

Approaches to Canadian History: Transatlantic Discourses and Challenges of the Future

Ursula Lehmkuhl, John F. Kennedy Institute, Free University Berlin

At the GKS's 25th anniversary it is time to take stock and discuss achievements, failures and future tasks of the study of Canadian history at universities in German-speaking countries. The following assessment will place a special emphasis on the impact and result of scholarly exchanges between Canadian and German historians that were induced and promoted by programs such as the Faculty Enrichment and the Faculty Research Program, but also by CPEP and the Government of Canada Awards. Which scholarly networks were established? To what extent did these networks influence historical research on this side of the Atlantic, its concepts and methods? The paper will be divided into four parts: It will start with a description of the topics, changes, developments and trends in Canadian history in the framework of the GKS since the 1970s, followed by a discussion of dominant schools and paradigms. It will then address the theoretical and methodological impact of studies in Canadian history in German-speaking countries on the history profession in Germany and finally some impressions regarding the current state of the art and possible desiderata for future research will be put forward.

1. Topics, changes, developments and trends in Canadian History since the 1970s

Historical research on Canada during the last 25 years covered a broad range of historical sub-disciplines: political history, diplomatic history, labor history, immigration history, urban history, social history in general, the history of Canadian biculturalism and the history of Canadian multiculturalism as well as colonial history. As a result of the special research interests of those German historians who were and are active members of the history section, however, certain major fields developed. Whereas during the 1980s and early 1990s Canada's foreign policy stood at the forefront of historical research, the focus shifted in the early 1990s to social and immigration history and the history of biculturalism and multiculturalism, and then again in the late 1990s and early 2000s to the history of cultural transfer including the colonial period, the history of Quebec and "La Francophonie", and language policy.

Taking this 'historical' development of research interests into account, it is not surprising that the first special conference of the history section of the GKS, which took place in Augsburg in 1988, focused on Canada's foreign policy in the immediate post-war period. Thanks to the release of archival material covering this crucial period in Canada's contemporary history a number of monographs and doctoral dissertations based on new documents were produced and published. Gustav Schmidt initiated a research project on the North Atlantic Triangle, financed by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) which focused on Canada's foreign policy initiatives in the period 1945 to 1972, i.e. until the break-up of the Bretton Woods System, by putting them into the historical and institutional perspectives of Western European and Commonwealth history (Schmidt 1988, 1989, 1991, 1995; Lehmkuhl 1988, 1990). In cooperation with Jack Granatstein and Robert Bothwell, Gustav Schmidt organized two conferences on Canadian foreign relations, one in 1990 and another one in 1993 entitled "Canada at the crossroads: The Critical 1960s" (Granatstein/Schmidt 1994; Lehmkuhl 1994). He established close contacts especially to scholars from York University and the University of Toronto. In a similar way Kurt Jürgensen initiated several studies on Canadian foreign policy in the 1980s at the University of Kiel. Jürgensen and his MA and PhD students worked on questions concerning Canada's place in the international community and especially on Canadian-German relations during the Second World War and its aftermath. Jürgensen himself also tackled such problems as Canada as a "State-Nation" (Staatsnation) (Jürgensen 1963, 1997; Falkson 1996; Jäger 1994).

In the early 1990s the focus of historical research shifted from political and diplomatic history to social-cultural and immigration history. Three substantial research projects, one in Bremen, one in Bochum and another one in Mannheim were established during the 1990s. The one in Bochum was financed by the DFG and the one in Mannheim by the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk. All three projects are concerned with questions of cultural interaction in Canada, although with different methodological approaches and also different normative implications. All three projects presented themselves at conferences and workshops. Dirk Hoerder, the coordinator of the Bremen project, was also very active in the European Task Force on Canadian Studies, founded in 1991 as a loosely organized body of European Associations of Canadian Studies. Its main task at that point was to provide and exchange information about the different national associations and their work. However, it soon became a forum for the discussion of new concepts and approaches especially to the study of Canadian

history and it was finally institutionalized as the "European Network for Canadian Studies". In May 2000 the European Network organized a conference in cooperation with the GKS on "Recasting European and Canadian History: National Consciousness, Migration, Multicultural Lives".

