

ifa ECP Monitor Country Report

Canada

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1. External cultural policy objectives in geopolitical context

Canada is a growing and ethnically diverse middle power. The country is often seen in the shadow of the strong influence of the United States, its closest ally. However, relations between the two countries worsened during the Trump presidency, as Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau charted a different policy course to transform Canada's own perception of its place in world politics and advance its position through a more active cultural diplomacy.

Consequently, between 2015 and 2019, Canada introduced far-reaching changes in its foreign policy and particularly in its public diplomacy approach. Under Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper (2006-2015), Canada experienced nearly a decade of stripped-down foreign policy engagement that had only a small number of security and economic issues at its core. The election of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in 2015 signified a change in course: with the optimistic motto "Canada's back", Trudeau clearly professed the country's intention to function as a progressive middle-power with an active public diplomacy agenda (Ostwald & Dierkes, 2018). Canada's foreign policy development, now including a clear mandate for cultural diplomacy, was expanded significantly in the years since the start of Prime Minister Trudeau's first term.

Table 1: Economy of Canada

	2019	% change since 2015
Population (millions) / ranking	37.6 /39 th	5%
GDP ranking	10 th	10 th
GDP per capita	46,297.8 €	14.9%
Cultural economy (%GDP)	0.4%	12%
Education economy (%GDP)	6.7%	0.6%
R&D economy (%GDP)	1.69%	-9%
Media economy (%GDP)	0.25%	-

Sources: The World Bank, 2019; The World Bank 2020; OECD, Statistics Canada

Canada is home to a population of 37.6 million, just exceeding one-tenth of the population of the neighbouring US. The country's strong GDP puts Canada at 10th place internationally and Canada ranks 18th in terms of GDP per capita.

Table 2: Canada's geopolitical and geo-economic position

	2019	2015
Hard power rank	21 st	14 th
World trade rank	12 th	11 th
Soft power rank	7 th / 75.89	5 th / 71.71
Diplomacy rank	18 th	18 th

Canada's strong domestic output is mirrored in its relevance to the world economy—the country ranks 12th in world trade. Moreover, the country's decrease in hard power ranking from 2015 to 2019 is indicative of strong fluctuations over the last decade, rather than a progressive fall in ranking (Global Firepower, 2021). Its soft power rank, on the other hand, has declined steadily since 2016, when it had experienced a boost due to Prime Minister Trudeau's election. Particularly, the backlash for Trudeau's favourable stance on oil pipelines and fossil fuel extraction as well as the only slowly progressing economic innovation have deflated the score (Portland, 2020).

2. External cultural policy: an overview

During the Harper-era of Canadian foreign policy (2006-2015), programming associated with public diplomacy was reduced substantially, with an estimated budget cut in the field of approx. €28 million. Several programmes designed to boost Canadian soft power were scrapped, such as the Understanding Canada Program to promote the field of “Canadian Studies” abroad (Potter, 2020). In a reversal of that era, the new administration has undertaken to expressly include cultural diplomacy in Canada's foreign policy again. Indeed, the mandate of the Minister of Foreign Affairs now includes “support for Canada's educational and cultural interaction with the world, such as [...] a new Cultural Diplomacy strategy with at least one international mission each year to promote Canadian culture and creators around the world, with the support of the Minister of Canadian Heritage” (Trudeau, 2019). Consequently, new government funding became available in 2016 and an ongoing process is determining an official Canadian strategy on cultural diplomacy¹.

