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## Pierre Bourdieu in Canada

by Marcel Fournier *and* Lionel Vécrin

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There are two ways of analysing the international diffusion of ideas: the intellectual use of an author's works and the interpersonal networks around this author [Collins 1998]. These two methods of analysis are complementary and we will make use of both. Moreover, no idea has its own "force innée" (dixit Émile Durkheim) of diffusion, which is rather largely dependent on the socially specific conditions of reception, and from a bourdieusian perspective, we cannot analyse the diffusion of ideas without taking into account the specific conditions of their reception. These conditions are: 1) the linguistic competence (or access to the translation) of the readers; 2) the intellectual (or political) affinities between the author and readers; and 3) the positions of the author and the readers in their respective fields (homology of positions) [Bourdieu 1995].

The aim of this article is to provide a brief portrait of the reception and diffusion of Bourdieu's works within Canada. To do so, let us first briefly present some specific characteristics of the academic landscape. In first insight, we have to say that within Canada, there is a main division between Quebec, with a francophone majority, and the rest of Canada, which is mostly English-speaking. Language is a strong issue, and so the structure of the academic field is divided in two: the French universities and the English universities, with few exceptions (for example, the University of Ottawa is a bilingual university). However, it is possible, though too infrequent, for a French scholar to work in an English university (for example, at McGill University or Concordia University in Montreal), and for an English colleague to be hired by a

French university. In Quebec, most of the professors are bilingual and participate in English-language networks and associations, etc.

In the social sciences, research teams, networks, scientific associations (e.g. the Canadian Association of sociology and anthropology, or the Royal Society of Canada), and academic journals are open to all Canadian scholars irrespectively of their language. But there exists what we might call the “two solitudes” between the French and English scientific communities: the French-language sociologists have their own journals (*Sociologie et Sociétés*, *Recherches sociographiques*), their own associations (Association canadienne des sociologies et anthropologies de langue française), and participate in the activities of the Association francophone pour le savoir (ACFAS). In a way, we find the same thing at the international level: francophone scholars are “closer” to the international French-language community (mainly France), and Anglophone scholars, “closer” to the English community (mainly the United States).

This particular cultural and linguistic situation has implications for our analysis. On one hand, the data we use to analyse the diffusion of Bourdieu’s ideas come from the ISI databases, which adequately covers English-language publications, but only scarcely Francophone publications (or that of other languages). Consequently, this does not give us the opportunity to systematically compare Quebec scholars with non-Quebecers. On the other hand, we start to fill this gap in our data by examining the interpersonal networks of French-Canadian researchers. This will lead to an “asymmetrical” analysis of the two cultural milieus.

In the following pages, we will measure the “presence” of Bourdieu in Canada by: 1) looking at interpersonal networks: the training of Canadian students by Bourdieu, his travels in Canada, and the publications and translations of his books; and 2) the use of Bourdieu’s works by Canadian researchers, as measured by citation use.

## **Interpersonal networks**

Language is always an important factor in the diffusion of ideas, and it is easy to think that Pierre Bourdieu’s works have had a faster and more important impact in Quebec than in the rest of Canada for at least two reasons: 1) the language and close relationship between Quebec and France, and 2) the theoretical and political orientation of French Quebec sociologists who, during the 70s, were often critical (or marxist) and leftist intellectuals. Quebec can also play a role of “passeur” between France or Europe and the USA, introducing and “translating” French authors in the USA (and vice versa: for example Guy Rocher who published in France a book

on Talcott Parsons and American sociology and edited a special issue of the journal *Sociologie et Sociétés* on his former supervisor).