A second shift towards a stronger emphasis on the history of language policy and bilingualism can be observed from the late 1990s onward. Jürgen Erfurt and Gabriele Budach from the University of Frankfurt are working on a research project on "L'alphabétisation et la valeur du bilinguisme dans la nouvelle économie" financed by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC/CRSH). They cooperate with Monica Heller and Normand Labrie from the University of Toronto. Helga Bories-Sawala (University of Bremen) is working on "Bilingualism and Biculturalism in a Multicultural Context" and Wolfgang Helbich, who was in the vanguard of the study of Canadian language policies (Helbich 1982, 1995a, 1995b), is preparing a monograph about bilingualism/biculturalism in Waterloo, Québec, based on his DFG-project "Bicultural Cohabitation in Waterloo, Quebec, 1850-1920". The political dimensions of biculturalism and francophone Canada are covered by Udo Sautter (Sautter 1999) and Ingo Kolboom. Kolboom's current research focuses on the "Frankophonie als Subsystem internationaler Beziehungen: Politik, Kultur und Sprache" with a special emphasis on nation and identities in Quebec. Nation, nationalism and identities are also the conceptual and empirical focus of Petra Dolata-Kreutzkamp's Habilitationsschrift, a comparative study on Scottish and Québécois nationalism in the post-World War II period focussing on the difficult relationship between Scottish and British as well as Québécois and Canadian "national" identities. Taking research on ethnic nationalism into account Dolata-Kreutzkamp tries to add to the sociological approaches provided for the analysis of nationalism by including the economic dimension. She investigates global economic interdependencies, economic structures and discourses as factors shaping the dual (national) identities of Scotland and Quebec.

Two trends can be observed: First, perhaps with the exception of some studies analyzing Canadian foreign policy or the role of Canada in the international context, topics and research interest in Canadian history stem from an original Canadian perspective. In some cases research on Canada is put into a comparative perspective and confronted with comparable problems in European history. Wolfgang Helbich e.g. compares Canadian language policies with those pursued by Belgium or Switzerland (Helbich 1999a); Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder apply Canada's experience with the policy of multiculturalism and immigration to the

European situation aiming at developing concepts for a "new" social-cultural history of Europe (Hoerder/Harzig/Shubert 2003; Harzig/Juteau 2003; Hoerder 1998c; Hoerder 2000) and Ingo Kolboom compares the social, political and economic situation in Quebec with the one in reunited Germany (Kolboom 2001a).

Secondly, although the history section of the "Gesellschaft für Kanadastudien" has officially 98 members, Canadian history in Germany, as far as publications are concerned, cannot impress by quantity. A German bibliography of Canadiana published in 1993 (Grünsteudel 1993) contains 3.552 titles. At the top of the list is geography with 963, followed by languages and literatures, 812. History is in 7th place (preceded by ethnology, economics, politics, and law) with 160 items. In fact if one eliminates three double-counts and the 45 titles that were published before 1945, we are down to 112. By an admittedly subjective category of "not based on original research" or "marginal as to Canadian content" we might eliminate another 68 articles and 6 books. Subtotal --: 41 items: 33 articles and 8 books. Most of the books are doctoral dissertations, and they include Udo Sautter's well-known history of Canada (Sautter 1992; new ed. 2000), the only serious one that exists in German. A rough thematic subdivision shows 14 titles in the French period and earlier, 14 titles for 19th and 20th century history of Quebec and English Canada, 8 World War II period, 7 diverse and general (e.g. nationalism, comparison with U.S. etc.). However, since 1993 we can observe an upward trend with regard to the scholarly output of the history section. The listings in the newsletter of the GKS added to a total of 6 monographs, 5 editions and more than 24 MA and PhD theses. I did not count the articles, but the references at the end of this paper give an idea about the increase in number.

History, like other disciplines, profited immensely from the Faculty Enrichment and Faculty Research Program of the Canadian Government and by Canadian guest professorships, financed on the basis of matching funds by the Canadian government and German universities. It is with the help of these programs that Canadian history entered German universities. In Germany – as Wolfgang Helbich explained at the 1999 annual conference of the Canadian Historical Association (CHA) in Sherbrooke – historians of North American or U.S. history engaged in Canadian history as a result of "the seductive force of an incredibly efficient and attractive foreign cultural policy emanating from Ottawa" (Helbich 1999b). Helbich described his and others personal road to Canadian history as follows:

"We were curious and open-minded enough to take advantage of book donations and travel grants as well as the occasional Canadian guest speaker. We were attracted by what we learned about Canada. We began to include Canada in our American history courses, even ventured to offer a purely Canadian one (usually with disappointing attendance.) Perhaps out of a thorough indoctrination with that German tenet of the unity of research and teaching, at some point teaching was not enough and we began serious research. Which goes to show that we were certainly not bought, not even bribed into doing Canadian history, but that as typical historians of the imperial power to the South we would never even have thought of crossing the border without some concrete reason; External Affairs, at the time, sent us formal invitations, which we accepted" (Helbich 1999b).

As different as the individual cases might have been, with regard to the focus of this paper, namely the question of whether and how transatlantic discourses developed and bear fruit the above mentioned programs by the Canadian government have been extremely helpful and effective. I am certain that both programs are essential for the future development of exchanges between German and Canadian Historians. This can be said even though of the total of 342 Faculty Enrichment and Faculty Research Grants provided for German researchers since 1978, only 21, i.e. less than 1 out of 20 were awarded to historians, twelve of which to Josef Becker, Gustav Schmidt, Wolfgang Helbich, Dirk Hoerder and Horst Walter Blanke who received two or more grants each, whereas Kurt Jürgensen, Peter Morawec, Gert Raeithel, Franz Mathis, Wolfgang Krieger, Christiane Harzig, Helga Bories-Sawala and myself received one each. This figure is low, but it corresponds to our proportion of publications and of active senior scholars.

