Hydroelectric Project, Eddy Weetaltuk erwähnt aber nur die Bauarbeiter, die in Great Whale mit den Mädchen anbandeln und Kinder hinterlassen; es erinnert ihn an sein Soldatenleben. Die Veränderungen, die in der James Bay Region stattfinden, die Diskussionen, die das Leben bestimmt haben müssen, er kommentiert sie eben gerade nicht – anders als der Klappentext verspricht.

Vom zweiten Teil der Publikation, verfasst von Thibault Martin, würde man einen direkten Bezug zu Eddy Weetaltuks Lebensbericht erwarten, davon kann aber keine Rede sein. Thibault Martins Aufsatz bietet im Wesentlichen einen historischen Abriss der Beziehungen zwischen den First Nations und der britischen Krone, dann Kanada. Dies mag für den Leser neu und interessant sein, ebenso wie die Diskussion der Rolle von Indianern und Métis als Kriegsteilnehmer an beiden Weltkriegen, ihre Diskriminierung und Marginalisierung als Veteranen. Aber was hat das alles mit Eddy Weetaltuk zutun? Wo ist der Bezug zu seiner Geschichte oder zur Geschichte der Inuit, irgendwo im ehemaligen Rupert's Land? Die Versuche, einen solchen Bezug herzustellen, sind wenig überzeugend und wirken konstruiert (253ff), sie verdeutlichen eher die Kluft zwischen Eddy Weetaltuks Biographie und dem eigentlichen Gegenstand des Aufsatzes, nämlich dem Einfluss,

den die Erfahrungen der Kriegsveteranen der beiden Weltkriege auf das „Selbstbild von Indigenen" (230) hatten. Thibault Martin argumentiert zunächst, dass „[…] der Indigene das Produkt einer Zuschreibung von außen [ist]" (259). Sicher ist es wichtig, einen eventuell der Indianerromantik verfallenen Leser darüber aufzuklären, dass ‚Indigene' nicht natürlicherweise nur für ein Leben in der Wildnis geeignet sind, oder ein Leben führen wollen, wie es Eddy Weetaltuk als Kind mit seiner Familie lebte. Leider kann man den Text (259f) nicht nur so lesen, denn die Formulierungen sind alles andere als eindeutig. Ob dies der Übersetzung oder dem Original zuzuschreiben ist, bleibt unklar. Unmissverständlich ist jedoch Thibault Martins abschließende These, die wie folgt lautet: Die „Formen und Inhalte der indigenen Kriegsteilnehmer [sind] der wesentliche Ausgangspunkt […], von dem aus sich die Herausbildung einer indigenen Identität, ihre politischen Projekte und die Gerichtsverfahren, wie sie sich heute präsentieren" (260), entwickelt hat. Dies ist eine wahrhaft überraschende Einschätzung, die in ihrer Zuspitzung auf wenig Zustimmung stoßen wird, nicht nur bei den ‚Indigenen'. Geradezu absurd wird diese These vor dem Hintergrund der Lebensgeschichte des damals vielleicht einzigen Inuk in der kanadischen Armee, die man gerade gelesen hat. Von einem politischen Engagement oder gar einer tragenden Rolle Eddy Weetaltuks bei den Verhandlungen, in denen die Inuit zusammen mit den Cree der James Bay Region zwischen 1971 und 1975 das James-Bay-Agreement (*Convention de la Baie-James et du Nord québécois)* erkämpften, ist dort nicht die Rede. Dass Inuit, ganz ohne Veteranen, äußerst erfolgreich an den erwähnten ‚politischen Projekten und Gerichtsverfahren' beteiligt waren, wird verschwiegen, ja die gesamte Auseinandersetzung, die seinerzeit weltweite Aufmerksamkeit erzeugte, bleibt unerwähnt. Wie viele der Cree wohl Veteranen waren? Der Vertrag von 1975 gilt vielen als letzter Vertrag alter Schule, er war dennoch richtungweisend für alle folgenden Verhandlungen und Verträge, die in Kanada mit den First Nations, Métis und Inuit geschlossen wurden. Nebenbei bemerkt sei, dass bereits 1971 die Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (früher: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada) gegründet wurde, ein Zusammenschluss aller kanadischen Inuit; 1977 folgte auf internationaler Ebene das Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), mit insgesamt vier Unterorganisationen in Kanada, Alaska, Chukotka und Grönland, das seit 1983 bei den Vereinten Nationen akkreditiert ist – als eine der ersten NGOs überhaupt. Ein zentrales Anliegen des ICC war es von Beginn an, die Zerstörung der Arktis durch kommerzielle Interessen, insbesondere Ölförderung und Öltransport, zu verhindern. 1999 verwirklichte sich mit der Schaffung des Territoriums Nunavut für die Inuit der östlichen Nordwest Territorien der Traum von Selbstbestimmung und Autonomie – nach 30 Jahren Verhandlung. Was Quebec betrifft, so ist die Situation bei weitem nicht so fortgeschritten, wie man das dem Text bzw. dem Glossar entnehmen könnte, in dem zwar Nunavik, nicht aber Nunavut aufgeführt ist. Erste Schritte zu einer erweiterten Selbstverwaltung wurden zwar im Zusammenhang mit dem James Bay Abkommen von 1978 unternommen; Verhandlungen mit der Provinz Québec über einen Status, der dem Nunavuts vergleichbar wäre, sowie über nicht geregelte Landrechtsfragen, begannen jedoch erst in den 2000er Jahren und sind laut *Canadian Encyclopedia* bis heute nicht abgeschlossen. Eddy Weetaltuk hat dies alles als unmittelbar Betroffener miterlebt. Hätte er, der Veteran, dabei eine Rolle gespielt, Thibault Martin hätte es bestimmt als Beleg für seine These hervorgehoben. Die verschämten Bemerkungen zu den Rangers und zum Klimaschutz eignen sich dafür nicht (253ff), und sein Verweis auf die Gründung von Umiujaq (254) ist insofern irreführend, als eine solche Kompensation bereits als Teil des Vertrags von 1975 von den Inuit erstritten worden war – eine Neugründung für die, die nicht im Schatten des Staudamms leben wollten.