Table 3: Key ECP Statistics for Canada

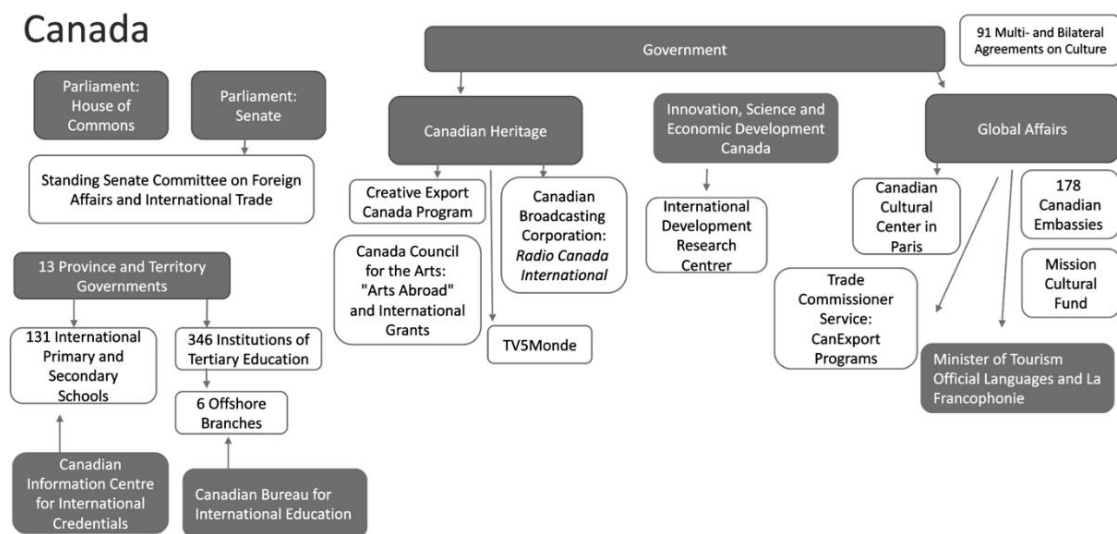
	2019
Number of countries with ECP activities	29 (including education institutions)
Total number of institutions abroad	143 (including education institutions)
Total number of FTE staff engaged in ECP activities	> 46
Government financial support (€ million)	> €472.1 million
Total expenditure of all ECP operators (€ million)	> €516 million
Comparative ECP ranking	medium

¹ Representative from Global Affairs Canada, personal communication, January 26, 2021, E-Mail.

In an investigation into the field, the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade identified several objectives for Canada's future cultural diplomacy. The report states that Canada should take an artist-centred and dialogical approach to external cultural policy, while at the same time identifying commercial opportunities for Canadian artists abroad (Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2019). The report similarly analyzes the partner countries most conducive to successful cultural diplomacy, prioritizing "sizeable and established markets as well as the potential for strong people-to-people, sector-to-sector, and country-to-country ties" (Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2019, p. 85). The highlighted countries and areas include the US, European countries like France, UK and Germany, Asian partners like China, as well as Latin America (ibid., 2019).

As a federal system, Canada's national approach is further complemented through internationalization initiatives on the level of its provinces, especially in the field of education, where the provinces possess competence (Trilokekar & Jones, 2015). All the provinces are active in the field of ECP with their own strategies and ministries, indicating that the total Canadian expenditure in ECP is higher than can be portrayed here. These programmes are largely concerned with the international mobility and exposure of their own artists and institutions (Potter, 2020). Most notable is the largely French-speaking province Québec: home to repeated surges of Québécois nationalism, the province is an active player in foreign policy with many bilateral international agreements in its own right (Kirkey et al., 2016). On its path to reaffirm its official language and distinct identity apart from the larger Canadian agenda, Québec maintains a particularly strong partnership with France. Furthermore, Québec is a full member of international networks and organizations like La Francophonie and TV5MONDE (Tavares, 2016). Beyond the Canadian network of diplomatic missions, Québec possesses 33 representations in 18 countries (Ministère des Relations Internationales et de la Francophonie, 2020).

On the federal level, Global Affairs Canada, a rearranged department in charge of Canada's foreign affairs, as well as its consular relations, holds chief responsibility for ECP. Their mandate is complemented by a number of other departments and governmental agencies highlighted specific ECP subfields. These include the Department of Canadian Heritage, active in additional functions in international arts and culture, and the Department of Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada, active in Canada's international science policy.

Figure 1: Institutional map of Canada's ECP

3. Fields of ECP

3.1. Culture and the arts

Upon the introduction of cultural diplomacy into the mandate of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Canada expanded of cultural representation in Canada's nearly global diplomatic network, including five full-time cultural attachés in selected embassies in North America, Europe and Asia. A further six officers were given responsibilities in both trade and culture². The Mission Cultural Fund holds a budget of approx. €1.2 million annually and can be called upon by the Canadian missions abroad for cultural projects and events. In 2019-2020, this fund was used to fund projects in 67 countries. Their distribution broadly mirrors the regional emphasis prepared in the Senate Committee's investigation. The United States is the country where the highest amount was spent, followed by France, the UK and Germany. The continent with the least spending was Africa (with approx. € 28,000 in total). Even without a larger cultural diplomacy strategy, the Mission Cultural Fund already highlights important issue areas for their work abroad. In 2019-2020, dominant themes were gender equality, LGBTIQI rights and Indigenous rights³. In addition to this programme and Canada's diplomatic network, the Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris remains the only national cultural institute abroad. From its location in the French capital it offers support to Canada's cultural diplomacy engagement all over France (Canadian Cultural Centre Paris, n.d.).

In addition to the comparatively modest budget of the Mission Cultural Fund, a number of federal funders offer funding for the internationalization of artists and groups working in Canada. At the forefront of this is the Canada Council for the Arts, an arms-length funding agency. Although the organization does not officially hold a mandate to carry out cultural

² Representative from Global Affairs Canada, personal communication, January 28, 2021, E-Mail.