2. Dominant schools and paradigms

Whereas during the 1980s historical research on Canada was quite multi-faceted, mirroring a broad range of historical subdisciplines, a certain concentration on the analysis of Canada's social and cultural history developed during the 1990s. Currently, six projects dominate historical research on Canada: 1. Wolfgang Helbich's project on the cohabitation of the Anglo-Canadian and French-Canadian inhabitants of Waterloo, Quebec (Helbich 1997, 1998, 2003;

Becker/Helbich 2000; Becker/Schneider/Urbanek 2001; Jahnke 2002); 2. Dirk Hoerder's project on the process of acculturation as viewed through immigrant autobiographies (Hoerder 1999); 3. Wolfgang von Hippel, Wilhelm Kreutz and Sven Kuttner's project on "Wilde, Waldläufer and Missionare: Französisch-indianischer Kulturkontakt (1600-1663)" (Savages, Coureurs des bois, and Missionaries: French-Indian Cultural Contacts, 1600-1663) (Kuttner 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b), 4. Horst Walter Blanke's and Ingmar Probst's research on 18th and 19th century travelogues dealing with fur trade in the North West of present Canada (Blanke 2000, 2001, 2003; Probst 2001, 2002, 2003); 5. Christiane Harzig's research on immigration policies in the post-World War II era (Harzig 1994, 1998, 1999, 2003; Harzig/Juteau 2003), 6. Ingo Kolboom's research on "La Francophonie Internationale" and Québec's national identity (Kolboom 2000, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c; Kolboom/Grzonka 2002). All six projects draw methodologically and with regard to the underlying theoretical approaches at least in part on research and concepts developed in Canada. The research methods of the German scholars mentioned have been influenced by scholarly interchanges with Canadian historians or sociologists working in the same field.

Helbich's research project "is meant to analyze the 'cohabitation' of the Anglo-Canadian and French-Canadian inhabitants of Waterloo, Que, in a microhistorical approach" which is contextualized or put in perspective "by relating the results to the larger context of the bilingual parts of Québec as well as to Québec and Canada as a whole" (Helbich 1998: 144; Helbich 1997: 47-56). Methodologically the project has a qualitative and a quantitative part. Qualitatively the cohabitation-project works with the following premises: First, in a village, or a face-to-face-society, "there [should] be more interaction and cooperation than in the city"; second, nevertheless there are aspects or sectors of living "that are fairly segregated, like church, school, and purely social events or activities" (Helbich 1998: 145). Starting from these premises Helbich investigates the degree in which class, occupation, or education are co-determinants for behavior with ethnicity. The quantitative side of the project relies on sources such as the manuscript census, tax rolls, parish registers, city directories, judicial records and a variety of local sources and two local weeklies. The data bank developed from these demographic sources provides the basis for "a detailed demographic, economic and social comparison between the two ethnic groups" (Helbich 1998: 146).

Helbich's present community study-approach is a result of a close interchange with Canadian historians, especially with Chad Gaffield from the University of Ottawa, whose book on the school question in Eastern Ontario (Gaffield 1987) served in several ways as a

model for Helbich's research on Waterloo. This transatlantic discourse materialized not only in visits and conferences in Ottawa and Bochum, but also comprised student exchanges and a paper by Chad Gaffield in Grainau in 1993 on "Theory and Method in Micro-History" (Gaffield 1993), a concept Helbich himself draws on very heavily in analyzing the cohabitation of francophones and anglophones in Waterloo, Quebec. Helbich subsequently presented papers on his project at Bishop's University in Lennoxville and at the University of Montreal, and established scholarly interchanges with René Hardy (Trois Rivières), Pierre-Louis Lapointe (Archive nationale du Québec), Guy Pelletier (Université de Sherbrooke), Peter Gossage (Université de Sherbrooke) and J.A. Little (Victoria). Meanwhile a couple of MA-Thesis and *Staatsexamensarbeiten* as well as a Ph D dissertation have been written on the basis of the source material gathered in the context of this project (Panek 1994; Gaede 1995; Suárez 1997; Meppelink 1998; Urbanek 1999; Schneider 1999; Friederichs 1999; Gallandi 2000, Jahnke 2002).