Von einer Übersetzung, insbesondere der eines dezidiert populären Buches, kann

man nicht unbedingt einen kritischen Kommentar verlangen. Allerdings hätte die deutsche Ausgabe davon sehr profitiert, ebenso, wie sie bereits von der Korrektur des krassen Fehlers im Originaltitel (*Un inuit de la toundra* …) profitiert. Befremdlich ist, dass mit keinem Wort erwähnt wird, in welcher Sprache Eddy Weetaltuk sein Manuskript verfasst hat. Auch hätte der deutschen Übersetzung intensives Korrekturlesen gutgetan – im Hinblick auf sachliche Fehler, im Hinblick auf unglückliche Formulierungen, die manchmal Stilblüten gleichkommen, im Hinblick auf Sorgfalt. Zahlreichen Ungereimtheiten fallen auf, ob sie der Originalfassung geschuldet oder auf Übersetzungsfehler zurückzuführen sind, ist nicht immer klar erkennbar. Uneinheitliche Schreibungen fallen auf, ebenso sprachliche Fehler. Die Anordnung des Glossars ist inkonsistent. Der Leser wundert sich über die immer wieder auftretende Vermischung von Englisch und Französisch; besonders unangenehm fällt sie in der Literaturliste auf, in der sie gehäuft vorkommt. Diese ist zudem nicht strikt alphabetisch geordnet und weist Lücken auf. Dass Dickasons Klassiker nur in der französischen Übersetzung aufgeführt wird, ist für ein deutsches Publikum wenig hilfreich. Die größte Schwäche des Buches ist jedoch eine konzeptionelle. Sie liegt in der wenig plausiblen Zusammenführung der beiden Teile des Buches, der Lebensgeschichte Eddy Weetaltuks einerseits, mit Thibault Martins Aufsatz über die Geschichte der Beziehungen Kanadas zu den First Nations, wohlgemerkt *nicht* der Inuit, andererseits. Allen, die an einem zeitgenössischen Bild des Lebens in der damaligen ‚Ostarktis', heute Nunavut, interessiert sind, empfehle ich Hugh Brodys *The People's Land* von 1975. Das Buch ist immer noch erhältlich.

Brody, Hugh, *The People's Land. Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975.

