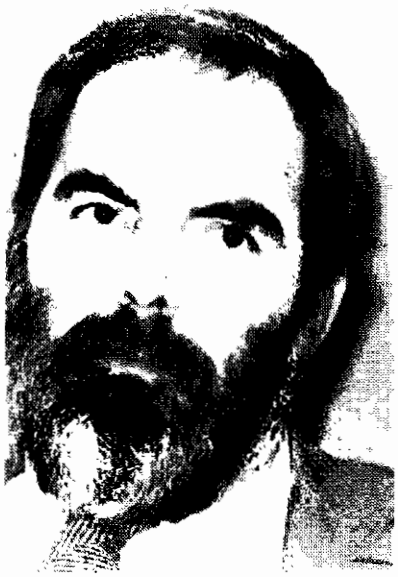
Robert F. Harney

ENTWINED FORTUNES: MULTICULTURALISM AND ETHNIC STUDIES IN CANADA



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To understand the historiography, institutional career and funding patterns of ethnic studies and preservation work in Canada, one must start with the rise of multiculturalism. That policy was conceived in the 1960s, announced **ex cathedra** by Prime Minister Trudeau in October of 1971 and incised - ever so faintly since it lacked enforcement clauses and any reference to language or political rights for other than the French and British founding races - in the new Canadian constitution of Spring 1982. Article 27 simply advises the "The charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada." That article is the "way the world ends, not with a bang but a whimper," a whimper which is the culmination of ten years of flashy rhetoric, patterned funding of

ethnocultural institutions and projects of patronage, funds doled out according to size and clout to each descent group. It is also the beginning of the end for work done honestly, if not always wisely, by a number of idealists, public servants, academics, and ethnic intellectuals who believe deeply that pluralism should have a place in our heritage, our future research and institutions of culture and learning.

My purpose is less to establish villains in this piece and more to suggest that ethnic and immigration studies in Canada like the nation's ethnic groups themselves came to rely too much on the state, to believe too much in the wedding of interest between what is ethnoculturally or academically good and what is politically attractive. As a result both the ethnic groups and their students may discover that they have been victims of underdevelopment, encouraged to depend on the state, unused to paying the price for their otherness but rather accustomed to being lavishly nurtured in it; they prove incapable of sustaining themselves in the harsher world of assimilationist, or at least homogenizing, public institutions and meaner times upon us now.

Although most Canadians, according to a government commissioned survey, **Multicultural and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada**,[1] believe rather smugly that we practice something other than and superior to the American melting pot, there is no evidence that the majority of either the so-called French and British founding peoples support the policy of multiculturalism. In that 1976 survey, less than 20% of the population could describe the federal government's policy and only 27.5 % had ever heard of it. There is little reason to assume that awareness of the policy has increased much since the Prime Minister has not given a major parliamentary speech on the policy since he enunciated it in 1971.

Attitudes towards multiculturalism as public policy coincide with or entwine with attitudes towards the role of ethnic and immigration studies and the importance of collecting ethnic library and archival material. Just as the majority of the nation does not know about the public policy, multiculturalism, the majority who guard the entrances or sit in the directing offices of the nation's libraries, universities, and archives is either ignorant of the policy's import for learning and collecting or object to it as faddish and as lessening Canada's ties to its British colonial heritage or, in the Quebec case, as underemphasizing the struggle of a single ethnic group to survive. Even those institutions which accept the logic and fairness of recording our pluralism of origin, and understand that such a departure does not surrender us to a pluralism of destiny, do seem to worry excessively about the balkanization of services and efforts, or at least the threat of enthusiastic and well-financed successor states breaking free from their empires.

In a recent issue of the **Journal of Canadian Studies**[2] dedicated to multiculturalism, Evelyn Kallen points out that the term multiculturalism has had to carry much freight in Canada. It is used to describe at least three different phenomena which have or haven't happened in Canada during the last two decades. First, Multiculturalism has been used to refer to the "Multiethnic composition of the population of Canada;" second, to define the federal government policy and third, to describe the ideology, or ethos of cultural pluralism which either prompted the adoption of the policy or is supposed to be fostered by it. Kallen would have been more helpful had she gone farther and suggested the adoption of the American usages **cultural or democratic pluralism** to describe the ethos or ideology and poly-ethnicity to denote a society in which people of a number of different origins, especially immigrants, live in ways that are visibly, culturally, psychically, and in many instances linguistically diverse but in which they do not necessarily share a pluralist ethos. That would have left the term multiculturalism free to describe the policies of the federal government and the province of Ontario.