Whereas Wolfgang Helbich focuses on the two founding nations of Canada and their interchange, Dirk Hoerder is interested in the multi-ethnic character of the Canadian society (Hoerder 1994a, 1994b, 1997, 1999, 2002a). He and Christiane Harzig have placed immigrants in the labour movement and working-class culture in a comprehensive North American perspective (Hoerder 1986; Hoerder/Harzig 1987; Hoerder/Blank/Roessler 1994; Hornbeck et al. 1995). They have studied the multiple backgrounds of German-origin immigrants (Hoerder 1994d, 1996, 1998b). Hoerder examines the acculturation process of 'New Canadians' by using interdisciplinary approaches, like labor market theory, family history, sociological studies of satisfaction, or concepts of participatory democratic procedures. He draws on studies of folk culture in ethnology, anthropological concepts, theories of central places and marginal locations, core-periphery concepts, recent research on segmented localized labor markets and on the concept of physical and mental community-building (Hoerder/Harzig/Shubert 2003). By combining sociological, literary, and historical approaches Hoerder analyzes "specific topics and ... feature(s) syntheses of immigrant lives as part of Canadian national identity to reflect the interaction between cultural solitudes as well as multiculturalism in the making" (Hoerder 1998a). Thus he wrote a history of the creation of Canadian societies from the perspective of immigrants (Hoerder 1999).

If we look at the Canadian angle, Hoerder's work is very much influenced by McGill's sociology on ethnic groups as it was developed in the 1930s as well as by Danielle Juteau's concept of inter-ethnic relations (Juteau 1996); besides Hoerder takes also modern British

approaches to cultural studies into account (Hoerder 1999). In addition to his scholarly endeavors Hoerder was also active on the political level. He used the present Canadian legal framework and aids to immigrant insertion to recommend policy changes in the Federal Republic of Germany (Hoerder 1994e). As was the case with Helbich in Bochum, Hoerder established close contacts to Canadian colleagues, above all to Danielle Juteau, Université de Montréal, who spent a semester in Berlin as a guest professor in 1993/94. A year later, in 1995, both of them participated in the conference of the European Task Force on Canadian Studies in Nijmegen, entitled: "National Models and Societal Integration. From National Culture to National Diversity" (see Juteau/El Yamani 1993; Juteau 1996). Hoerder presented a paper on the "Impact of National Models upon the Integration of Emigrants" thereby underlining the development from national culture to national diversity in multi-ethnic societies. Danielle Juteau analysed "Nation and Multiculturalism in German Past and Present" in a comparative perspective. Dirk Hoerder cooperates also intensively with Richard Cavell and Veronica Strong-Bang, both University of British Columbia, Adrian Shubert, York University, Wecvolod Isajin, University of Toronto, Bruno Ramirez, Université de Montréal, Gregory and Linda Kealey, University of New Brunswick as well as Yvonne Hébert and Jean Frideres, both University of Calgary.

Hoerder organized several conferences with Canadian participants, e.g. on "The North American Labor Press", the "Transfer of Political and Class Consciousness in the Process of Migration" and with Christiane Harzig one on "Women in the Process of Migration." His cooperation with the Metropolis project of the Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement of the three Toronto universities resulted in a conference on migration and its social consequences for metropolitan cities jointly organized with Rainer-Olaf Schultze and the Institut für Kanada-Studien of the University of Augsburg. The conference focused on urban immigrant insertion in Germany and Canada in the present and in the past (Hoerder 1998c, 2000). Hoerder inspired his students to engage in research on immigration. Alexander Freund, who interviewed German post-war immigrant women in Vancouver for his Master's thesis (Simon Fraser University), continued to work on this subject in his Ph.D. dissertation. Through methods of oral history he traced the emigration and acculturation experiences of a broad sample of German emigrants who went to the United States and Canada from the late 1940s to the 1960s (Freund 2000). On the basis of this excellent dissertation he was appointed to the German-Canadian ethnic chair at the University of Winnipeg.

The third project mentioned above analyzes the ways and means of how the French colonists in New France integrated the Natives into the newly established social system. A central element of the analysis is the French colonist's image of the natives which is reconstructed with the help of perception theories. The French colonists perceived or conceived the Indians as a part of the Canadian wilderness that ought to be transformed and civilized. The social contact between the two cultural groups produced enemy images. Contrary to the classical topos of French enlightenment, the "bon sauvage", the natives were conceived as unbelieving, immoral and cruel and were not accepted as socially equal (Kuttner 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b). Horst Walter Blanke and Ingmar Probst complement this research on the colonial period with their work on travel literature from the 17th to the early 19th century. In his dissertation on "The Power of Knowledge – Travelogues from the Canadian West 1660-1830" Probst analyzes the perception of the "other" in the Canadian West. He reconstructs the conditions of knowledge transfer and evaluates the existing knowledge according to its social and geographical distribution. He argues that the course and modes of travelling in the Northwestern parts of North America, the resulting cultural contact and the subsequent publication as well as the avoidance of publication of acquired knowledge were all highly regulated by economic interests (Probst 2003).