Dickason, Olive, *Canada's First Nations. A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Toronto, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996 [1992].

www.inuitcircumpolar.com (konsultiert am 8.7.2015)

www.thecanadianencyclodedia.ca/en/article/inuit (letzte Überarbeitung 03/04/15; konsultiert am 30.6.2015)

Elke Nowak

George Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation,* Early Canadian Literature Series, Afterword by Shelley Hulan, Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014 (208 pp., ISBN 978-1-55458-976-0, US$ 24.99)

In 1850 a person with dual allegiances published a book in London, England, that is still a very valuable source of information in the field of First Nations. His English name was George Copway, his Ojibwa name Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh. A year later the book came out in Boston, with minor changes: "The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation". In 1972 a reprint was published by Coles, Toronto, edited by A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff who taught Native American Literature at the University of Illinois at Chicago. In recent years several reprints have entered the book market, encouraged both by an increased interest in the subject matter and the availability of on-demand printing. Meanwhile both the London and the Boston editions have been made available online in reproductions of the original.

The author's dual allegiances connected him both with his Native heritage and with the settler societies in Canada and the United States. His book was (and still is) valued highly as one of the first Indigenous histories of North America, providing a wealth of information about traditions and world view, about wars of the Ojibwas with the Sioux and Eastern Iroquois as well as detailed descriptions of Ojibway settlements in Ontario. It starts out like a guidebook, praising the scenery and its inhabitants:

> "The extent of territory occupied by the Ojibway nation, is the largest of any Indian possessions of which there is any definite knowledge […] In going from east to west, along the borders of the lakes, the scenery is so changing and of such kaleidoscope variety and beauty that description is impossible […] The mountains, rivers, lakes, cliffs, and caverns of the Ojibway country, impress one with the thought that Nature has there built a home for Nature's children."

Copway's prevalent perspective is that of a third-person narrator, which is made obvious in many chapter headings: "Their Origin", "Their Wild Game", "Their Wars with the Sioux", etc. He tries to do justice to Ojibway traditions, but his training as a Methodist minister and missionary requires distancing. This seems to have led him to describe traditional Native life as a thing of the past. So he starts his chapter on "Their Religious Belief" with these words:

> "The Ojibway nation believed in a great Good Spirit, and in a Bad Spirit. They had also 'gods innumerable,' among which was 'the god of war,' 'the god of hunting,' and 'the god of the fowls of the air.'"

He sees himself as a modernist, capable of adapting to changing times, but when he writes down some of the old legends, carefully and with considerable narrative talent, it becomes obvious that he still considers them important.

He proudly demonstrates a high degree of education, showing that he is someone able to produce a book which meets the standards of the educated class, perhaps in part in order to convince a publisher. This may be what has led him to include a number of quotes from English literature both into chapter headings and in the course of his text. Or he may have felt such quotes summed up very well indeed what he wanted to say. When in Chapter I he writes about "Their Mountains" and describes a scene, he sounds like an English gentleman admiring the "Son of the Forest":

> "His erect and manly form, his easy, graceful motion, are true indications of the exalted soul that lives its active life within. Living as he does, amid the happiest creations of the Great Creator, he cannot but adore and worship Him. His devotion is pure. He
> 'Sees God in storms and hears him in the wind.'"

This is almost a direct quote from Alexander Pope's "Essay on Man" of 1733-34 ("Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutored mind / Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind"). Copway's use of a quotation from English poetry works to distance himself from the "untutored mind".

Another line he uses as a motto for Chapter IV is taken from Nathaniel Cotton's "Visions in Verse" (1753), *"Fantastic, frolicksome, and wild, / With all the Trinkets of a Child,"* a text that may have been less familiar than Pope's. He also makes use of Lord Byron, taking the motto for Chapter V from "Don Juan": "Twas blow for blow, disputing inch by inch, / For one would not retreat, nor 'tother flinch" (Copway's Boston edition has the correct "t'other" instead of "'tother"), and the motto for Chapter VI is from the same author's "The Giaour". It seems quite possible that here Copway enjoyed considerable assistance from the daughter of a farmer from Yorkshire, Elizabeth Howell, who had married him in 1840.