The speech-making of those politicians who have advocated multiculturalism or flexed the muscles of the "third force" as if they were their own, has from the beginning, and usually purposely, confused the poly-ethnic reality with the presence of an ethos of pluralism. The best example of the rhetorical conflation came in a speech by the Honourable Joyn Yaremko, Ontario's Provincial Secretary and Minister of Citizenship at Heritage Ontario, given preparatory to a congress held in June of 1972.[2]

> No other part of the globe, no other country can claim more culturally diversified society than we have here in this province... But does everyone really grasp that Ontario has more Canadians of German origin than Bonn, more of Italian origin than Florence, more Canadians of Greek origin than Sparta. That we have in our midsts, 54 ethnocultural groups, speaking a total of 72 languages ... Just a 100 years ago the Canadian identity was moulded in the crucible of nationalism, it is now being tempered, tempered by the dynamics of multiculturalism.
>
> One effect of the post war boom in third element immigration has been to bolster ethnocultural groups, some of which have been here through four generations. The government has welcomed and encouraged this

> immigration. We have recognized and helped foster all our constituent cultural communities. It is then any wonder that these communities have heightened expectations in many areas.

Certainly Canada, and more especially Ontario, have changed drastically in their ethnic and demographic compositions since World War II. Between 1945 and 1961, over two million legal immigrants have entered Canada, a nation of fewer than 20,000,000 before then. Less than a third of those who arrived in that period came from the British Isles, and since the early 1970s, perhaps as many as a third of those entering Canada have been non-white, however most of them have come from areas once part of the British Empire. That fact has produced a visibly poly-ethnic society without increasing effectively the numbers of those who might resist anglo-conformity.

After 1958 more people came annually from Italy than from the United Kingdom. In fact, the number of immigrants from Britain to this former British colony has not been a third of the annual total for almost three decades. In Ontario, where in 1950 three out of every four people could trace their ancestry to the British Isle, only three out of every six could do so by the 1980s. The new diversity was magnified, indeed distorted, by the workings of the Canadian census which requires everyone to list ethnic groups in the paternal line. This official ethnic group membership, imposed by the state originally at the insistance of the French Canadians is misused by ethnic leaders as a proof of the ethnic consiousness or as a proof of ethnic persistence and maintenance over generations. It is in fact a mischievious statistical artifact, by itself merely a token of some of the less pleasant statist aspects of Canada's former dualism. Nonetheless the new diversity is real! The ethnocultural, especially linguistic, needs of hundreds of thousands of newcomers are pressing. That they and their children and the surrounding anglophone society can or wish to make the leap from the poly-ethnic facts to a new societal ethos of pluralism to replace the old anglo-conformist instincts of a former British colony however, has yet, despite declared public policy, to be demonstrated.

The results of the 1976 survey suggest that some things have changed in anglophone attitudes since R.B. Bennett expressed the anglo-conformist view succinctly in the 1930s.[4]

> "The people (continental Europeans) have made excellent settlers... but it cannot be that we must draw

> upon them to shape our civilization. We must still maintain that measure of British civilization which will enable us to assimilate these people to British institutions, rather than assimilate our civilization to theirs..."

The change towards tolerance of forms of diversity, may not be so qualitatively great. In fact, it may only entail the acceptance of the celebration occasionally of "quaint ways." For, while 81 % of those surveyed would encourage folk festivals, only 60 % supported the idea that histories needed to be written about the major groups other than the British and the French, and less than a third were willing to see heritage language taught during regular school hours or government support for "foreign-language" broadcasting. J.S. Frideres has made the point tellingly.

> "Those of 'English' group membership adhere to the policy of multiculturalism but only to the extent that the 'different' ethnic groups nominally display their ethnicity. This means that these... groups should speak English in public and accept the anglo way of life in all respects when in public. However, in the private confines of one's house and on holidays, these groups can speak their native language, wear their 'traditional' clothes, and paint their Easter eggs."[5]

For Quebeckers of course, multicultural policy rarely seems more than a continuation by other means of the anglophone struggle to reduce French claims to a unique status and to make of the French-speaking population, especially outside of Quebec, the first of the minorities rather than an **deuxième nation** or a co-equal founding people. Guy Rocher, one of the few Quebeckers in attendance at the biennial Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism in 1978 gave the view of most French Canadians.

> However... while multiculturalism is a sociologically valid concept on Canada, it has no meaning politically. In my view it is clear that, from a political standpoint, Canada is a country defined by twofold culture, anglophone and francophone, and it is the interplay of political forces between these two great 'societies,' to use the

> expression in the preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, that will determine the future of this country.[6]

Quebeckers, especially nationalists,see multiculturalism as either a devise to neutralize special claims for the French language and the province of Quebec, or because they understand nationality to depend so much on language survival, they believe the policy must either lead to multilingualism which they would find repugnant or become a farce.

