

Aspirations of Sub-State Actors in Sport: A Study of Quebec Paradiplomacy through the Instrument of Football

Windy Dermawan, Mohamad Fadel & Arfin Sudirman

Universitas Padjadjaran

Rizal Budi Santoso

Universitas Widyatama

ABSTRACT

Quebec is a sub-state actor active in carrying out paradiplomacy in various fields. This is supported by Canada's federal state form, which gives its constituent actors the freedom to conduct foreign relations freely. The dynamics of Quebec paradiplomacy are not only in the context of trade and investment but also in political aspects related to identity. Quebec is a sub-state actor whose citizens are predominantly French-Canadian (Quebecois). The desire to gain recognition for its identity as Quebecois makes Quebec active in carrying out paradiplomacy by participating in soccer in CONIFA. Entities in Quebec have fought for their identity as Quebecois through the self-determination movement. The purpose of this research is to analyze the efforts made by Quebec to show the existence of its identity abroad through paradiplomacy in the field of soccer. The research method used is qualitative, collecting data through interviews with several relevant sources, internet-based studies, document tracking, and archives related to the research problem. This research shows that soccer has become one of the instruments Quebec uses to show its existence and identity as Quebecois to the global public. Although Quebec's activities are no longer to pursue independence from Canada, Quebec uses football to promote the achievement of interests in other areas, such as economics and socio-culture.

Keywords: *Identity, Paradiplomacy, Football, Sub-state, Quebec*

Quebec merupakan aktor sub-negara yang sangat aktif melakukan paradiplomasi di berbagai bidang. Hal ini didukung oleh bentuk negara federal dari Kanada yang memberikan aktor konstituennya untuk melakukan hubungan luar negeri secara leluasa. Dinamika paradiplomasi Quebec tidak hanya dalam konteks perdagangan dan investasi, tetapi juga pada aspek politik yang terkait dengan identitas. Quebec sebagai aktor sub-negara yang mayoritas warganya Prancis-Kanada (Quebecois). Keinginan untuk mendapatkan pengakuan terhadap identitasnya sebagai Quebecois inilah yang menjadikan Quebec aktif dalam melaksanakan paradiplomasi melalui keikutsertaannya dalam olahraga sepakbola dalam CONIFA. Bahkan, entitas di Quebec pernah memperjuangkan identitas sebagai Quebecois melalui gerakan self-determination. Tujuan dari riset ini adalah menganalisis upaya-upaya yang dilakukan oleh Quebec untuk menunjukkan eksistensi identitasnya di luar negeri melalui paradiplomasi di bidang olahraga sepakbola. Metode riset yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan mengumpulkan data melalui wawancara terhadap sejumlah narasumber yang relevan, studi berbasis internet, pelacakan dokumen dan arsip yang terkait dengan masalah riset. Riset ini menunjukkan bahwa olahraga sepakbola telah menjadi salah satu instrumen bagi Quebec untuk menunjukkan eksistensi dan identitasnya sebagai Quebecois terhadap publik global. Meskipun kegiatan Quebec ini bukan lagi untuk mengejar kemerdekaan dari Kanada, Quebec menggunakan instrumen sepakbola untuk promosi dalam pencapaian kepentingan di bidang lain, seperti ekonomi dan sosial budaya.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Identitas, Paradiplomasi, Sepakbola, Sub-negara, Quebec.*

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Quebec is a province in Canada located in the east, precisely to the north of New York, United States. Quebec is the largest province in Canada, with a population reaching 24% of the total Canadian population (Behiels 2023). French-speaking residents mainly inhabit this area. This is because, historically, in 1603, the area was occupied by French colonies due to their failure to carry out an expedition to find a western route to China. So, in 1608, they founded a city called Quebec. French is the main language of around 7.3 million people. This means that almost 80% of the population are French-Canadian speakers. Another 8% are native English speakers, and the remaining 12% are “allophones” who speak a language other than French or English (Piérart 2021). Uniquely, French in Quebec is different from native French. Dissent over the various forms of French-Canadian language in Quebec began after the British conquest and intensified from the mid-19th century onwards. Some people feel that Québécois should adapt to the French spoken in France, arguing that the archaisms and anglicisms of the popular language are wrong (Piérart 2021). An archaism is something (such as a practice or custom) that is out of date or ancient, whereas Anglicisms are characteristic features of the English language that occur in other languages (Merriam Webster n.d).