Christiane Harzig's project takes up the challenge posed by comparative cultural analysis. She analyzes immigration policies in the post World War Two era, particularly in the 1960s to 1980s. Her study compares Canadian, Dutch and Swedish policy responses to changing demands in the labour market and the subsequent ethno-cultural changes in the population within their national boundaries (Harzig 1999; Harzig/Juteau 2003, p. 6). By applying a cultural studies approach to political development and policies she addresses issues such as how and why these nation states were able to (re)-construct themselves as multicultural societies – with consequences for political, social and cultural developments that are well known. As a sub-project to this policy study she analyzed the Caribbean Domestic Workers Program of the 1950s, a forerunner to the immigration policy changes which took place in the late 1960s. In 1999 she received a faculty research grant to extend the study backward to the late 1940s programs geared at enticing European women to take up positions as domestic workers. Besides addressing issues of race and gender, Christiane Harzig seeks to look at the policy making process from the bottom up, focusing on the actors involved and the way they interacted and influenced the policy making process (Harzig 1994, 1998, 1999;

Harzig/Räthzel 1995). Harzig cooperates with Franca Iacovetta and Ian Radforth, both University of Toronto.

Ingo Kolboom studies "La Francophonie Internationale" from a German perspective. He analyzes the discourses and the strategies of the promoters of the "cause francophone" in order to demonstrate that there is a cultural and linguistic counterforce – La Francophonie – to the overarching global presence of English-speaking America. He hopes that "la Francophonie et le monde germanophone, ces deux solitudes, ont des chances communes de faire ce que chacune d'entre elles seule n'arriverait jamais à faire: corriger certains effets de la mondialisation à l'américaine au profit d'un monde pluriculturel et plurilingue qui seul réconcilie le besoin de *Heimat* et celui de l'ouverture sur le monde" (Ingo Kolboom). In his comparative study of Québec and East-German identities he analyzes the historical forces producing the contemporary political problems in Canada and in Germany stemming from unresolved efforts of Québécois and East-German identity-construction since the fall of the wall and the wish to exist as a 'nation'. Ingo Kolboom founded the interdisciplinary Franco-Canadian Research Center Québec-Saxony. He published "Le triangle Allemagne-France-Québec" and "Québec-Allemagne: parallèles, analogies, comparaisons".

Although all of these projects touch upon the question of how different cultural groups arrange living together, there is a dividing line especially between the research done in Bremen and the one pursued in Bochum: Whereas Hoerder and Harzig focus on the process of acculturation in a society described as multicultural, Helbich focuses on the two founding nations, tracing back social and political problems in Canada to the conflicts between Anglophones and Francophones. Kuttner, Blanke und Probst bring another aspect of the social texture of Canada to the fore: the cultural clash between the "West" and the "uncivilized world".

3. The theoretical and methodological impact of studies in Canadian History on "mainstream history" in Germany

The starting point for an evaluation of the theoretical and methodological impact of studies in Canadian History on "mainstream history" in Germany must be an appraisal of Canadian Studies in Canada. What did Canadian scholars in Canadian Studies programs produce with regard to methodology and theory? No more than a thumbnail sketch can be offered here. In

order to produce a better understanding of the Canadian social and political reality during the last two decades, parallel to the institutionalization of Canadian Studies programs abroad, a rich variety of multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary programs have been created at many Canadian academic institutions, covering such fields as Native, Environmental, Women's Studies, and many others. These Canadian Studies programs provided venues for researchers to carry their work beyond the normal confines of their discipline. They have also acted at times as seedbeds for emerging fields, like Quebec Studies which follows a significant programmatic focus at certain francophone universities in Quebec, perhaps most notably at the Université de Québec à Trois Rivières and the Université de Montréal, but also in a good number of American universities, as well as in Trier, Dresden, Leipzig, and Bremen.

Interdisciplinarity combined with an emphasis on the analysis of "culture" or cultural factors in the broadest sense may be the keys to answering the question of whether we might discern Canadian or international influences on German historiography. If we take officially funded research groups and graduate programs as a signifier for historiographic trends in Germany into account, a major shift from social history to cultural history has to be acknowledged. Whereas in the 1970s and early 1980s the most prominent historical research had a strong emphasis on social and economic factors and processes, it now concentrates on questions of cultural contact and cultural transfer. The shift from social and political history to cultural history is accompanied by a reception of sociological theories and a commitment to interdisciplinary research methods (see Wehler 1998; Wehler/Hardtwig 1996; Mergel/Welskopp 1997; Conrad/Kessel 1998). Leading social historians like Hans-Ulrich Wehler became the protagonists of this new "cultural approach" to social history. The same is true for diplomatic or political history (Lehmkuhl 2000, 2001).