Those in English Canada who object to multiculturalism as divisive, as Liberal party politicking, as the victorious impertinence of newcomers who "should be grateful and conform" or "should go through what we went through" can rarely see back beyond the myopia of their hostility to the origins of the policy. There is however among them a diffuse sense that something went wrong, that the post colonial search for Canadian identity was waylaid by Quebec separatism, western regionalism, and the unreasonable demands of immigrants. So multiculturalism as now practiced satisfies no one except some cultural bureaucrats; thoughtful Euro-ethnic group leadership tends to find the policy cosmetic or insincere. They also now face agencies, once sensitive to their demands for help in cultural maintenance, now preoccupied with the immigrant and racial problems of newer groups. Moreover the confusion among the cultural bureaucrats about whether they should encourage the evolving ethnoculture in Canada or dismiss it and import the literary culture of the immigrant's mother countries leads to further unease about the policy's purposes. Anglophone Canadians, both Anglo-Celts and those of other backgrounds who have acculturated, fear the policy's potential to balkanize and are irked by the more ostentations and lavish public spectacle of funding for maintenance of other cultures Those who have worked long and well in the anglophone institutions see in the demand for change or in the demand for the creation of parallel institutions as well as the calls for special heritage programs, language rights, a place in the nation's textbooks, ethnocultural chairs of study in the universities– an evidence that Canada is not making the transition safely from British colony to nation state. Many among them think that a pandora's box has been opened thoughtlessly by venal politicians.

Hostility to a multicultural policy comes from a number of directions and ranges from the viscerally xenophobic to a well reasoned cosmopolitan liberalism. It is important to note that a significant group of intelligent Canadians, not just of British or French descent,

and a number of thoughtful social scientists, following the approach of the pre-eminent among them, John Porter, see the policy as a dangerous new tribalism, undercutting a society based on individual merit, as a new devise to justify hierarchy in the form of ethclass niching.[7] This criticism of the policy usually finds an echo in partisan politics. For some the entire multicultural policy is no more than a Liberal policy devise to shift from a declining power base in Quebec, beset by separatism, to dependance on the ethnic vote in the big cities of central Canada. Freda Hawkins, Canada's leading student of the politics of immigration policy, has written "It is clear that in the Canadian Consultive Council on Multiculturalism and the whole apparatus of multiculturalism in Canada, the Liberals have created a governmentcontrolled interest group..."[8] Put more colourfully by a Toronto political commentator, the son of immigrants from eastern Europe:

> In fact, multiculturalism was and is a Trudeau boondoggle to get the ethnics to stay grateful and vote Liberal. Multiculturalism, which was supposedly out to make Diefenbaker and me the racial equals of Walter Gordon and Piere Trudeau, was a bastard child of political patronage, born in the Neanderthal ooze and slime of ethnicking. Multiculturalism encourages double loyalties, ghetto political machines that would shame a Tammany Hall, and daily give the fledgling Canadian Identity, already frail and wan, near fatal kicks in its most sensitive organs.
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> Multiculturalism encourages the reverse of what it's supposed to do. Instead of making ethnic groups equal to the two founding peoples, it segregates ethnic peoples, centres them out, ghettoizes them and then inevitably makes them feel inferior. If you're in third place officially you're a third-class citizen in fact.[9]

Perhaps the most cogent criticism of the policy has come from a younger generation of social scientists, many of them raised within ethnic communities in that eternal "nation in exile" which their parents, often displaced persons, fostered. These young scholars have come to see that far from saving "the ethnics and their culture from extinguishing themselves in, God forbid, a future American type melting pot," direct government funding through the multicultural policy has

tamed ethnic group organizations and ethnocultures, making their survival dependent on public funding. As Daiva Stasiulis points out

> The fact that government agencies are becoming incorporated into the interorganizational networks of ethnic community organizations and are joining so in such a way as to be preeminent in their relationship with the funded organizations, is crucial to an understanding of these organization's structures and activities.[10]

Those who control the taps can decide which plants to water and can slowly cause those who have come to depend too much on watering to whither. More and more, at the federal and provincial levels, the public policy of multiculturalism now ten years old and tired finds itself reduced in priority, tied administratively to sports, tourism, lotteries, leisure, even occasionally the mainstream culture. No doubt the needs of ethnic dance groups parallel the needs of amateur hockey teams, and the former are to a public ethos of democratic pluralism about as relevant as the latter are to health as an ideal for the whole populace.

There is one further problem of the multicultural policy which needs exposition. The word multiculturalism itself seems to hold out two different but apparently compatible, even complementary, promises. On the one hand, it suggests pluralism in the form of cross-cultural exchange and rapport, somewhat in the manner of the International House movement in the United States. On the other hand, it seems to imply, not just tolerance for, but positive support in the form of grants and government intervention, on behalf of the maintenance of each group's identity, its otherness, and its efforts to build institutions for passing on and maintaining its ethnoculture through generations in Canada. Although it may be that the two promises are philosophically consistent, the reality in the form of the pattern of distribution of government funds in support of culture and social activities can tip a delicate balance. If there is too much money for the individual ethnic groups and their strategies of survival and the Canadian context of multiculturalism is threatened, if there is too little, then the policy can be seen as a veiled form of the "melting pot," emphasis on multicultural centres, on being immigrant or ethnic together, on sharing one's cultural riches with the dominant anglophone culture at the expense of the coherence of the group itself.