³ Representative from Global Affairs Canada, personal communication, February 12, 2021, E-Mail.

diplomacy on behalf of Canada, its delivery of programmes aimed at internationalization have positioned it as a de-facto addition to Canada's cultural diplomacy apparatus (Potter, 2020). In 2018 alone, the council funded 1,730 international projects with €13.2 million (Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2019). By 2019-2020, the council's investment to support international activities reached €22.4 million (Canada Council for the Arts, 2019). Beyond the mere promotion of Canada's arts and culture abroad, the agency also prioritizes is the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives in the international context (ibid.).

Table 4: Key statistics on culture and the arts

	2019	2015
Number of countries present	6	-
Number of institutes	1: The Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris	1
Number of FTE staff	21 (3 in Ottawa, 18 internationally)	-
Number of cultural agreements	91 bilateral (50 different countries) and multilateral cultural agreements in force	+4 (87 agreements with 47 different countries)
Government financial support (€ million)	22.4€ million (Canada Council for the Arts) 1.2 € million (Mission Cultural Fund, available to Canadian Embassies worldwide) 4.7 € million (Creative Export Canada)	Approx. 6.9€ (Canada Council for the Arts)
Number of countries present	6	-
Number of institutes	1: The Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris	1

Sources: Global Affairs Canada, personal communication, January 28, 2021; Canadian Cultural Centre Paris, n.d.; Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2019; Government of Canada, n.d.; Canada Council for the Arts, 2016; Canada Council for the Arts, 2020; Canadian Heritage, 2020a

3.2. Language

As a country with two official languages – English and French – and over 70 local indigenous languages, language policy has played an important part in the contested domestic identity politics that continue to divide the country (Statistics Canada, 2017; Reynolds, 2020). However, the promotion or instruction of these languages does not factor into Canada's external policies abroad in any systematic way. This absence may be attributable to the already widely spread language institutions teaching English and French, meaning that Canada can, to some extent, benefit from institutions provided by the French, British and American governments. Canada does, however, support the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie with

approximately €27 million annually. The multilateral organization's missions comprise the promotion of the French language (Global Affairs Canada, 2015).

Table 5: Key figures on language promotion

	2019	2015
Government financial support (€ million)	La Francophonie: Approx. 27€ million annually	

Source: Global Affairs Canada, 2015

3.3. Primary and secondary education

Canadian education is organized at the level of its Provinces and Territories. Therefore, the choice of whether offshore primary and secondary education is offered and how their curricula are composed is not decided at the federal level. As a result, there is no unitary Canadian international education strategy at the primary and secondary education level. Nevertheless, the Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (CICIC), a subunit of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada offers an overview of the authorized schools outside of Canada. By offering information on the Canadian education system and creating tools for international education credentials, the CICIC facilitates international mobility (CICIC, n.d.). It includes 131 Canadian institutions spanning 23 countries with a strong regional focus on East Asia: China alone is host to 89 Canadian schools (CICIC, 2020).

Table 6: Key figures on primary and secondary education

	2019	2015
Number of countries	23 (across Asia, Europe, North America, South America and Africa)	-
Number of schools	131	-

Sources: CICIC, 2020; CMEC, n.d.

3.4. Tertiary education and science

Although tertiary education, too, is within the competence of Canada's Provinces and Territories, the federal government has recognized the intersection of the field with the country's internationalization agenda (Trilokekar & Jones, 2015). Correspondingly, the Government of Canada has published two successive International Education Strategies (2014-2019; 2019-2024). Recognizing international students as an economic driver and observing the competition over international students, the strategy functions as a blueprint to further enhance the country's attractiveness for international students. The strategy is allocated €99.6 million over its duration of five years (Global Affairs Canada, 2019a).

It is much more common for international students to study in Canada than for Canadian students to go abroad. 224,548 foreign students studied in Canada in 2019, almost five times

the number of outbound students (48,345) (UNESCO, n.d.). The most common countries of origin were China, India and France. Canadians overwhelmingly selected to study in anglo-phone countries like the US, the United Kingdom or Australia (Statistics Canada & Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 2020). This imbalance between inbound and outbound students is a matter of concern for the Government of Canada. To encourage outbound student mobility, the renewed International Education Strategy aims to support up to 11,000 undergraduate students to study abroad (Global Affairs Canada, 2019a). Already, the Canadian Bureau of International Education reports overseeing 20 international scholarship programs, supporting a total of 2,210 students (CBIE, 2019). The strategy further seeks to diversify the country of origin of incoming students, as well as their desired location of study within Canada (Global Affairs Canada, 2019a). This is a response to an uneven distribution of international students within Canada, with Ontario as the desired location for 48% in 2018 (Statistics Canada & Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 2020).