Reacting to or even promoting this trend the German Research Foundation (DFG) has set up a new type of interdisciplinary research centers, so-called "Humanities Research Units" (Kulturwissenschaftliches Forschungskollegs), that differ from the Collaborative Research Centers (Sonderforschungsbereiche, SFB) by following a new cultural sciences direction. However, most of these collaborative research centers are only marginally taking aspects and research questions dealing with the history of non-European societies into account. To my knowledge U.S. history is represented only once in a SFB (see the project "Reshaping the Nation. Der Katholizismus und die US-amerikanische Gesellschaft während des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges" of the SFB "Kriegserfahrung. Krieg und Gesellschaft in der Neuzeit" at the University of Tübingen). As far as I can see Canadian History is not

represented at all in any of the nationally financed collaborative research centers. Only university graduate training programs (Graduiertenkollegs), like the one in Paderborn on "Travel Literature and Cultural Anthropology", do at least sometimes attract projects with a Canadian content, like the dissertation by Ingmar Probst.

Hence, if we take a closer look at historical research in Germany that is institutionalized and funded in the contexts of "Sonderforschungsbereiche" as an indicator of dominant trends in the German history profession and compare their protagonists, their methods and theories and empirical emphasis with the described ones stemming from German research in Canadian history, the picture that emerges is that of "solitudes". Even Udo Sautter, author of the only German language text book on Canadian history and supervisor of the project on North American History in the SFB at the University of Tübingen, was obviously not able to bring an aspect of Canadian history under the umbrella of the SFB. "Canadian history" and "history" in Germany live in separate spheres. Therefore the answer to the question of whether there is a theoretical and methodological impact of studies in Canadian history on the "mainstream history" in Germany must be negative. German historians of North American and German historians of Germany and Europe do not talk to or even meet each other on a regular institutionalized basis. They attend different conferences, they publish in and read different journals, they do not exchange their theoretical and methodological concepts and empirical findings.

The phenomenon that "außereuropäische Geschichte" (non-European history) is looked upon by German historians as marginal to the field has a long tradition. Efforts e.g. to introduce workshops on non-European history at the bi-annual meeting of Historians in Germany, the "Historikertag", or to institutionalize a working group on non-European history within the organizational frame of the "Historikertag" did not succeed for various reasons. World history does not really matter in German universities. The profile of the history department of the new University of Erfurt that has deliberately abolished the traditional periodical subdivision of history characterizing most history departments at German universities in favor of an emphasis on world regions (North America, Latin America, East Asia, West Asia, Eastern Europe and Europe) is a very recent achievement and has not had successors so far.

Canadian and American history at German universities is taught either within the framework of North American area studies (as is the case in Bremen) or in interdisciplinary centers like the John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies of the Free University

Berlin, the Canadian Studies Center at the University of Augsburg, or the North American Program of the University of Bonn/Cologne. At these centers usually only one history professor teaches. A regular scholarly exchange with colleagues from the history departments hardly takes place. Yet, especially with regard to the use of methodological and theoretical concepts structuring the analysis of cultural phenomena a closer interchange between the group of German historians and German Canadian historians would be most fruitful, even necessary. The efforts of Hans-Ulrich Wehler and his graduate students at Bielefeld to integrate sociological and historical approaches in an analytical framework for the structuring of historiographical research on 19th century (German) "Bürgertum" (see the Graduate Program "Sozialgeschichte von Gruppen, Schichten, Klassen und Eliten") remain confined in a nationally defined concept of history and society. They focus on German, or some of them on British, French or even American history, analyzing the social and cultural developments and functional characteristics of these societies, conceived of as being territorially defined and confined according to the notion of the modern nation state. Dirk Hoerder on the other hand works with an analytical approach which is based on the concept of transnationalism or transculturalism (Hoerder, 1994c; Hoerder/Harzig/Shubert 2003). Hoerder uses sociological theories to transcend nationally defined concepts of society in order to analyze historical processes and developments taking place in transnational or transcultural spheres (see also Winter 2001).

Although it has not yet been discussed as an alternative to the nationally defined, "mainstream" approach to "Kultur- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte", I think that Hoerder's concept of social-cultural history (that draws directly on Canadian scholarship and imports interdisciplinary Canadian research tools and theoretical concepts to Germany and even the broader European academic context) is one that at least has the potential to challenge the Bielefeld school. His most recent book on "Cultures in Contact" which covers European and World migrations from the 11th century to the 1990s received "The Sharlin Prize" for the best book published in social sciences in 2002 from the Social Science History Association. Future research will have to explore to what degree the concept of a multicultural social history can be applied to the explanation of the European experience and the contemporary developments in the context of European integration.

The picture is different in the field of political and diplomatic history. Analyzing trilateral relationships and interdependencies, like the one between Canada, the United States and Great Britain, on the basis of multiarchival research was a rather new approach to

international history and foreign policy analysis during the 1980's. The DFG recognized the methodological and conceptual challenge of this approach and reacted by establishing a special funding program ("Schwerpunktprogramm") for research focusing on "North America and Western Europe". This program explicitly supported historical research working with new concepts and Gustav Schmidt's project on the North Atlantic Triangle was one of them. The Canadian experience of being a middle power with no real stakes in international relations but with close contacts to the superpower USA and the declining great power Great Britain underlined the necessity to overcome foreign policy approaches that focus on one actor alone. Canada's political role as a linchpin between the United States and Great Britain made it necessary to broaden the traditional nation-centered approach to political history.