In February of 1977, the Ukrainian Canadian Commitee made public its dissent with federal policy on exactly this point.[10a]

> Any attempt to develope and maintain the various cultures simultaneously as distinct yet intermixed together in a multicultural centre is a contradiction, as it leads to one blend or mass...

The UCC feared that the direction of government funding, especially grants for multicultural centres, would undermine "the essential role that Churches, parish centres, community centres and their related organizations have and continue to play in the socialization and cultural maintenance processes of the Ukrainian Canadian community." If such cultural activities were shifted to government-sponsored multicultural hall, it would "destroy the very heart of the community and the individual ethnic cultures." Thus the Ukrainian Canadian leadership believed that they had detected a scenario in which the funding modes of multiculturalism as policy were used to destroy ethnocultures and the ethnic institutional base.

I paint this mean general picture for a precise purpose. It needs to be understood that ethnic and immigration studies in our universities, new library and archival retrieval projects dealing with ethnic materials, and attempts to teach pluralism, or multiculturalism in the public school system, since they are correctly read as attempts to give substance to the new public policy of multiculturalism are often subject to the same hostility or worse yet, to the condescending patience of trivializing which the policy itself is.

It is worth remarking that the reaction to multiculturalism and to the effort to bring a pluralist sentiment to the writing and collecting of Canada's national history seems as often to be born of disoriented idiocy as of malice. Ethnic studies pays the price of appearing disruptive and foreign to educators, public servants, and social engineers who were in full throat baying after the trail which would lead to the new post colonial identity when they were thrown off the spoor by multiculturalism. Since the pre-declaration of the policy they have not really been able to recover their bearings as witness the report of the Commission on Canada Studies issued 7 years after the multicultural policy was in place and at a time when one third of the population were of neither French nor British stock. That report, the Symons Report, entitled "To Know Ourselves" contained in its published form only one reference to any ethnic group.

> The remarkable Celtic contribution to the life of this country for example has received little attention. The

> British or Anglo-Canadian heritage is in danger of being ignored by scholars who fail to percieve that it, too, is part of the Canadian mosaic.[11]

This amazing exercise in Anglocentrism was perpetrated at a time when no Canadian university offered a course in the history of immigration and ethnicity, although many had a historian of Great Britain for every century since William the Conqueror. That is why one cannot blame Canadian ethnic intelligensia and scholars of ethnicity for being unable to see that part of the report as the pathetic wee defense of ethnocentrism it was. Rather it was seen as another proof that ethnic studies and the serious attempt to insert the real record of the many people who have taken part in Canadian history would remain in limbo between the filio-pietit writings of the ethnic community and the Canadian academic establishment. It was scant consolation that limbo, at least at first, was a warm and nurturing place, replete with new well-funded parallel institutions for gathering ethnic material, grants for ethnic studies research, and, above all, the **Generations** Series an ambitious flagship effort by the Minister of State for Multiculturalism to create a foot long shelf of national ethnic histories, a volume each for the twenty most significant peoples of Canada.

It was clear though that, if ethnic scholarship was--until the creation of the so-called "ethnic chairs"--to be denied the beatific visions of academic respectability at least there would be lush funding, and national publication. Unfortunately in that space between heaven and earth, ethnic studies continued to be dismissed by those who had attained through accident of birth or training salvation in the nation's history departments. Ethnic studies was a thing of schools of education, of sociology departments, of cultural bureaucrats. Money from the multiculturalism directorate condemned men and their work to limbo or hell, while Canada Council money continued to be laundered by some divine consensus so that those who received it, did so as if it were grace and not government funds.

To understand how this extraordinary state of affairs came into being one needs to know the history and impact of one publication. That is book IV, **The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups** of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism published in 1969.[12] That volume came about almost as an afterthought to the great commission initiated by Lester Pearson in 1963 to establish a post colonial Canadian identity based on biculturalism and bilingualism, an effort to recast the nation's sometimes troublesome dualism into a unity which respected the cultural rights of the two

founding races. The commissioner and intellectuals who, in three thoughtful volumes of reports, worked towards a new ethos, did so on vanished premises. On the one hand, a new Quebecois identity--based on a geographically, demographically, and politically compact and self contained nation in the province of Quebec was rising to challenge the diffuse legal linguistic ideal of a Francophone and Anglophone partnership stretching from sea to sea. Moreover, the concept of two founding peoples was challenged by those who saw themselves as spokesmen for the third of the nation of neither British nor French descent. Some like the prairie Ukrainians may have been offended not to be included as a founding nation, most saw some recognition of pluralism as the only policy that could save them from the twin anglophone and francophone melting pots which the commission seemed to be condoning. Book IV was written for them. The Handlinesque ring of its title, the contribution of the "other ethnic groups," implying as it did the frame of mind of the scholars who created the volume, did not represent the views of the nation at large and was belied by the book's contents. Only the non-British and non-French and those intellectuals who felt it would be healthier if all Canadians but the native people realized that they were immigrants actually saw Canada as a nation of immigrants rather than as a nation of two founding peoples and then the immigrants. Book IV was however the first modern public recognition of the possibility of the cultural rights for minorities and of limits to Anglo-conformity and gallicization respectively. The volume also clearly sets the limits for diversity as well.