The relations between Canada (mainly Quebec) and France have a long history. Paris has been for Quebec writers and painters a “cultural metropole,” a destination where to study, publish or get prizes and recognition. In the social sciences, it is a bit different because the United States have exercised a real attraction since the 1930s and 40s. Some French Canadians have received their Master’s degree or PhDs from American Universities: Jean-Charles Falardeau, Hubert Guindon and Jacques Brazeau from the University of Chicago, Guy Rocher from Harvard University, Gérald Fortin from Cornell University, and more recently, Jean-Guy Vaillancourt and Nicole Laurin from Berkeley, Serge Carlos from Chicago, Paul Bernard and Michèle Ollivier from Harvard, Marc Renaud from Wisconsin.

But at the end of the 1960s, France had become more attractive for many young scholars for institutional reasons (new degrees, new sociology departments) and political ones (May 1968, structuralism, Althusser, Poulantzas and structural Marxism, etc.). Some French sociologists came to Quebec at the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s to teach: Alain Touraine, Edgar Morin, Joffre Dumazedier, Jacques Jenny, etc. At that time, Jacques Dofny, born in Belgium, was Professor of sociology at the Université de Montréal, he founded the journal *Sociologie et Sociétés* and was active in the International Sociological Association; he was a closed friend of Touraine. One important factor to consider is the development of the VIe Section of the École pratique des hautes études at Paris (later the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales) where there was a group of dynamic sociologists: Alain Touraine, Edgar Morin, Serge Moscovici, Pierre Bourdieu, etc. Some of these sociologists have had a greater “presence” in Quebec than Bourdieu. For example Dumazedier, who came many times to Quebec and worked with Colette Carisse, professor at the University of Montreal and Gilles Pronovost, a young professor at the Université de Québec à Trois-Rivières. But Alain Touraine has succeeded in attracting to his seminar at the EPHE many Quebec students: Louis Maheu, Céline Saint-Pierre, Paul A. Bélanger.<sup>1</sup>

Only one student from Quebec has been supervised by Pierre Bourdieu for his PhD thesis: Marcel Fournier, who has first studied (BSc and MA in sociology) at the Université de Montréal He got his Doctorate at the EPHE-Sorbonne in 1974 with a thesis on “*The Development of Social Sciences in Quebec University.*” He has been one of the first PhD students of Pierre Bourdieu. Professor at the Université de Montréal

<sup>1</sup>Another Quebecer sociologist has been a Touraine’s student. Born in Switzerland, Michel Freitag has studied at the École pratique des hautes études and worked as “chercheur contractual” during four years (1965-1969) with Alain Touraine. He came in Quebec in 1970 where he has been hired by the Université du Québec à Montréal.

since 1974, he has maintained closed relations with Bourdieu and other members of the Centre d'études sociologiques (Luc Boltanski, Monique de Saint-Martin, Victor Karady, Jean-Claude Combessie, Adelmalek Sayad). Other Quebecers have studied with Bourdieu: Yves Lamarche and Marcelle Hardy, but the first did not write his thesis and decided to work in the Public administration and the latter did not finish her studies in France, she is now professor of education at the Université du Québec à Montréal. Marie-Andrée Beaudet, now professor of literature at Université Laval, went to Paris in 1990 for her Postdoctorate, participating in Bourdieu's seminar and working closely with members of his research group [Beaudet 1991; Lemire, Beaudet et Saint-Jacques 1999; Lemire et Saint-Jacques 2005]. She introduced a sociological perspective in her work and published many books on the history of Quebec. Some others regularly attended Bourdieu's seminar but were supervised by other professors: Michèle Lamont, now professor of sociology at Harvard University, has been supervised by Pierre Ansard. One of her projects (which has been stopped) was to publish a synthesis of Bourdieu's contribution to sociology; she published many papers and books discussing Bourdieu's theory of culture and social inequalities.

Pierre Bourdieu came twice to Canada and both times, only to Montréal, where he had been invited by the Université de Montréal. The first time, in 1975, he travelled from Princeton (where he had a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Sciences) to Montréal and presented two conferences, one at the Faculté des Sciences de l'Éducation and the other at the Sociology Department. He met Marcel Rioux and both developed a kind of complicity.