In its history, Quebec has experienced a period where it wanted to break away from its mother country, Canada. This is due to social inequality between the majority of Canadian society, namely English-Canadians and French-Canadians, and the prohibition of studying French at schools and universities. These separatist efforts were demonstrated by movements such as Alliance Laurentienne in 1957 and Quiet Revolution in 1960, as well as Referendum I in 1980 and Referendum II in 1995. However, after the recognition of Québécois as a united Canadian Nation in 2006 by the House of Commons of Canada, the separatist movement in Quebec has disappeared, coupled with the ideas of the Prime Minister of Quebec in 2012, Pauline Marois, who stated that the referendum could not be held again (The Canadian Press 2012).

The identity of Quebecers is shown by their referring to themselves as Québec French, Québécois, or French-Canadians. They are a minority living in Canada. Even though they are now recognized and have quite broad authority, they still do not stop improving

their quality and pursuing their international interests using their identity as Quebecois. Quebec continues to strive to promote and share its identity, language, and culture with paradiplomatic activities for the region's progress from economic, political, and cultural aspects (Kooistra 2017). Identity is a symbol and cultural value that grows and develops to form a characteristic that can attract people's attention. Quebec uses identity instruments to carry out paradiplomacy as an effort to assert its identity in the international arena and strengthen its position in the domestic sphere (Paquin et al. 2015).

The Quebec government is focusing on developing growth and prosperity in the region, as well as trying to gain recognition of their culture and identity as Quebecois by the world. One way is to carry out paradiplomacy activities. Quebec is one of the sub-state actors that is active in conducting foreign relations. Since 1965, Québec has signed 759 international agreements with sovereign states or federations in nearly 80 different countries. More than 385 of these agreements remain in effect today. Most involve sovereign states such as France or the United States regarding labor mobility, education, social security, telecommunications, and the environment. Currently, there is a consensus among political parties in Quebec in favor of "identity paradiplomacy" (Paquin 2018).

Quebec's activities abroad are supported by the Canadian Government, which gives considerable authority to the Canadian provinces. The aim of Quebec's paradiplomacy is not only for trade and investment but also to build and strengthen Quebec's identity at the international level. Efforts to strengthen Quebec's identity are also carried out through the instrument of sport. Since Ancient Greece, sports competitions, namely the Olympic Games, have been an arena for meetings between athletes and officials from different cities. This has developed in the modern era, where national or even sub-national entities use sports as a tool in their struggle to gain recognition from the broader public regarding their symbols, culture, and identity. Sport is not an overtly political activity, but national and sub-national entities can bring their symbols into their activities and have pride in those symbols.

In promoting its identity and culture, Quebec also carries out

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paradiplomacy activities using football as an instrument. This is demonstrated by Quebec's joining the international football organization, namely the Confederation of Independent Football Associations (CONIFA). Quebec's official soccer team represents Quebec itself. This team was formed to introduce and share their language, culture, and heritage through football (Les Québécois 2013). A year after its formation, this team experienced problems because the Canadian Soccer Association was sanctioning the Quebec Soccer Federation (QSF)¹ due to religious issues that occurred in the QSF. However, after lengthy negotiations between the team, the QSF, and the Canadian Football Association, in 2014, the Quebec football team finally officially tied the knot with the QSF. The Quebec football team has been a member of CONIFA since 2013, on October 9 to be precise. However, even though it is already a member, the QSF still wants the Quebec football team to be able to play international matches between countries and to join one day with the international organization of the North American and Caribbean division called the Confederation of North, Central America, and the Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF) (Les Québécois 2014).