Unfortunately there has never been a critical edition of Copway's book – and with so many undercurrents producing such a text would certainly not be an easy task. The new edition from Wilfrid Laurier University Press has not taken on this chance. The ambition of publisher and editors were much more modest. As editor of the series, Benjamin Lefevbre contributes a preface (he must mean "conversion" when he refers to Copway's "conversation to Christianity", p. vii). The edition is based on the London publication, and Lefevbre explains his editorial policy as far as typographical errors and inconsistencies are concerned (Copway had used both "Ojibwa" and "Ojibway", "Iroquois" and "Iroquis", etc.) and lists some editions and secondary literature. The editorial policy did not include comparing the

London and Boston editions – some obvious errors had been corrected in the Boston edition, like in the heading of Chapter VI ("Their War between the Iroquis and Western Hurons" in London, changed to "The War" in Boston). The pictographs shown in Chapter X (Copway states that there are "over two hundred figures in general use for all the purposes of correspondence") were arranged differently in the Boston edition; this may have been simply for reasons of layout. But how relevant were these symbols, suitable for communication without language, in reality? A critical comment would have been welcome.

Readers turning to the afterword by Shelley Hulan should not expect an answer. While she does refer to a number of important publications on Ojibway literature and First Nations autobiographies, her text focuses on a discussion of Copway's rhetorical strategies, with reference to Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault. One of her major concerns is how we should or might see the fact that Copway included rather long excerpts from publications by other authors, in the light of up-to-date philological discussion.

Michael Friedrichs

Gordon W. Smith, *A Historical and Legal Study of Sovereignty in the Canadian North: Terrestrial Sovereignty, 1870-1939*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2014 (512 pp.; ISBN 978-1-55238-720-7; CAD 39,95)

With the publication of Gordon W. Smith's work in *A Historical and Legal Study of Sovereignty in the Canadian North: Terrestrial Sovereignty, 1870-1939*, the historian P. Whitney Lackenbauer seeks to bring attention to the long and complex history of Canada's sovereignty claims in the North American Arctic. As Arctic states seek to delineate their maritime boundaries and clarify the status of their Arctic waters through established legal frameworks, Lackenbauer provides a reminder of the historicity of current events and seeks to provide a "robust understanding of sovereignty questions, policy, and practices" (xiii) for scholars and Arctic stakeholders alike. Born in Alberta in 1922, Smith worked as a historian after the end of World War II and later as a government contractor to examine and report on Canada's sovereignty claims in the Arctic. In 1952, Smith completed his doctoral degree with a thesis entitled "The Historical and Legal Background of Canada's Arctic Claims" at Cornell University and accepted a position as professor of history at the Collège militaire royale de St. Jean (CMR) in Quebec where he mentored, among others, historians-in-training Jack Granatstein and Desmond Morton. After leaving CMR, Smith joined the Arctic Institute of North America for a two-year period before working as a contractor for the Canadian International Development Agency abroad. Following the crossing of the Northwest Passage by the U.S. tanker *SS Manhattan* in 1969, he conducted extensive research in Canadian, American, British, Russian, and Norwegian archives for a variety of Canadian government agencies until his passing in 2000. Throughout this time, Smith produced a wealth of reports and unpublished essays in which he traced the legal history of activities in the North as they relate to Canada's sovereignty claims in the Arctic.

A Historical and Legal Study of Sovereignty in the Canadian North consists of an introductory essay and sixteen chapters that broadly cover the period from the early nineteenth century to World War II. Smith begins with a brief overview of those non-indigenous actors who were active in the North American Arctic before 1870. During this period, whalers from the United States, the Netherlands, and Scotland along with fur traders, explorers, and missionaries traveled across the Canadian North and the Hudson's Bay Company became the primary administrative actor in what the newcomers considered unoccupied land. In a next step, Smith examines the ill-defined British transferal of 1870 and 1880 in which Canada was