The second of Bourdieu's stops in Montreal occurred in 1996 when he was on his way to San Francisco to receive the prestigious Irving Goffman Prize. He presented a conference "Pour un historicisme rationaliste" to a large audience of more than 1 000 and had a discussion with a group of graduate students. He had been interviewed by Stéphane Baillargeon, a journalist for the newspaper *Le Devoir*.

After his first visit in Canada, a program of cooperation, which has been subsidised by both Governments (Quebec and France) was organised for a period of the three years between the Centre d'études sociologiques (CES) and the Université de Montréal's Sociology Department. This program gave CES members the opportunity to come to Montréal (Alain Desrosières, Patrick Champagne, etc.) and Faculty members of the Sociology Department to go to Paris. Another member of the CES came to Montreal during the 1970s and later in 1990s: Luc Boltanski. Marcel Fournier has also been invited many times to teach at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. He has published a first article "*L'évaluation par les pairs et la définition de la démarche universitaire*" in *Les Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, with two of his former students, Yves Gingras et Creuzer Mathurin.

Finally, two of Bourdieu's papers have been originally published in Canada, both in the journal *Sociologie et Sociétés*. The first paper "*La spécificité du champ scientifique et les conditions sociales du progrès de la raison*" in a special issue on "*Science et structure sociale*" [Bourdieu 1975], and the second, "*Marcel Mauss aujourd'hui*" [Bourdieu 2004], more recently, in the issue on "*Présences de Marcel Mauss.*" The paper on science has also been published in the journal *Informations sur les sciences sociales* and translated in English. These two special issues have been edited by Marcel Fournier, the first in 1976 with Louis Maheu and the other in 2004 with Jean-Christophe Marcel. Recently another special issue of *Sociologie et Sociétés* has been edited by Viviana Fridman and Michèle Ollivier on the theme "Taste, cultural practices and social inequalities:" one objective is to discuss or "revisit" Bourdieu and Passeron's book, *La Distinction*, 30 years later [Fridman and Ollivier 2004].