Researchers try to review several previous studies that are relevant to this research to map the position of the study among existing studies and ways to find novelty from this research. Several previous studies show that paradiplomacy has become an instrument for efforts to introduce the identity of sub-state actors at the global level (Magam 2018; Marié 2018; Paquin 2018). Other previous studies show that Quebec has carried out its paradiplomacy in various aspects, such as the economy, environment, security and identity (Kooistra 2017; Manzer 2018; Martínez 2017; McHugh 2015). Several researchers have also shown that sports, especially football, have become an instrument for paradiplomacy for sub-state actors to demonstrate their identity and existence at the international level (Boyacıoğlu and Oğuz 2016; McDowell 2022;

¹ Quebec football also has an official league that brings together local clubs in Quebec to compete. The league is called the Quebec Super League (QSL). The QSL operates in the third division of the *Canadian Premier League*. The participating clubs include CS Mont-Royal Outremont, A.S Blainville, FC Lanaudiere, and Ottawa South United. The most famous club in Quebec does not play in the QSL. The club is called C.F Montreal, a local club from one of Quebec's largest cities, Montreal. Until now, C.F Montreal is the pride of Quebec football.

Trunkos and Heere 2017; Xifra 2009). In fact, sport is a form of participation of an entity in building a broader and contextual conceptualization of statehood (Gauthier 2019). Several studies have shown that CONIFA is an instrument for its members to introduce their identities and those of small entities/sub-national minorities at the international level (Ganohariti and Dijkhoorn 2020; Utomo 2019; Utomo and Renanda 2022).

Based on the review of previous studies above, researchers analyze that studies regarding Quebec's efforts to achieve its interests as a world-recognized actor regarding their identity as Quebecois through paradiplomacy still need to be completed. This research is an opportunity to contribute to increasing knowledge regarding the relationship between paradiplomacy, ethnicity, and sports in International Relations Studies.

Research Methods for Assessing Quebec Paradiplomacy through Football Instruments

This research uses qualitative methods in order to analyze Quebec's paradiplomacy through football as an instrument for the global public. Lamont (2015) shows that qualitative methods in international relations are used to gain various understandings of the world, with various methods available to focus on the meanings and processes that shape international politics. In this research, the meanings and processes referred to are the meanings and processes that shape football as an instrument of paradiplomacy carried out by Quebec. Researchers collected data from interviews with a number of informants, both academics and practitioners, internet-based studies, and library research. The data collected is in the form of journal articles, news, reports, and official documents from both the government and other agencies that are relevant to this research topic, namely Quebec paradiplomacy through football instruments at CONIFA in developing regional identity. To analyze data, researchers use discourse analysis techniques because researchers focus on interpreting the data that has been collected in stages, including dividing the data that has been collected according to the researcher's analysis needs, categorizing the data collected and adjusting it to the needs of the research

topic. After the collected data is categorized, the researcher carries out an analysis based on the researcher's interpretation and arguments. The results of the analysis are then outlined in a conclusion. This was done to understand the social meaning embedded in international relations, especially regarding Quebec paradiplomacy through the instrument of football at CONIFA. Researchers validate the data used by cross-checking one type of data with another to obtain valid research data.

Quebec and Canadian Decentralization

Canada has a system with the highest degree of decentralization in the world (Fry 2004). Canada is characterized by multicultural, multinational, and bilingual federalism (Burgess 2006). This shows that Canada has recognized diversity with a level of decentralization and autonomy in each province. In fact, federalism in Canada is formed from sub-national governments with certain autonomy with the central government.

The United Nations Development Programme (2004) stated that decentralized government if planned well, implemented effectively, and managed well can result in increased community welfare at the local level and cumulatively strengthen human development. The key to good, decentralized governance is ensuring that community demands are accommodated for planning, implementation, and monitoring. Local governments are more receptive to community needs and able to adapt to their problems. Hence, delegating responsibilities to lower levels of government contributes to the formulation of effective and efficient public policies (Martínez 2018).