In fact, Book IV was unequivocal about its mandate. It envisaged study and celebration of pluralism of origin, and it seemed willing to tolerate, even to encourage, the maintenance of ethnocultures, especially for immigrants and their children. However it promised neither political nor linguistic pluralism of destiny and was cautious about cultural pluralism itself.

> 1. The terms of reference instructed the Commission "to recommend what steps should be taken to develope the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."
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> It will be noted immediately that while the terms of

> reference deal with questions of those of ethnic origin other than British or French, they do so in relation to the basic problem of bilingualism and biculturalism, from which they are inseparable, and in the context of the coexistence of the Francophone and Anglophone communities. Also, the terms of reference do not call for an exhaustive study of the position of those of non-British, non-French origin, but rather an examination of the way they have taken their place within the two societies that have provided Canada's social structures and institutions.[13]

Article 12 of the Book IV of the report went even farther. In fact so far that the Ukrainian Canadian Commissioner from the West felt forced to dissent formally. That article remarked that " acculturation is inevitable in a multi-ethnic country like Canada and the two main societies themselves are open to its influences. The integration of immigrants into the life of the country, with the help of its institutions is surely the road to their self-fulfillment."[14]

One of the volume's chief architects, writing five years after its appearance, comprehended nicely the difference between its purpose and its uses by those who dreamed a dream of Canada as a new kind of policy which would be truly a nation of many nations.

> "Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework can work, if it is interpreted as it is intended - that is, as encouraging those members of ethnic groups who want to do so to maintain a proud sense of the contribution of their own group to Canadian society. Interpreted in this way, it becomes something very North American: voluntary marginal differentiation among peoples who are equal participants in the society. If it is interpreted in a second way - as enabling various peoples to transfer foreign cultures and languages as living wholes into a new place and time - multiculturalism is doomed."[15]

Although its leit-motif was an admirable concern for cultural free choice and the easing of the burdens of adjustment, Book IV dealt with the semantics of ethnicity and diversity, especially with such shibboleths as assimilation, integration, acculturation, and adaptation, in a

manner that might remind the reader of the true roots of the word sophisticated. This was especially so since the Canadian collective wisdom, if it distinguished at all between a melting pot and anglo-conformity, saw both as peculiarly American nationalist forms of cultural repression and sought to employ a language which did not conjure up these forms.

> 11. The process of integration goes hand in hand with what anthropologists call "acculturation." Anyone who choses Canada as his adopted country adopts a new style of life, a particular kind of existence. This phenomenon is easily visable in the immigrant's experience in the work world, in his social contacts with other people in the schools, where children acquire a major part of their preparation for life, and in all his contact with other citizens and public institutions. In office and factory, train and plane, in court and in Parliament, the process of acculturation can be seen, despite the obstacles facing an individual as he becomes acquainted with his new environment, in which he is exposed to so many influences. Acculturation is the process of adaptation to the environment in which an individual is compelled to live as he adjusts his behaviour to that of the community.[16]

In contrast, the actual recommendations of Book IV, among them those about ethnic studies, were clear and to the point. That may account for their adoption with little skewing in the federal policy which emerged two years later. For example, one recommendation was that Canadian Universities expand their studies in the fields of the humanities and social sciences relating to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages and the final one recommended that the National Museum of Man, not one should note, the Public Archives of Canada, should be given adequate space and facilities and provided with sufficient funds to carry out its projects regarding the history, social organizations, and folk arts of cultural groups other than British and French. A postscript to Book IV spoke directly to the matter of ethnic studies. Its intent and tone can be captured by quoting the topic sentence of each of its six paragraphs.

> 650. A striking fact which emerged from our research

into the cultural groups other than the British and French in Canadian society is that so little is known about the subject.

651. As far as a sociology of ethnic relations exists, it is mainly American. Although much can be learnt from research carried out in the United States, the conclusions reached are frequently not applicable to Canada.

652. Throughout this Book we have called attention to areas where further research is needed... Some of the research needed could be done under the auspices of the cultural and research organizations of particular groups.

653. However the research that is most vital should focus on relations between cultural groups.

654. We urge Canadian scholars and learned societies to give high priority to research concerning immigration and ethnic relations and their effects on our social, economic, political and cultural life.