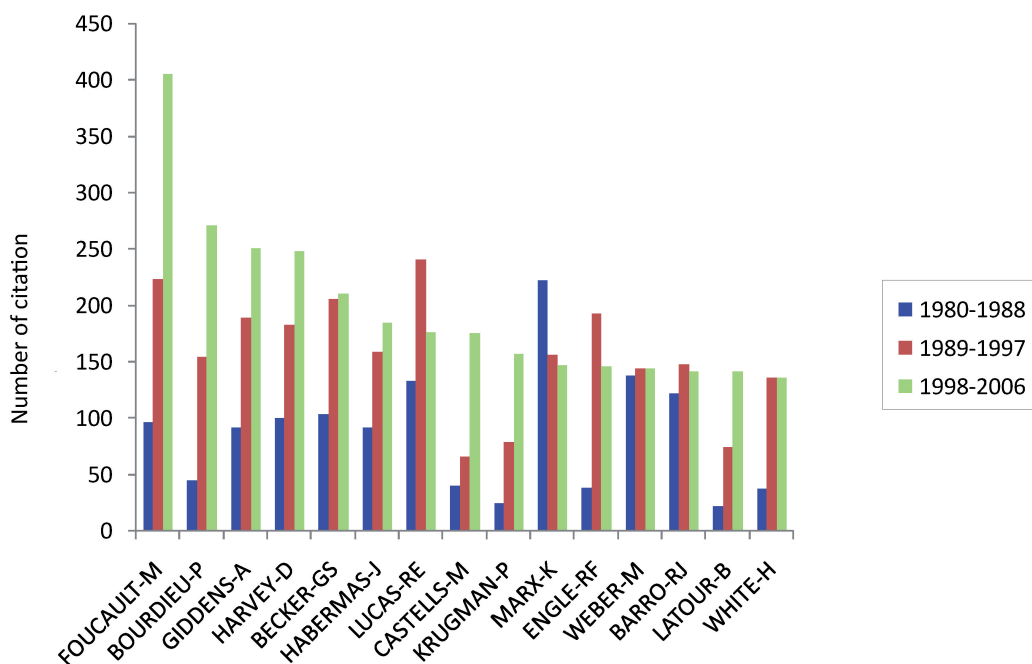
### Uses of Bourdieu

The following data is aimed at examining the reception of Pierre Bourdieu and his work in Canada. Our source is the Thompson Reuters bibliographical databases (ISI). All types of publications included in these databases were taken into account (articles, editorials, research notes, etc.). A publication was considered to be "Canadian" if the address of at least one of its authors' affiliated institution was in Canada. The categorisation of fields, subfields, and disciplines of research in this article follows that of the compilation of the ISI databases by the Observatoire des Sciences et des Technologies (Université du Québec à Montréal).

These databases have the merit of permitting large-scale treatment of data and international comparisons; however they impose limits on the scope of our subject. First, as previously outlined, they do not adequately cover languages other than English, which is a drawback when examining an author's reception in a country like Canada where one fifth of the population is French-speaking. In this regard, we find that in the 25 years that our data span, no more than 15% of the Canadian publications citing Bourdieu were written in French. Consequently, our data should be read first and foremost as mirroring the state of English-language publications in Canada, more so than that of the country as a whole. Second, the databases do not include published books and monographs, which are an important publication medium in the humanities and social sciences.

If we take into account the citations of his works, Bourdieu's influence is growing in Canada. Between 1998 and 2006, he is the second most cited author by Canadian sociologists, after Michel Foucault, and before Anthony Giddens, David Har-

vey, G. Becker and Jürgen Habermas. Moreover, since the beginning of the 1980s, his influence in Canada has been growing: by comparison, he was 52nd in 1980-1988, and 11th in 1989-1997. What is remarkable is to see two French authors, Foucault and Bourdieu, occupying the first two places as the most cited sociologists. Is there a relation between their increasing influence and the development of the cultural studies during the same period or the movement known as “French Theory” in the United States?



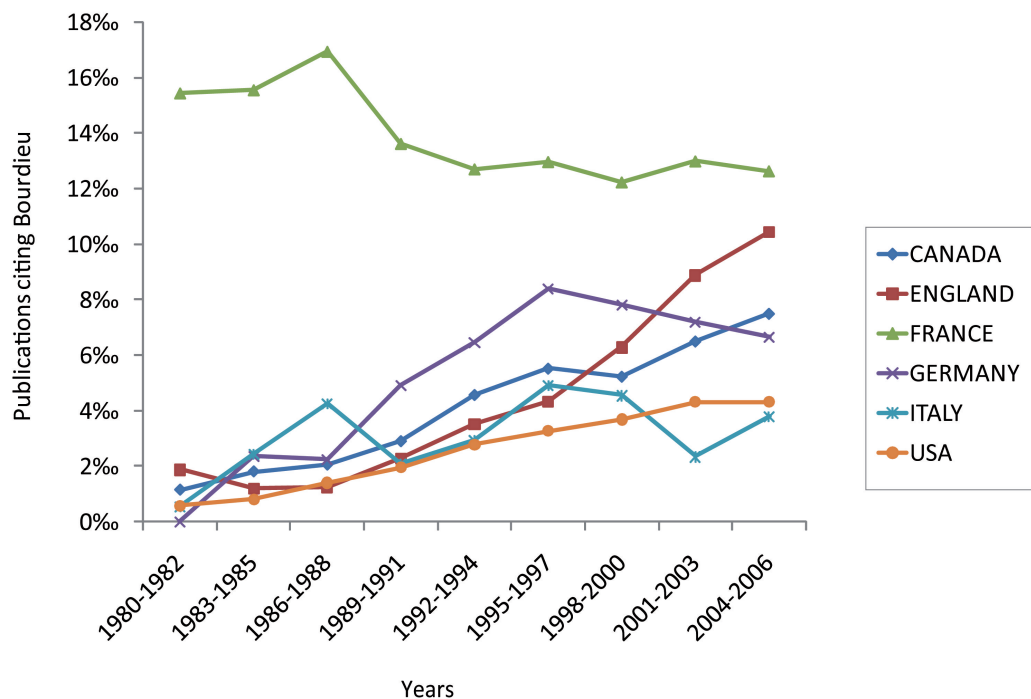
GRAPH. 1. The 15 most cited authors in Canadian Social Science publications, 1980-2006