given title over Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory, including the Arctic Archipelago. By extensively citing British government communications Smith documents how the Colonial Office in London had imperfect knowledge of the exact delimitations and the validity of its claims to the Arctic islands. While this caused concern in Ottawa over Canada's title to the Arctic Archipelago in the future, the remaining years of the nineteenth century saw little activity in the North. In the following chapters, Smith chronicles the challenges – perceived and real – to Canadian ownership over northern and Arctic territory and Ottawa's respective responses. To quell doubts about the legality of the British transferal, Ottawa had London pass the Colonial Boundaries Act of 1895, establishing the four northern districts of Ungava, Yukon, Mackenzie, and Franklin. When whalers in Hudson Bay and fortune hunters along the Klondike amassed, Ottawa began to dispatch the North West Mounted Police to the Yukon and Hudson Bay and it initiated a series of sovereignty expeditions led by Albert P. Low and Joseph-Elzéar Bernier along Hudson Bay and the eastern Arctic. These expeditions became institutionalized in the Eastern Arctic Patrol during the 1920s and 1930s. Smith provides ample documentation on the U.S.-British-Canadian arbitration over the Alaska-Yukon boundary of 1903 and dispenses with accusations of a British sellout or American belligerence. Not U.S. activities but the Russian-British boundary treaty of 1825 was to blame for the vulnerability of Canada's claims to greater access to the Alaskan panhandle, and ultimately for the arbitration in favor of the United States. Other Canadian responses to sovereignty challenges in the Arctic by mostly Norwegian and American explorers saw the emergence of the unofficial 'sector principle', which in a slice-of-pie-like shape declared all territory from the North Pole extending south to Canada's Arctic coastline under Canadian sovereignty. Although the principle received much prominence by Senator Pascal Poirier's declaration in 1907, Smith demonstrated that its intellectual legacy can be traced back to the 1493 papal bull *inter caetera* that divided the Western hemisphere among the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal.

Smith's writings contribute a detailed documentation of the evolution of Canada's land-based sovereignty claims in the North American Arctic before World War II. What is more, they make plain the extent to which Ottawa relied on explorers, scientists, and traders to define priorities and challenges to Canada's Arctic claims. Smith's chapters on the Canadian explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson and his unauthorized expedition to claim Wrangel Island for Canada or Stefansson's ability to raise concerns over Canada's title to Ellesmere Island illustrate the influence that some explorers exerted over Ottawa. Low and Bernier's expeditions equally illustrate the role of explorers in demonstrating Canada's control over the eastern Arctic islands when their scientific ambitions met Ottawa's political interests and resulted in expeditions that had the sole purpose of 'showing the flag'.

Lackenbauer's richly illustrated edition of Smith's research is a valuable source, both as a historical document that informed the Canadian government on questions of sovereignty during the second half of the twentieth century as well as a part of the historiography on the evolution of Canada's sovereignty claims in the Canadian North. The chapters provide a strong foundation upon which future research can expand. Beyond the avenues Smith offers for further research, scholars may also listen to the silences in his writings. The role of indigenous peoples, environmental questions, and the impact of perceptions and ideas as they relate to the formulation of sovereignty claims in the Canadian North, for example, remain unexamined. Additional volumes of Smith's work that include issues of maritime as well as terrestrial Arctic sovereignty in the years following World War II "may" (xiv) be published in the future. *A Historical and Legal Study of Sovereignty in the Canadian North: Terrestrial Sovereignty,*

1870-1939, is available in digital formats and free of charge at the University of Calgary Press website.

John Woitkowitz

Robert Zacharias, *Rewriting the Break Event: Mennonites & Migration in Canadian Literature*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013 (232 pp.; ISBN: 978-0-88755-747-7; CAD 31,95)

With authors such as Paul Hiebert, Rudy Wiebe, Patrick Friesen, Di Brandt, David Bergen, Sandra Birdsell, Miriam Toews, and others, Mennonite writers have long been a notable presence in English-Canadian literature, and in recent decades, a considerable amount of scholarship has investigated their texts. But are there things that unite Mennonite authors beyond the fact that they have some biographical connection to Mennonites? This is one of the many questions Robert Zacharias tackles in his recent study *Rewriting the Break Event: Mennonites & Migration in Canadian Literature*. But Zacharias does not aim at providing a definitive answer to this question. He is rather interested in one phenomenon that unites a considerable amount of Canadian Mennonite writers, i.e. the fact that many of them have explored and revisited a particular event in their fiction: the Mennonite move from Russia and their migration to Canada in the 1920s, which, according to Zacharias, can be called a (Russian Canadian) Mennonite 'break event' (Robin Cohen).