Quebec can carry out significant paradiplomacy activities due to the decentralized nature of the Canadian constitution. In fact, in the Constitution Act 1867, there are elements of centralization found in the Reservation and Disallowance chapter, where the government has the power to prohibit provincial laws. However, currently, this regulation is not used at all (Hogg 2007). Canadian decentralization had occurred since the 19th century when constitutional decisions by the judiciary tended to favor support for claims of sovereignty by the provinces. As a result, provincial

governments increased their legal and political activities, especially those related to administrative supervision, local economic policy, and defining the scope of property and other civil rights, which then increased their activities and these activities have expanded to international relations (Russell 2004). The federal government in Canada was able to reassert its dominance due to the two World Wars, using the War Measures Act of 1914 and the creation of a federal income tax – measures which, in general, were accepted as necessary in the circumstances. However, at the end of the war, these activities returned (Cody 1977). These activities became increasingly significant during the Quebec Quiet Revolution era in the 1960s, especially when the implementation of the national energy policy (Hydro-Quebec) was going well.

There are four important initiatives shaped Quebec's relations with the world, namely (1) the opening of the Maison du Québec in Paris in 1961, (2) the signing of the first treaty on education with France in 1965, (3) the adoption of the Gérin-Lajoie doctrine in 1965, and (4) Québec's participation in international conferences on francophone education. These events ultimately led to the recognition of Quebec as a legal entity (Vychodilová 2011). Regardless, Canada claims to be the sole repository of sovereignty, holding competence over international relations. Thus, Quebec refused to formalize and institutionalize a general framework governing its international actions. Quebec could thus conduct its foreign policy only within the restrictive requirements of the federal government (Vychodilová 2011).

Canada's federal government system allows Quebec to carry out foreign relations freely because Quebec has many constitutional jurisdictions, such as the economy, natural resources, labor, health, education, and culture. International agreements must be implemented at the appropriate level of government through the law of incorporation. In Canada, international agreements must be implemented not only by the federal government but also by provinces and municipalities. Because of this situation, the Canadian provinces have become more critical actors in international negotiations over the past 50 years (Paquin 2018). Several international agreements now address international and domestic issues, and it is increasingly difficult to draw boundaries between them. As a result, the central government can no longer

centralize decision-making and representation or control all functions involving foreign affairs (Paquin 2018). Provincial governments are free to act at the international level within their authority in the Canadian constitution, and the central government is expected to consult with each province before signing international agreements that impact provinces in areas of concern.

Quebec Paradiplomacy Activities

The Government of Quebec continues to strive to achieve Quebec's interests in encouraging regional progress, as well as building and strengthening its identity and culture. This goal is achieved through paradiplomacy activities carried out. The Quebec government has undertaken international activities through the establishment of representative offices abroad. Article 92 (4) of the Constitution Act, 1867, gives provinces authority over the Establishment and Ownership of Provincial Offices. These offices have served a variety of purposes, namely assisting in the negotiation of international agreements and networking with consulates of other countries, acting as the first line to lobby foreign governments, promoting trade and investment between Quebec and foreign countries or other constituent units (McNiven and Cann 1993). Political, economic, and cultural motives are the reasons why sub-state actors carry out paradiplomacy. Quebec's policies of foreign trade and foreign investment protect and promote Quebec's unique French culture and language, educational exchange, and environmental protection (Manzer 2018).

Quebec is one of the regions that has been actively carrying out paradiplomacy activities since the separatist movement was launched. Nationalism and minority identity influence Quebec's paradiplomacy activities. When provincial or non-central governments have a distinct identity – ranging from simply regionalism to highly institutionalized nationalism like Québec – it drives development and increases the intensity of the federated state's international activities. This condition also gives rise to identity paradiplomacy. The identity mismatch between the central power and the federated state spurs high levels of identity

paradiplomacy activity (Paquin et al. 2015). National identity builders play an active role in international relations because failure to do so will leave the central government open to promoting its conception of national identity.