Source: The data are from the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), and Arts and the Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) databases, 1981-2000, Philadelphia, PA: Thomson ISI. Compiled with permission from Thomson ISI, by the Observatoire des Sciences et des Technologies, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada.

An international comparison can help us better understand the Canadian situation. The following graph (Graph 2) shows the proportion of publications citing Bourdieu in Canada and in different countries. It provides a first glimpse at Bourdieu’s relative influence within each of these countries and of the evolution of his influence over time. In other words, it allows us to determine the worth of his works on both a local and international market.

Generally speaking, the relative influence of Pierre Bourdieu has grown constantly on the international level until the 2000s, except within France where his influence was already very important in the 1980s and has since been more or less

stagnant, with even some decline. The growth of his influence in Canada thus follows that on an international level. However, though we find in France, Germany and Italy that the tendency towards growth slows down at the turn of the millennium,<sup>2</sup> it continues steadily in Anglophone countries (including Canada).



GRAPH. 2. Proportion Ratio of publications citing Bourdieu in the social sciences, %, (1980-2006).

*Source:* The data are from Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), and Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) databases, 1981-2000, Philadelphia, PA: Thomson ISI. Compiled with permission from Thomson ISI, by the Observatoire des Sciences et des Technologies, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada.

When the Canadian data is disaggregated, it shows that Bourdieu's influence is not limited to the social sciences: it grows steadily within research in professional fields (communication, law, education, etc.), as well as in the arts. It is visible also in the humanities, though its growth is less important. This consideration might lead us to believe that these disciplines are less receptive to his works, notably philosophy (see Table 1). Finally, its influence is also present in health sciences and psychology, but with much less intensity.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of Germany this period corresponds to the reunification.



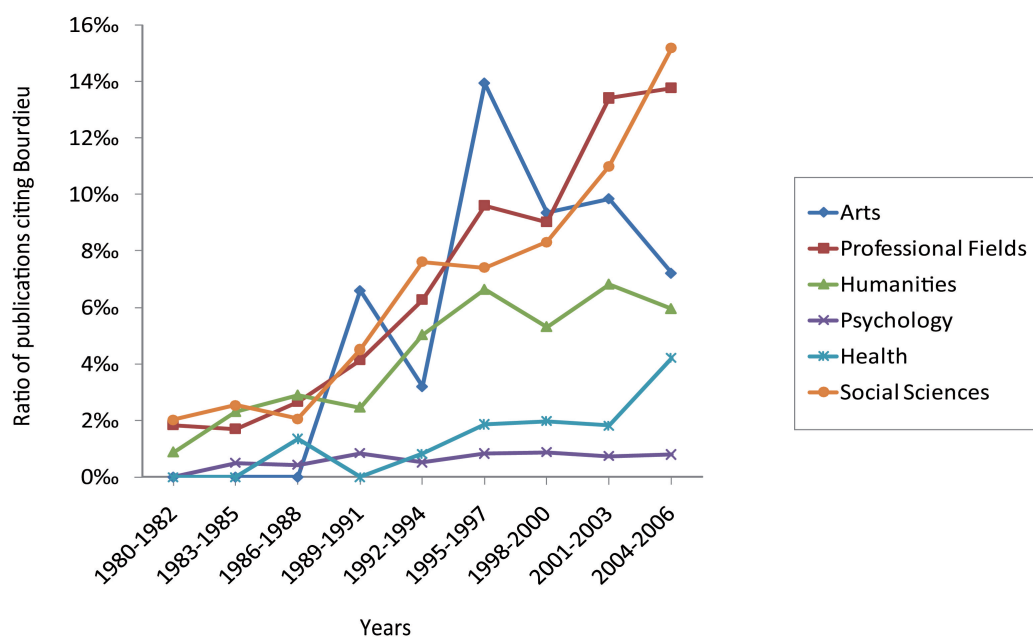
TAB. 1. *Canadian publications citing Bourdieu per 1000 publications, 1998-2006*