655. In the past, research concerning immigration and ethnic relations was possibly of greater interest to Anglophone than Francophone scholars. Today it is the vital concern of both societies...[17]

Book IV then not only brought the question of the cultural persistence of the non-British and non-French to the fore, it also firmly identified ethnic and immigration studies as the new civic or moral science which would serve as the legitimating instrument, or handmaiden, for whatever public policy was adopted. When the recommendations of Book IV were made public policy by Prime Minister Trudeau in October 1971, the writing of ethnic history and the need to raise the multicultural consciousness of government cultural agencies or create new multicultural institutions was at the heart of both his parliamentary speech and the accompanying implementation proposals. That speech, richer in sentiment than in definition, not only made multiculturalism public policy but also began the extraordinary flowering, or underdeveloping, of ethnic studies and ethnocultural institutions in Canada. The Prime Minister's speech placed multiculturalism squarely in the context of the search for a national integrating principle.

Volume IV ecamined the whole question of cultural and ethnic pluralism in this country and the status of our

various cultures and languages, an area of study given all too little attention in the past by scholars.

It was the view of the Royal Commission, shared by the Government and, I am sure, all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen group or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly.

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the Government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all.

In the past, substantial public support has been given largely to the arts and cultural institutions of English-speaking Canada. More recently, and largely with the help of the Royal Commission's earlier recommendations in Volume I to III, there has been a conscious effort on the Government's part to correct any bias against the French language and culture. In the past few months the Government has taken steps to provide funds to support culturaleducational centres for native people. The policy I am anouncing today accepts the contention of the other cultural communities that they, too, are essential elements in Canada and deserve Government assistance in order to contribute to regional and national life in ways that derive from their heritage yet are distinctively Canadian.[18]

Implementation of the new policies was to be carried out by the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State and latter by a Multiculturalism Directorate within that same ministry. Six programs for carrying out the policy were announced; they included 1. multicultural grants, 2. cultural development program 3. ethnic histories, 4. Canadian Ethnic studies, 5. teaching of official languages, and 6. programs of the federal agencies. Most of the programs showed as much concern for the fostering of inter-ethnic activities and for multicultural encounter in the true sense as they did for the "demands of individual cultural groups for language retention and cultural development." Here we can only concern ourselves with the three that affect ethnic studies and material preservation--the ethnic histories program, the creation of a Canadian Ethnic Studies advisory body to the government, and the attempt through the programs of the Federal Cultural Agencies to "multiculturalize" such bodies as the National Library, the PAC and the National Museum of Man. The implementation paper stated that "a clear need exists for the writing of objective, analytical, and readable histories of the ethnic groups in Canada." and proposed the 20 volume **Generations** series. Program IV called for the development of a federal ethnic studies program, a Centre or a series of centres. It was pointed out that the National Library had long been multicultural in quality since the law mandated that a copy of any item printed in Canada should be deposited with the Library. Monies were set aside for the PAC which had "relatively few holdings relating to Canada's various cultural groups or their activities." "The Public Archives will be given funds to acquire the **records and papers of all the various ethnic organizations and associations which are significant documents of Canadian history.**[19] From that last proposal emerged both the National Ethnic Archives program of the PAC and most of the confusion about just how inclusive the collecting mandate was to be.

Not surprisingly then, the federal government had made a choice about implementation in favour of centralization and of "Multiculturalizing" existent institutions rather than creating parallel ones. Where new institutions were to exist, they would be called programs, nestled in the bosom of government or existing organizations. It would simply be a question of whether the new programs could sensitize the old anglocentric sinners before the latter could neutralize, corrupt, drain, and bureaucratize the enthusiasms of the new policy. Given the powers of inertia and of apparatchiks in government and in cultural agencies, this was a natural enough approach. Morever, it gained legitimacy by seeming to promise the "mainstreaming" of the other groups, their history, and their recods. Parallel institutions for the non-British, non-French of the kind represented by the power of the Bibliotheque Na-

tionale and the Archives Nationales in Quebec was beyond the imagination. Moreover, much funding was at stake and men who had never thought about any ethnic group other than those from the British Isles and perhaps Germany learned quickly about others when there were grants and competing institutions involved.

A number of now obscure skirmishes between cultural bureaucrats and academics, between political pork-barreling and an honest cultural effort, between creating new institutions or forcing forms of civic pluralism on the existing cultural agencies took place between 1970 and 1973.[20] Until some of the many participants in those negotiations write frankly, we will not know the full story of how multiculturalism was moved from Book IV and an ethos of cultural volition to a Liberal government policy and specific funded programs for the study and preservation of the historical records of Canada's many peoples. For example, did the decision to fund various ethnocultural research and writing projects come in a context which freed the Canada Council, the nation's mainstream grantor for culture and scholarship, to concentrate its funds on the British and the French? Was the new Canadian Ethnic Studies Advisory Commitee (CESAC), created to advise the Multiculturalism Directorate and composed of a small group of academics "as broadly representative as possible in terms of discipline, ethnocultural background and geography," a sop for those who had agitated either for a great National Institute for Canadian Ethnic studies proximate to the Archives and Library and able to shape their preservation work (the last a thought inimicable to both institutions) or for a number of regional ethnic research and records centres, either independent or associated with specific universities. At any rate, although the work of CESAC has been useful and has enhanced ethnic studies in Canada, it has not had the role of an independent national institute might have had.