Studying abroad does not necessarily mean adjusting to a different curriculum: Canada possesses a number of offshore branches of tertiary education institutions, albeit small in comparison to its neighbour the USA. The six branch campuses are located in China/Hong Kong, Japan, Qatar and Kuwait and are organized by well-known Canadian institutions such as Québec's McGill University or Ontario's Ivey Business School (JISC, 2018). These campuses are coordinated by their individual home institutions in Canada and their organization remains independent from one another (Trilokekar & Jones, 2015).

Table 7: Key figures on tertiary education

	2019	2015
Number of countries	4	-
Number of universities / colleges abroad	6: Qatar (2), China, Hong Kong, Japan, Kuwait	6
Number of domestic universities / colleges	Wallonia-Brussels: 25 Flanders: 22	-
Number of foreign students ⁴	Outbound: 48,345 Inbound: 642,480	Outbound: 49,770 Inbound: 353,000
Number of government scholarships awarded	2,210	-
Government financial support (€ million)	€99.6 over the period of five years for the International Education Strategy	

Sources: JISC, 2018; UNESCO, n.d., Chen, 2017; CBIE, 2019 ; Canada Council for the Arts, 2016a.

In the field of science, Canada applies what it considers a “Science Diplomacy and Outreach”, overseen by the Chief Science Advisor of Canada. In its implementation, Global Affairs Canada spent approx. €388.5 million for Science and Research in 2019-2020 (Office of the Chief Science Advisor, 2020). As part of Global Affairs, the Trade Commissioner Service (TCS) is

⁴ Data based on Global Flow of Tertiary-Level Students, collected by UNESCO UIS.

another important point of reference for Canada's international science policy. The agency is represented with a network of 25 dedicated counselors on science, technology and innovation, spread across the diplomatic representations of 11 countries (Wilshaw, 2020). For instance, the TCS offers CanExport Innovation, explicitly targeting Canadian institutions seeking international partnerships in research and development. Global Affairs Canada supports these with up to approx. €50,000 (Global Affairs Canada, 2019b). In 2019-2020, 159 new research partnerships were supported in this manner (Wilshaw, 2020).

The Banting Postdoctoral Fellowships additionally offer the opportunity for Canadian researchers of a range of fields to spend two years at a host institution, funded by the Government of Canada. In 2019-2020, 18 fellowships were awarded for international universities or programmes (Government of Canada, 2020).

The federal Canadian government further funds the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), which is located in Canada's capital of Ottawa. The central location is complemented by five institutes abroad, located in Uruguay, Kenya, Senegal, Jordan and India. Global Affairs supported the IDRC with €94.5 million in 2019. The IDRC further disseminated a portion of their annual budget in the form of project grants amounting to €126,456 (IDRC, 2020).

Table 8: Key figures on science and research

	2019	2015
Number of countries	5	5
Number of institutes	International Development Research Centre (IDRC): 5	IDRC: 5
Number of researchers / staff	Science, Technology & Innovation Counselors: 25	-
Number of projects	CanExport Innovation program: 169	-
Number scientists in exchange programs	Banting Postdoctoral Fellowships: 18	Banting Postdoctoral Fellowships: 19
Budget (€ million)	IDRC: €138.5 million, of this €126,456 for research project grants	IDRC: €187.8 million
Government financial support (€ million)	€388.5 million in Global Affairs Expenditure for Science and Research	IDRC Parliamentary appropriation: €129.5 million (69.7%)

Sources: IDRC, 2020; Wilshaw, 2020; IDRC, 2016; Government of Canada, 2016; Government of Canada, 2020; Office of the Chief Science Advisor, 2020

3.5. Foreign Media

When it comes to reaching Canadian audiences abroad, Canada divides its attention between multilateral cooperation in the television and its very own platform in radio broadcasting. As a country with a significant French-speaking population, both Canada and its largely francophone Province Québec are members of the TV5MONDE network. Other financing members include France, the Wallonia-Brussels Federation and Switzerland. The network aims to promote the usage of the French language around the world, but also to function as a reliable source of information in the 198 countries in which it is broadcast (TV5MONDE, n.d.). The federal Canadian contribution to the network amounts to approx. 6.54 € million (2018), a slight decrease from 2015 (Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2019). In light of Canada's strong creative industries and entertainment sector, TV5 Quebec Canada was founded and partners with TV5MONDE in the dissemination of content (TV5 Québec Canada, n.d.). In recent years, the TV5MONDE group has expanded its cooperation and created French-language the online on-demand service TV5MONDE plus, featuring content from the participating areas and subtitled in five languages (TV5Monde, 2020).