Fields/Disciplines	1980-1988	1989-1997	1998-2006
<b>Arts</b>	0,0	8,0	8,8
Fine Arts & Architecture	0,0	9,9	0,0
Performing Arts	0,0	6,8	15,3
<b>Health</b>	0,5	1,1	3,0
Geriatrics & Gerontology	3,0	1,6	3,2
Health Policy & Services	0,0	1,9	2,1
Nursing	0,0	1,0	2,8
Public Health	0,0	0,3	3,0
Rehabilitation	0,0	0,0	0,4
Social Sciences, Biomedical	0,0	5,0	11,9
Social Studies of Medicine	0,0	0,0	0,0
Speech-Language Pathology and Audiology	2,9	0,0	0,0
<b>Humanities</b>	2,1	4,7	6,0
History	2,1	3,1	4,2
Language & Linguistics	3,9	5,9	7,3
Literature	2,5	7,1	10,2
Miscellaneous Humanities	1,0	3,4	2,6
Philosophy	0,0	2,2	2,8
Religion	0,0	3,3	4,4
<b>Professional Fields</b>	2,1	6,8	12,3
Communication	0,0	13,4	51,7
Education	5,8	14,2	29,8
Information Science & Library Science	0,0	0,5	3,1
Law	0,0	12,9	13,1
Management	0,8	2,8	7,0
Miscellaneous Professional Field	0,0	14,5	15,0
Social Work	0,0	3,5	1,2
<b>Psychology</b>	0,3	0,7	0,8
Behavioral Science & Complementary Psychology	0,0	0,0	0,0
Clinical Psychology	0,0	0,0	0,4
Developmental & Child Psychology	0,8	1,7	0,4

TAB. 1. *Canadian publications citing Bourdieu per 1000 publications, 1998-2006*

Fields/Disciplines	1980-1988	1989-1997	1998-2006
Experimental Psychology	0,0	0,9	0,0
General Psychology	1,8	0,3	4,1
Human Factors	0,0	1,8	0,0
Miscellaneous Psychology	0,0	0,4	0,5
Psychoanalysis	0,0	0,0	8,3
Social Psychology	0,0	1,4	1,4
<b>Social Sciences</b>	2,2	6,5	11,6
Anthropology and Archaeology	4,5	16,4	19,8
Area Studies	1,6	2,8	5,7
Criminology	0,0	6,0	17,2
Demography	0,0	3,8	6,4
Economics	0,0	0,9	2,1
General Social Sciences	7,5	12,0	27,3
Geography	0,9	7,6	18,8
International Relations	0,7	4,4	3,6
Miscellaneous Social Sciences	0,9	8,5	6,7
Planning & Urban Studies	0,0	9,0	8,9
Political Science and Public Administration	0,6	0,6	4,0
Science studies	8,7	5,6	14,5
Sociology	7,5	20,6	36,5
<b>Canada</b>	1,7	4,4	6,5

*Source:* The data are from Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), and Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) databases, 1981-2000, Philadelphia, PA: Thomson ISI. Compiled with permission from Thomson ISI, by the Observatoire des Sciences et des Technologies, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada.



GRAPH. 3. Canadian publications citing Bourdieu (%), Social Sciences and Humanities, 1980-2006.

*Source:* The data are from Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), and Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) databases, 1981-2000, Philadelphia, PA: Thomson ISI. Compiled with permission from Thomson ISI, by the Observatoire des Sciences et des Technologies, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada.