Among the implementation plans tabled with the Prime Minister's speech in October of 1971 was this

> **Program III: Ethnic Histories** — A clear need exists for the writing of objective, analytical, and readable histories of the ethnic groups in Canada, and for the distribution of these works to as wide a readership as possible. The Citizenship Branch will commission 20 histories specifically directed to the background contributions and problems of various cultural groups in Canada. The program will offer visible, effective and valuable recognition of the contribution of our diverse ethnic groups to Canada. It will promote knowledge and respect for the

> cultural heritage of the groups concerned as well as providing invaluable resource material for students, writers, and government agencies.[23]

So the histories were to offer "recognition of the contribution" of each group. At the same time, they were to be "objective, analytical and readable." And of course that "respect for cultural heritage" for each group was intended as a celebration of our pluralism of origin, not as a prologue to a continuing separate ethnic identity in Canada outside of either the anglophone or francophone dominant culture. There were problems from the outset within the formula. For although reference to "contribution" seemed to be calling for something akin to the writing of government-sponsored filio-piety, the promise of objectivity and analysis conjured up a series which would be serious social and cultural history rather than simply a search for illustrious ancestorsand pioneers.

The Minister of State for Multiculturalism sends out a letter with complimentary copies of the new volumes of the **Generations** series--that is the name of the publishing project which grew out of Program III--. The letter describes the series as producing "a greater awareness of the pluralistic aspect of Canadian society and the contributions made by the various ethnocultural groups to the building of that society." The general introduction to each of the nine volumes which have appeared so far repeats the phrase of the original mandate that the volumes are intended to be "objective, analytical, and readable."[24] It adds that they are "directed towards the general reading public, as well as students at the senior high school level and the college and university levels, and teachers in the elementary school." It is a tall order. In effect, the Multiculturalism Directorate is attempting through the series, if it attempting anything beyond the currying of political favour with the ethnic groups, to create a historical literature which can honestly and adequately inform people in general about our pluralism of origin, satisfy the **amour propre** of every group which requires a Canadian pedigree in order to feel comfortable within the mosaic, and finally to inspire further study by scholars and be taken seriously as the basis of a historiography in the new **genre** of Canadian ethnic and immigration history.

> The roles of the French and British communities have dominated the written histories of Canada. Contributions by Canadians of other cultural origins have received little attention. As a result most history books present an incomplete record of Canada's past.

These words in a handout of the government called **Multicultural Update** (October, 1978) seem to promise or threaten instant redress and a reworking of the textbooks. No doubt for those uneasy with the concept of "contribution" and unhappy with the apparent attempt to push aside the charter groups to make room for others, such assertions by a branch of the federal government are similar to the efforts of the Chicago School Board in the 1920s, made under the influence of German and Irish American politicians to create a new history of the American Revolution for schoolchildren which "must not be pro-British statistically or psychologically."
As one wag wrote

> Every people and race
> In Chicago will trace
> Its hand in the ousting of Britain
> We shall learn 'twas our town
> That pulled George the III down
> When the real revolution is written[25]

It is within such an atmosphere which posits the view that the record of the past is infinitely malleable and there to serve the cause of the civic good or the therapeutic needs of those depressed by their status in the land that the **Generations** series, but even more the other publications supported by the Multicultural Directorate wither or thrive. Of course, true to our national traditions, no one wants to lynch George III, only to share his role in the making of Canada, or the long drawnout unmaking of British North America. Despite excellent academic editors, a degree of freedom which at least insulates the series from too much need for vetting by politicos and ethnic group spokesmen, the **Generations** series cannot escape its ordained role. The government has seen the series since the late 1960s as a linchpin of the effort to justify and make popular a federal multicultural policy. It is a very heavy civic burden to place on twenty books and their authors. Especially since, as every child of immigrants knows, it is not enough to do as well as the old stock, one must do better to stay even. The series would have to represent the state of the art of history writing in Canada to have the desired impact. The anglocentric and filiopietist biographies about Canada's great men of the founding races which flow from all our universities are naturally enough safe from the kind of harsh intellectual scrutiny reserved for books which take a new direction, accompanied by much tax payer's money and much political hoopla.

Generations seems to have stumbled into the mistakes made by an earlier American experiment on which it may well have been modelled, Louis Adamic's great dream of a multi-volume series to be called variously the **Nation of Nations** series or **From Plymouth Rock to Ellis Island** project. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Adamic envisaged such a series with a volume dedicated to each of the people's who made America.[26] When he began his work, Adamic understood that for many groups "the vital American background is not the glorified Mayflower but the as of yet unglorified immigrant steerage;" the editors of the **Generations** series realized that, for some of the displaced peoples and new immigrants who came to Canada since the 1950s, attempts to describe their history in Canada before the Second World War had little point. As a result, some of the better volumes in the series approach the group's place in Canada more sociologically than historically. In other cases, good historians have known better than involve themselves with doubtful heritage-mongering. It has not unfortunately been the case with all the publications, though none of them reach the levels of official filio-pietism of the government's **Canadian Family Tree** volume.