After the referendum, it was recorded that until 2023, Quebec had 34 representatives abroad spread across 19 countries, and around 400 agreements had been made with foreign partners. These representatives explore business opportunities and maintain Quebec's international reputation. These representatives are vital to achieving Quebec's international goals in the fields of economics, politics, socio-culture, and international solidarity (MRIF 2023). In addition, the Government of Quebec routinely undertakes approximately 150-200 cultural, political, and commercial missions each year. In Quebec itself, there is an institution that oversees Quebec's foreign relations called the Ministry of International Relations and La Francophonie. This institution primarily aims to promote and defend Quebec's foreign interests. The Ministry of International Relations and La Francophonie has two offices in the Quebec region located in Quebec City and Montreal. The current minister is named Nadine Girault (MRIF 2023).

Quebec Paradiplomacy with the Instrument of Football

Quebec seeks to use football as a strategic paradiplomacy tool, effectively leveraging the sport to strengthen and spread its unique cultural and linguistic identity on the global stage. Quebec's strategic involvement in international football, particularly through events organized by the Confederation of Independent Football Associations (CONIFA), is symbolic of broader diplomatic objectives. This participation is not just about sports but a deliberate and multifaceted effort to promote a uniquely Quebecois heritage and identity distinct from the wider Canadian context (CONIFA Constitution 2013). By doing so within the framework of Canada's decentralized federal system, Quebec takes advantage of its autonomy to participate in a global arena where it can advocate its interests and perspectives without the direct involvement of Canadian national politics. This approach allows Quebec to cultivate international relationships and gain

worldwide recognition and support, positioning itself as a unique entity in the global community (Rookwood 2018).

The use of football, a universally popular sport with cultural significance, serves as an accessible and non-confrontational platform to achieve this goal, facilitating cultural exchange, and raising Quebec's profile worldwide. This deployment of cultural diplomacy through sport emphasizes Quebec's skill in navigating and maximizing its sub-national sovereignty to articulate and promote its cultural distinctiveness internationally. Quebec utilizes football not only as a means of competition but also as a tool to promote and emphasize a unique Quebecois identity. As seen in hosting the 1976 Montreal Olympics and participating in the 2013 International Community, Cultural, and Ethnic Tournament in Marseille, these efforts have also allowed Quebec to network with other sub-countries that share similar goals (CONIFA 2023). Among CONIFA members, some entities want independence from their countries of origin. However, CONIFA has always emphasized that it is not involved in political interests or internal interests. In its constitution, CONIFA emphasizes that its goal is to ensure the existence of its members and separate politics from football. Even though it is not a political organization, CONIFA is able to facilitate or accommodate its members who have one goal namely the existence of its members. They also provide opportunities for their members to express themselves and have a voice in the international football regime. By participating in the CONIFA World Cup competition, Quebec can also build a reputation for its identity as an entity different from Canada in the world's most famous sport. CONIFA is a bridge for connecting communities, countries, minorities and isolated regions throughout the world in a place of friendship, culture and the joy of playing football. Researchers have found that the involvement of these entities in a competition can be symbolic of the political acceptability of the competing "teams" as representatives of sovereign institutions at the state or sub-state level. As the number of members increases and competitions are held each year, of course, this provides an opportunity for minority and unknown entities to compete and show their existence in ongoing international competitions.

Quebec has a local team called C.F. Montreal, which has quite a good reputation on the North American football scene and in

the world. This club, which is based in the city of Montreal, has quite good achievements and plays in one of the biggest leagues in the world, namely Major League Soccer. The existence of this club must of course be put to good use by the Quebec Government. C.F. Montreal certainly carries symbols and identity from Quebec through its logo, so they certainly have a cultural dimension.

The Quebec Football Association also established a youth player development program called the SOCCER11 Development League. This program is a competition that targets players under 18 years of age and aims to accommodate these players to play football (especially those experiencing financial constraints) and develop their abilities in playing football. This program is also supervised by the JMG Institute, a Canadian company that operates in the field of football player development. In this program, a partnership is also established with one of France's top division clubs, namely R.C. Lens. The partnership with R.C. Lens can certainly bring better development to Quebec's young people because R.C. Lens is a club that is known for developing its young players well and producing world-class players such as Gael Kakuta, Geoffrey Kondogbia, Serge Aurier, Thorgan Hazard, and Raphael Varane.