The picture becomes even more precise as we disaggregate the data covering these six fields. What we find is that in the 1980s, the reception of Bourdieu's works was essentially limited to disciplines where he had directly intervened: sociology, education, anthropology and science studies. We note that it was precisely in the last of these (science studies) that his influence in Canada was then most important. In the 1990s, his influence in these domains continued to grow, but other disciplines such as communication, law and fine arts had started manifesting interest in his works. In art and literature, this corresponds to the publication (or the translation) of his books and papers *L'Amour de l'art*, *Les Règles de l'art*, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*, etc. It was finally in the course of the last decade (1998-2006), as his general influence continued to grow, that it started to spill over in disciplines like geography and criminology, outside of Bourdieu's direct field of intervention.

At the present, few fields completely ignore the works of Pierre Bourdieu. Notably, out of the 45 disciplines in which are divided the ISI data, only two contain no citation of his works (Behavioral Science & Complementary Psychology; Social Studies of Medicine); by comparison, in the 1980s, 27 of the 45 fields of research had no citation of Bourdieu's works.

A closer examination of the particular Canadian publications referencing Bourdieu synthesised in Table 1 shows that the most cited work is *La Distinction, Critique sociale du jugement* (327 citations). But if we put together *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* and *Le sens pratique*, we also see the importance of Bourdieu's theoretical reflection on the practice (368 citations). Next come *La Reproduction* (124 citations) and *Réponses, Pour une anthropologie réflexive* (99 citations). His less cited works are his books on Algeria and *Le Bal des célibataires*, and his political books (*Contre-feux, Interventions*).

Upon further examination, we see that some journals are more open than others to present and discuss Bourdieu's works. In the case of English Canada, *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* stands out. In addition, some scholars have also been noteworthy: B. Curtis, R. Breton, C. Laflamme, W.N. Roth in education, R. Murphy in theory, and M. Heller in sociolinguistics, D. Bruce in comparative literature, Jane Marontate in arts, J. Harvey on sport, M-B. Tahon on women studies, and Michèle Ollivier on taste and cultural practices. Some of them are French-speaking (Tahon, Harvey and Ollivier are professors at Ottawa University, which is a bilingual university) or have studied in Quebec (Jane Marontate, at the Université de Montréal).

In the case of Quebec, some journals have also been important, for example in literature: *Études littéraires, Études française, Voix et Images*. And some scholars have published many papers: Marc Angenot, Marie-Andrée Beaudet, M. Brunet, D. Saint-Jacques, Marcel Fournier, J. Melançon, L. Robert, Régine Robin, Lori Saint-Martin. As mentioned, another field where the influence of Bourdieu has been great is Science Studies: epistemology (Mario Bunge, Jacques Hamel, Michel Audet), sociology of science (Francine Descarries-Bélanger, Marcel Fournier, Louis Maheu, Michel Audet, Michel Trépanier), history of science (A. Cambrosio, R. Duchesne, P. Keating, B. Godin, Y. Gingras). There is a system of relations or a cluster between some of these scholars: Marcel Fournier, professor at the University of Montreal, was responsible with Louis Maheu for the teaching of sociology of science during the 1980s and has been the PhD supervisor of Yves Gingras, Michel Trepanier, Jane Marontate and Robert Gagnon. Y. Gingras is member of the scientific committee of the *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* and has edited two issues of this journal.

Moreover, Bourdieu's works have had a wide-ranging influence, branching-off into disciplines such as the arts (Y. Laberge, Lise Lamarche, L. Lacroix, A. Allaire), leisure and sports (Suzanne Laberge, Gilles Pronovost), health (A. Contandriopoulos, Michel Perreault, L. Potvin), religion (R. Lemieux), and Women studies (Huguette Dagenais). Finally, we can see an interest in his work in other disciplines: Linguistic, History (articles by Gérard Bouchard in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*), Anthropology (B. Saladin d'Anglure, L. Racine, B.G. Trigger), Philosophy (Charles

Taylor). Some of these scholars but few are or have been English-speaking professors at McGill University.