The analysis of bilateral or trilateral relationships is meanwhile a well-established research perspective in political and diplomatic history. The "cultural approach to diplomatic history", however, that was developed by American historians during the 1980s (see e.g. Charles Maier, Akira Iriye, Michael Kammen, Frank Ninkovich, Stephen Whitfield and Paul Boyer) and adopted by German diplomatic historians in the 1990s, had only little influence on studies on Canadian foreign policy. Canadian research on Canadian foreign policy still focuses on classical topics of diplomatic history and the foreign policy decision-making process. The question is whether there exists a recognizable reason for this? Why did Canadian political history remain so traditionally oriented, while Canadian social history stood and stands at the forefront of innovative research methods and approaches?

Cultural approaches have been introduced into diplomatic history in the early 1980s by American diplomatic historians above all for political reasons. By integrating social, cultural, and ideational factors into their research, diplomatic historians for once tried to overcome a professional crisis which expressed itself in departmental hiring policies that tended to replace diplomatic historians with cultural and social historians. Besides, there existed empirical reasons for this cultural turn. The cultural approach to diplomatic history *à l'Américaine* can be understood as a historians' reaction to political developments resulting from the international roles of the United States during the "American Century". One might even go a step further and argue that the cultural approach has to be interpreted as an endeavor of the American history profession to develop a more complex explanation for the fact that the United States took over the political, economic and cultural leadership role in world affairs and kept it even after the end of the Cold War. Research focused on questions such as: How do different cultural backgrounds influence the international communication process, e.g.

between the United States and Japan or China? Does cultural similarity further political cooperation, as is the case for example in Anglo-American relations, the "special relationship", and vice versa does cultural heterogeneity produce conflicts, "clashes of civilization"? Hence, it is a concept developed in and for the analysis of the American historical experience in foreign affairs.

Canada did not experience a similar historical development with regard to its role and function in international relations. Questions of national identity came up not so much because of Canada's participation in UN peacekeeping operation but because of Canada's bicultural and multicultural social and political setting. Since the 1960s domestic problems stood at the political forefront and demanded historical explanations. In so far it is not surprising that the survey produced by the Canadian Association for Canadian Studies describing the development of Canadian Studies in the Nineties points out that "To know ourselves" — and one might add: and not to comprehend the interaction processes of Canada with foreign countries, which are only marginal to the understanding of Canadian history — "is the best and most comprehensive rationale for Canadian studies" (Cameron 1996: 1). David Cameron, author of this report, argues:

"To live in Canada, to live as a Canadian, is to experience multiple loyalties and in some measure to inhabit different spheres of identity. Our federal political system disperses power and authority in the public realm; it also presumes, not just the pre-existence, but the continuity of significant subnational political communities. Our rich and various social, cultural and economic life not only permits, but is nourished, by the contributions of individuals and communities distinguished by region, culture, ethnicity, gender and class. To know Canada and Canadians is to know something about this fabric and about how the pieces fit together" (Cameron 1996:1).

The inward and the outward looking character of historical research may be the central difference between Canadian Studies and American Studies and it is also – as Wolfgang Helbich pointed out – the main difference between "Canadian" Canadian historians and "Non-Canadian" Canadian historians.

"Canadians cannot help factoring in the identity aspect, and they seem very much involved in trendy ongoing debates; ... Non-Canadian historians are deprived of the identity-seeking impetus and benefit from all of the advantages of the outside observer – enjoying all our prejudices, antipathies, and sympathies, reveling in all the excitement history has to offer, but never existentially involved" (Helbich 1999a).

4. Desiderata for future research

With regard to future research the conceptual approaches developed by Dirk Hoerder and its political implications have to be pinpointed. In addition the scholarly challenges posed by domestic and external developments in the wake of September 11, 2001 have to be taken into account.

The 'Project 2000' Conference of the European Network for Canadian Studies planned and organized by Dirk Hoerder, Christiane Harzig, Danielle Juteau and Adrian Shubert and co-sponsored by the GKS, the Centre for Ethnic Studies, Université de Montréal and the Department of History, York University, explicitly tried to recast European history "from the nation-centered paradigm developed in the 19th century to a long-range perspective and a paradigm of cultural interaction across past centuries". The idea put forward by the conference organizers was that "from this interactive past and the equally interactive present an agenda for the 21st century will emerge. The model is provided by the reconstruction of Canadian history from a duality of British and French founding nations to a multicultural self-view and a multiracial agenda." The organizers stressed the hypothesis that "a practiced transculturalism rather than inter-nationalism seems to be the concept upon which migrants and societies act" (Harzig/Hoerder/Juteau/Shubert 1998) and argued that the present-day Canadian example of multiculturalism offers an alternative to present European policies. They pleaded for a recasting of European history away from national history to migration history and the history of minorities and demanded a reconfiguration of central paradigms of immigration history. The conference organizers argue that "post-1945 migrations from the Mediterranean and Caribbean regions northward and vast global refugee and asylee movements have made 'nationally' homogeneous but regionally heterogeneous populations visibly many-cultured" (Harzig/Hoerder/Juteau/Shubert 1998; Hoerder 2002b). As a consequence Harzig and Hoerder