Improving player performance and quality can also be done by training together with a club or team of higher quality. Quebec can follow the example of the Surabaya government, which sent the Persebaya Surabaya club to carry out joint training with a club from Australia, namely Perth Glory. Quebec can send the Quebec national team itself or C.F. Montreal to train with teams or clubs from their main partner, like France. France itself has quite a lot of clubs that have high prestige throughout the world. For example, Paris Saint-Germain, Olympique Lyonnais, and Olympique Marseille. By holding joint training, Quebec football players themselves can learn from the players of these teams to improve their abilities.

Football players' achievements can also be the center of public attention. Players like Cristiano Ronaldo and Lionel Messi, who always play and perform at a high level, have made them have a large fanbase throughout the country. With high prestige, of course, the voices or actions of football players will be the center of public attention, especially football fans. We can see the example

of Croatia, which carried out tourism advertisements with Luka Modric as the star to increase the level of tourist arrivals, and also Gerard Pique's voice about Catalonia in a press conference in October 2017, which has become the center of attention of football fans around the world. Therefore, developing football players and coaches is the right program as Quebec's first step in improving the quality of its football. In the future, Quebec may produce players at a world-class level.

The next step that the Quebec government can take is to imitate Catalonia's policy of collaborating with F.C. Barcelona so that they become ambassadors to promote their identity. Quebec could use C.F. Montreal to do the same thing (and, of course, not contain elements of separatism like Catalonia). However, of course, it is not easy to carry out this step because C.F. Montreal does not have as much prestige as Barcelona, so their community in the world is not as big as Barcelona. However, C.F. Montreal still has the potential to develop like Barcelona. Good development and management of the club, as well as showing good and consistent performance on the field, will increase C.F. Montreal's chances of getting to the same level as Barcelona and attract more public attention to them.

Taking a closer look, the authors can see that the three tools above stand for Quebec's attempts to further its football diplomacy internationally. First, Quebec's membership in CONIFA will undoubtedly present additional chances for a sub-national to showcase its identity to a larger audience—then the recognition of Quebec's political entity. In this case, the worldwide process of recognizing Quebec's identity will be more accommodative. Second, it exposes the world to Quebec's identity through international competitive events like the International Community, Cultural, and Ethnic Tournament. Third, the authors argue that the SOCCER11 Development League is an appropriate step toward advancing football paradiplomacy in Quebec, particularly through player transfers that can also serve as a vehicle for advancing Quebec identity.

However, Quebec focuses its diplomacy on culture, the economy, and the environment. Quebec still sees football as an alternative route to achieving its paradiplomacy goals. From an economic aspect, Quebec has a strategy to protect and promote business

interests, promote exports, and build a positive image to attract investment and international events in the province. Since the 19th century, Quebec has pursued foreign capital. Even today, Quebec is very active in maintaining delegations abroad, organizing trade missions, and establishing diplomatic relations with the aim of stimulating economic growth through business, investment, or tourism. Quebec itself already has five trading offices in several cities, namely Philadelphia, Berlin, Qingdao, Shenzhen, and Silicon Valley. They even have a great trading partner with the United States.

From an environmental aspect, Quebec pays quite a lot of attention to environmental issues. They are very active in international events discussing environmental issues. In 1992, they played a major role in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which ultimately resulted in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and The Convention on Biological Diversity (Paquin 2018). Quebec also joined the organization known as NRG4SD (Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development). The organization was created during the Earth Summit in 2002 with the aim of encouraging wider recognition, especially in international law, of the key role of sub-national governments in promoting sustainable development and mitigating climate change. The two things above are examples of Quebec's many overseas activities in addressing environmental issues.