At this point, we can ask whether these general considerations concerning the reception of Bourdieu's works are specific to Canada. We have already seen that the growth of his influence in Canada resembles that of England and the United States more so than that of France, Germany or Italy. An international comparison of the rate of citation of Bourdieu's works within disciplines (as seen for Canada in Table 1) reinforces this consideration. The following table (Table 2) clearly shows that, for the 1998-2006 period, with the exclusion of Sweden, it was predominantly English countries that the correlation with Canada was strongest. By comparison, France is ranked 51st.

TAB. 2. *Countries where Bourdieu's disciplinary influence is similar to that of Canada (1998-2006)*

Countries	Correlation with Canada	Rank
Canada	1,00	
Sweden	0,84	1
Australia	0,83	2
England	0,83	3
Wales	0,83	4
Ireland	0,82	5
North-Ireland	0,81	6
Switzerland	0,73	7
Usa	0,73	8
Japan	0,72	9
Scotland	0,71	10
Turkey	0,70	11
Norway	0,69	12
New-Zealand	0,67	13
Germany	0,65	14
Italy	0,65	15
...		
France	0,23	51

*Source:* The data are from Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), and Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) databases, 1981-2000, Philadelphia, PA: Thomson ISI. Compiled with permission from Thomson ISI, by the Observatoire des Sciences et des Technologies, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada.

Following these considerations, we can make the hypothesis that the researchers from these Anglophone countries (including Canada) form a dense community within which works and ideas circulate in a very fluid way and within which some researchers

are sufficiently important in their field to pose some authors as references that cannot be ignored.

## Conclusions

The influence of Pierre Bourdieu's work in Canada has been and remains important: in addition to visiting Montreal twice, two of his texts have been first published in Canadian journals and a number of Canadian scholars have studied with Bourdieu or participated in his seminars at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales or at the Collège de France, or have published papers in *Les Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*. This influence is direct and personal, and specific to the French-speaking academic community, mainly in Quebec. But the widespread influence of Bourdieu's works, as measured by citation use, is impressive not only among French-Canadian scholars, but also – and maybe more so – in the English-speaking academic community.

What can we say about the future of Bourdieu's influence in Canada? Scientific ideas have, according to Marcel Mauss, the characteristic of travelling easily around the world [Mauss 1929], and it is easier today than ever before in a globalised world. So the “country” isn't necessarily the first factor of explanation. In addition, it is never easy to predict what the influence of an author will be after his death, there's a question of trends, cycles (death and resurrection), etc. One thing is certain: as long as the scholars and researchers who have been directly and personally influenced by Bourdieu are still active, his resonance will remain important. Surely the time of one generation, but after? Two more things are certain. First, Pierre Bourdieu will stay at the center of debates in different fields like education and culture, and among the scholars and the “disciples” who were close to him. There have already been debates, conflicts and separations from the “master” and it will continue during the next few years. But criticising an author is a good way to keep him alive. *Vive Bourdieu!* Secondly, Bourdieu is getting the status of a “classic” in sociology and his name and works are made part of textbooks and undergraduate courses in sociology. That is the destiny of any *avant-garde*: to become classical.

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## Pierre Bourdieu in Canada

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**Abstract:** This article provides a portrait of the reception of Pierre Bourdieu in Canada. We start by bringing forward the fact that Canada is primarily an English-speaking country, but that the existence of the French-speaking province of Québec has permitted Bourdieu to establish a network of collaborators, notably a number of students who had studied with him in Paris. By all evidence, this interpersonal network has contributed to the diffusion of his ideas within Canada as a whole. However, we note from our data that Bourdieu's reception within the Canadian scholarly community is similar to that of other English-speaking countries, such as the United Kingdom.

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*Keywords:* Pierre Bourdieu, international diffusion, networks, Canada, Québec.

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