As per a legal requirement, Canada must also possess an international radio broadcaster. The corresponding Radio Canada International is located under the helm of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. This online-only "Voice of Canada" is available worldwide and offers reporting and podcast-style content in five languages (English, French, Spanish, Arabic and Mandarin) (Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2019). However, in a sharp contrast to Trudeau's general approach to Canada's international role, the broadcaster has been subject to substantial budget cuts over the last decade. Yet another round of budget reduction announced in late 2020 reduces the station's staff by more than half to only nine employees. Although two new languages will be added in 2021 (Punjabi and Tagalog), reporting in all languages but English and French will be reduced to the translation of English news rather than individual reporting (Sevunts, 2020).

Table 9: Key figures on foreign broadcasting

	2019	2015
TV		
Number of countries broadcasted to	TV5MONDE: 198	TV5MONDE: 198
Number of languages	TV5MONDE: 1, Subtitled 13	-
Number of channels	TV5MONDE: 10	-
Audience / weekly (million)	TV5MONDE: 59 million	-
Digital & social media audience (million)	TV5MONDE: Facebook: 3,043,000 Twitter: 1,015,000 Youtube: 569,000	-

Budget (€ million)	TV5MONDE: 107€ (from five countries and regions) Canadian Contribution: approx. 6.54 € million (2018)	TV5MONDE: 7.8€ (Canadian Contribution)
Radio		
Number of countries broadcasted to	Radio Canada International: 198 (Online only)	Radio Canada International: 198 (Online only)
Number of languages	5 (English, French, Spanish, Arabic and Mandarin)	5 (English, French, Spanish, Arabic and Mandarin)
Number of channels	1	1
Audience / weekly (million)	-	-
Digital & social media audience (million)	<u>Radio Canada International:</u> Twitter: 4413 (2020) LinkedIn: 851 (2020) Facebook: 19,228 (2020) YouTube: 835 (2020)	-
Government contribution	1.8 million (2018)	-

Sources: TVMONDE, n.d.; République Française, 2020; Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2019; Canadian Heritage, 2020b; Sevunts, 2020; Facebook; Twitter; YouTube.

4. Challenges and future outlook

Canada's re-emphasis of cultural diplomacy policies is a visible effort on the part of Prime Minister Trudeau to re-establish the country as an internationally active player supporting "Canadian values". For instance, while domestically, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada examined the country's history of injustice against its Indigenous people, Canadian activities abroad have in recent years partaken in this critical examination of Canada's history and encouraged discussions surrounding the issue. This issue is just one example of how Canada is slowly attempting to promote a multicultural international narrative of the country (Potter, 2020).

Nevertheless, domestic controversies surrounding the treatment of the First Nations in Canada continue to paint a different picture. Some call Canada's land acknowledgment "a progressive façade" (Zhao, 2021), others focus on the breaching of ancestral lands in the ongoing debate surrounding the government's support for new pipeline construction plans (Kestler-D'Amours, 2020). Similar accusations surround the country's attempts to position itself as a green economy, while the lack of follow-up policies and reliance on fossil fuel thwart this image (Farand, 2020; Rabson, 2020). As Canada's drop in soft power ranking has demonstrated, the duplicity of the desired narrative and domestic controversies are a hindrance to Canada's efforts (Portland, 2020).

While the cultural diplomacy portfolio has been expanded significantly since the Harper-era, its financial instruments are still comparatively modest (the Mission Cultural Fund navigates

with an annual budget of approx. €1.2 million). Domestic agencies such as the Canada Council for the Arts compensate for this shortage to an extent by supporting the mobility of Canadian artists and groups. Nevertheless, a coherent multiannual cultural diplomacy strategy equipped with the appropriate funds is necessary in order to support the status Canada envisions for itself on the international stage.

The commencement of Prime Minister Trudeau's second term has paved the way for Canada to regain some of the soft power it lost due to radical budget cuts in its foreign policy under Harper. The strategic integration of the full ECP toolbox – also considering Canada's existing involvement in science diplomacy and its multiannual international education strategy – will highlight relevant areas of cooperation. Likely, this strategy will also take stock of the current limits imposed not only by Canada's allotted budget, but also by the division of competences between the federal state and its provinces. To be successful and counteract existing obstacles in Canada's ECP, the policies must therefore have the backing from its provinces and must do justice to its entire population – whether they speak French, English, an Indigenous or any other language.

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Imprint

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