Finally, from a cultural aspect, Quebec is a member of l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie. The organization represents countries or sub-state entities that use French as their main language. Quebec has also been a permanent Canadian delegation, one of which has been at UNESCO since 2006. Quebec's joining an international organization, namely UNESCO, is very important because they can build networks with UNESCO members and can promote the interests of the Quebec Government in matters of education, culture and development. Scientific and information society in the international community (Gouvernement du Québec 2023). This is a complement for Quebec to build relationships with other actor entities abroad in addition to its membership in CONIFA.

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The success of Quebec's diplomatic endeavors (in those three areas of the economy, environment, and culture) has also benefited Canada as a whole. Even in 2016, Quebec's diplomatic moves on the global scene were welcomed by Ottawa since they enhanced both Canada's and Quebec's standing as a subnational actor (political entity) (Gouvernement du Québec 2017). The authors then go on to say that all paradiplomacy initiatives undertaken by its sub-national governments, such as football paradiplomacy in Quebec, have the full support of the Canadian government. Stated differently, there are similarities between Quebec's paradiplomacy in the football world and Canada's national interests.

Conclusions

This research found that Quebec uses football as an instrument to carry out paradiplomacy in an effort to establish its identity abroad as a Quebecois entity. Efforts through existence in the sport of football are one of the routes used to achieve paradiplomacy goals in addition to economic, cultural and environmental aspects. This research also shows that Quebec has carried out several programs as a step in carrying out paradiplomacy in the football aspect, including building networks with other sub-state actors through friendly matches, participating in the International Community, Cultural and Ethnic Tournament competition and becoming a member of CONIFA since 2013. Researchers see CONIFA as an interesting organizational platform to show the identities of sub-state entities or small countries whose existence is less recognized. In this context, Quebec uses its membership in CONIFA to demonstrate its identity as Quebecois and its existence in the international world. These efforts show that Quebec is introducing its identity to the global public through the instrument of football. By building networks between sub-states, it has the potential to encourage its existence abroad.

The author suggests the need for other programs or actions taken by the Quebec Government that can encourage global public attention and its existence. First, the Quebec national team must take part in the CONIFA World Cup tournament. The Quebec national team would not only get a little attention from the public if they played

regular friendlies or little-known competitions. The CONIFA World Cup is a large and prestigious football competition between sub-states and minority group identities. By participating in one of the big competitions, there is potential for global public attention to Quebec and to encourage the growth of a large Quebec football community. Thus, this research is able to develop knowledge that sport must be distinct from diplomacy and international relations. Through sports, paradiplomacy can be developed for sub-state actor entities to achieve certain goals. In this research, it is shown that pride in sub-national identity can be channeled into sports competitions so that it becomes an instrument for sub-state actors' paradiplomacy in international relations.

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About the Authors

Windy Dermawan, is a lecturer at the Department of International Relations at Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia. The author completed his undergraduate education at Universitas Padjadjaran in 2006, master's education at Universitas Padjadjaran in 2010 and doctoral education at Universitas Padjadjaran in 2018. The author has expertise in the field of Paradiplomacy and can be contacted at windy.dermawan@unpad.ac.id.

Mohamad Fadel, is a Bachelor of International Relations student at Universitas Padjadjaran class of 2017 and graduated in 2021. Fadel's research interests are Paradiplomacy, Sport Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy, and Human Security. He can be contacted at mohamad.fadel@unpad.ac.id.

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Arfin Sudirman, is a lecturer at the Department of International Relations, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia. The author completed his undergraduate education at Universitas Padjadjaran in 2004, master's education at Curtin University of Technology in 2007 and doctoral education at Universitas Padjadjaran in 2017. The author has expertise in the fields of Terrorism, Security Studies, International Security, International Politics and can be contacted at arfin.sudirman@unpad.ac.id.

Rizal Budi Santoso, is a lecturer at the Department of International Trade at Universitas Widyatama, Indonesia. The author completed his undergraduate education in the International Relations Study Program at the Universitas Komputer Indonesia in 2016 and his master's degree in international relations at Universitas Padjadjaran in 2020. The author has expertise in the fields of economic diplomacy, digital diplomacy, and international trade in Southeast Asia. The author can be contacted at budi.santoso@widyatama.ac.id.

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