The blurb of Zacharias' book tells readers that the study, amongst other things, "offers close readings of five novels that retell the Mennonite break event through specific narrative strains", but in fact, it does much more than this. It is telling, for example, that a chapter dedicated to a reading of Rudy Wiebe's *The Blue Mountains of China* (1970) eloquently branches off into a much more general theoretical direction, on pp. 162-168, discussing J. Hillis Miller, Stuart Hall, Hildi Froese Tiessen, and Gilles Deleuze in an attempt to problematize notions like "repetition, difference, and [Mennonite] identity" (168). Such a discussion is very fitting in an interpretation of Wiebe's complex narrative, but it also signals a much greater concern that Zacharias deals with. It is not his main aim to just analyse the five novels *My Harp is Turned to Mourning* (Al Reimer, 1985), *Out of the Storm* (Janice L. Dick, 2004), *The Russländer* (Sandra Birdsell, 2001), *Lost in the Steppe* (Arnold Dyck, 1944-48/translated from German in 1974), and Wiebe's *Blue Mountains*. Rather, as he himself posits, the "central argument of this study is that it is worth pausing over the literary rewritings of such break events, which, in returning to the same conceptual and historical ground over and over again, serve as cultural palimpsests for how a given migrant community renegotiates its larger collective history." (10)

Consequently, then, *Rewriting the Break Event* starts with an introduction ("On Rewriting Migration in Canadian Literature", 3-46) and "Chapter 1: Mennonite History and/as Literature" (47-70), which, together with the book's conclusion ("On Reading Migration in Canadian Literature", 179-187), comprise a good 40 percent of the book. This is not to the study's disadvantage, though. The introduction and the first chapter serve as a contextual framework for the following readings of the primary texts, but with an acute sense for complexities they also pause to consider phenomena that are important when studying ethnic entities or literatures labelled as ethnic in general. In an admirably concise but not unduly simplistic way, for example, Zacharias recounts the institutionalization and the sponsorship of Canadian cultural production from the 1950s onwards as well as Canada's road to multiculturalism on three pages (34-36) that could serve as background material for Canadian Studies 101 or CanLit 101 courses. He also skilfully summarizes the early history of Mennonites (48-49) on just about a page and a half. In these passages and elsewhere, the book successfully engages in "historicizing Mennonite Canadian literature *as a critical con-*

cept" (46, my emphasis), in presenting the history of Russian Mennonites and at the same time pointing out different understandings of said history. As he states, the novels he discusses, in their "retelling of the break event" work "in precisely the opposite direction of master narratives: they repeat order to multiply, rather than narrow, the possible meanings and forms of the community" (70).

What follows is a critical examination of the novels named above, in chapters titled: "Gelassenheit or Exodus: *My Harp is Turned to Mourning* and the Theo-Pedagogical Narrative" (Chapter 2, 71-98); "Dreaming das Völklein: *Lost in the Steppe* and the Ethnic Narrative" (Chapter 3, 99-128); "The Individual and the Communal Story: *The Russländer* and the Trauma Narrative" (Chapter 4, 129-152); and: "The Strain of Diaspora: *The Blue Mountains of China* and the Meta-Narrative (Chapter 5, 153-178). By thus highlighting generic differences between the texts, Zacharias draws attention to the fact that literary retellings of one and the same event or time vary significantly, can be categorized in ways that make it possible to talk about them in a more meaningful way, and, maybe most importantly, reflect debates within a group's negotiations of its own identity. The close readings are thorough and make sense, and it is a strength of Zacharias' study that he does not lose sight of his contexts, often includes comparisons with the other primary texts, and does not shy away from (theoretical) excursions, either.

All in all, *Rewriting the Break Event* is successful in making readers pause, not only over diverse literary rewritings of 'Russian' Mennonites' migration to Canada in the 1920s and what this diversity represents, but over a number of topics that are of major importance in the study of Canadian, ethnic, and multicultural literatures. A point of criticism one might bring towards the book is that its subtitle, *Mennonites & Migration in Canadian Literature*, signals something much more general than a focus on one specific migratory event. But then, of course, the 'break event' this study deals with *is* a central narrative in Mennonite literary renditions of migrations to Canada, and one of the strengths of *Rewriting the Break Event* is its critical awareness and its fruitful discussion of the frames we use in our interpretations of literary texts.

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