stress the necessity that immigration research has to refine "the bipolar emigration-immigration dichotomy to a complex, multidirectional migration-history approach" (Harzig/Hoerder/Juteau/Shubert 1998).

As important and as challenging the hypotheses put forward by the organizers of the Conference are, if we put the normative and political implications of their arguments into the context of e.g. the findings of the Cameron-Report a paradox emerges that needs to be pinpointed. In the above mentioned survey conducted by the Canadian Association of Canadian Studies it became obvious that Canada's policy of multiculturalism had a negative impact on the coherence of the Canadian society.

"Most of the people interviewed in connection with this report who commented on the state of the country in general believed that Canada is, if anything less united, less capable of formulating a coherent national purpose and less willing to know and celebrate itself than it was 15 or 20 years ago. Yet most people contended that Canadian studies had made substantial strides during this same period, particularly in the humanities and social science disciplines of [Canadian] universities where the study of Canada is incalculably more advanced than it was in the 1960s or early 1970s" (Cameron 1996:4).

Hence, it is necessary to ask whether the multi-ethnic identities that the organizers of the 'Project 2000' conference proclaim as being a necessary and valuable consequence of political tolerance is not at its heart a concept that produces social and cultural insecurity. Taking the political developments in the 1990s at the Russian periphery and former Yugoslavia into account one might as well argue that the co-existence of multiple cultures and multiple ethnicities in a territorially defined nation state that has lost its "national" identity, produces internal conflicts having the potential to escalate into civil war.

The social experience of Canada, being a society with multiple cultural or should I say 'national' identities, mirrors, however, indeed to a certain extent the current situation in the European Union, with the exception of one central point. Differing from Canada, the development of a common political and cultural European identity is presently looked upon by European politicians as a necessary prerequisite for the successful realization of the integration project. Hence the current social and cultural policies pursued by the European Union tend in a direction that does not completely correspond to the Canadian example.

However, the differences between Canada and the EU with regard to the policy process, the political inputs, the economic dimensions and the cultural dimensions involved and the commonalities between the two political entities regarding the social, cultural and political problems they have to solve present indeed a scholarly challenge that needs to be tackled, not only by sociologists and political scientists but also by historians. I am quite sure that the historical experience of Canada in dealing with cultural diversity might offer some insights that will not only help to solve political problems in Europe resulting from conflicting cultural and ethnic constellations but that Canadian history will also provide new perspectives on European history that will redirect the currently nationally oriented master narratives into a European perspective. Such a new European narrative will provide one element for the construction of a European political and social identity which will be the central prerequisite for a successful continuation of the integration process and hence for the future of Europe.

The second challenge for future historical research are the emotional and psychological differences of the Canadian and American societies that are well-known, but that became politically relevant in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. As Michael Moore's documentary "Bowling for Columbine", which is based on the massacre in Columbine High School of April 20, 1999, made more than obvious, there exists an "emotion gap" between Canada and the United States influencing perceptions of security and security policies, on the domestic and the international level (Lehmkuhl 2003a, 2003b). The psychological differences between Canadians and Americans in dealing with potential security threats have a huge impact on continental economic and security policies and explain the political conflicts between Canada and the United States since September 11, 2001.

Most Europeans underestimate the threat-perception and the feeling of insecurity existing in the United States, and they know little about the situation in Canada. Future research will have to examine the cultural and socio-political contexts and differences in which today's discussions about national security, its dimensions, dilemmas and path dependencies in North America are moulded. What are the differences between the United States and Canada in coping with the new threats stemming from a new kind of enemy, a transnationally organized network of terrorists from many cultural backgrounds? To what extent will Canada's economic dependencies on a more or less open border to the United States influence the open and liberal character of the Canadian society? The political impact of the necessity to cooperate in questions of homeland security on Canada's immigration policy is already obvious. Future research will have to explore whether the political

developments in the United States accelerate the reorientation of Canadian policy towards Europe. Can we observe a Re-Europeanization of Canada? For economic and for political reasons historians and political scientists will have to support the efforts of the Canadian government and especially the Department of External Affairs to pinpoint the existing social, cultural and political differences between Canada and the United States. Historical research will have to make the special character of Canadian politics and society transparent.

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