Over time, Adamic came to believe that the old stock in the United States reinforced its elite social status by "resting on its sense of priority in the land." Though the United States had no legal or cultural formula as repugnant to egalitarian pluralism as the concept of the "founding races" or "charter groups" as in Canada, he believed that most immigrants and their children felt themselves to be, in the words of H. L. Mencken, "assistant Americans," suffering from a form of **atimia**, or ethnic self-disesteem. This thought led him to believe that one of the purposes of writing ethnic history was to demonstrate to the old stock elite and to the ethnic young the longevity and glorious role of each people in the nation's past. Apparently this had to be done, so that the former would feel obliged to move over and make room for the other peoples longer in the land than they had assumed, and the latter would acquire personal dignity and a new surefootedness in society from realizing that they were not alien or the children of aliens. Thus history writing becomes at once therapy and civics. When it is funded by the government, it may seem also to be suggesting that one's place in the new pluralist society somehow depends on proving by some sort of inverted nativist standard the right to that place through discovering longevity in the land.

This idea carried to its extreme destroyed much of the value of Adamic's project by leading to something best described as "mayflowerism," the search to prove priority of presence in the land as if that affected status in the present. In Canada, it might best be described as "explorerism." This phenomenon and accompanying exaggerations and

myths about numbers of settlers and contribution undercut the emergence of ethnic and immigration history as a serious **genre** or subdiscipline. Charles Francis Adams warned his fellow Yankee Palfrey that "in the treatment of doubtful historical points there are fewer things which need to be more carefully guarded against than patriotism or filial piety." The editors of the **Generations** seem to have struggled mightily to avoid the excesses of "patriotism or filio-piety," but they have had little help. It is natural enough that the authors, concerned about their reception in the ethnocommunities they study, and the cultural bureaucrats of the Multicultural Directorate, for whom the ethnic groups are clientele and history a tool of public policy, appease the heritage-mongering and filiopietism of some communities rather than thwart them. For these reasons "explorerism" and its negative impact on the development of the field--does rear its head a bit in the series.

In the 1930s, Italian and French Canadians skirmished in the streets of Montreal over the question of whether Cartier or Cabot discovered Canada. (A recent effort of a Senator of Italian descent to change toponyms throughout the country, honouring that explorer, from Cabot to Caboto, produced a spate of hate mail.) The Portuguese volume in the **Generations** series takes no sides in that issue but points out that, if Cabot did discover Canada, he was most likely acting on geographical information provided by the Portuguese Joao Fernandes who had already been to Labrador. Such Johnny-come-latelys may fight it out aimlessly in the pages of the Series, for the Norwegian volume asserts that Paul Knutson and eight Goths and 22 Norsemen navigated Lake Winnipeg in the 1350s. That happened only two and a half centuries after two Scots, according to the Scottish volume, joined the crew of Thorfinn Karlsevni's expedition to Nova Scotia. Compared to such antiquity in the land, the Greek volume's reminder that Juan de Fuca who explored Puget Sound in the 16th century was really a Greek seaman named Yannis Phokas, has the ring of modernity and authenticity.[27] And then there are the DeMeuron and Watteville regiments, two units of disbanded mercenaries and British prisoners of war from the Napoleonic period which seem able to disgorge into our history and endless stream of early German, Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, and other adams who multiply like loaves and fishes as our history is rewritten. Such nonsense is not good for the field; it is difficult to believe that it has value for the ethnic group or Canada either.

To the problem of approach which follows from the **Generations** volumes being defined in terms of the chronology of Canadian history and by the anxiety of the ethnic groups to have their careers in the land coincide with or intersect the great events and eras of the nation, we

must add the problems born of the assumption that Canada--the whole territory--is the space within which each of these ethnic histories takes place. That assumption does not hold true for many immigrant and ethnic groups in either geographical or cognitive terms. And the series' attempt to provide "national" coverage of each ethnic group induces a more subtle, but equally unfortunate skewing than that of "explorerism."

It would have been too much to ask federal politicians and bureaucrats to comprehend the essentially local, or old country and diaspora-wide, nature of the cognitive maps held by immigrants and ethnics. Even if the federal government could have shown the subtlety to commission volumes on specific bloc settlements or urban ethnic enclaves, such study, which would have been far more in keeping with the modes of North American historical scholarship today, could not have had the political impact or the same value for advocacy of the policy of multiculturalism that the **Generations** volumes do. "The people don't want to read monographs about the 'Deviation among Zaporozhian Cossacks in Oshawa Ontario'," one bureaucrat commented dismissing the idea of a monograph series. Instead the authors of the **Generations** volumes must do their best to fill the national space, to find a Chinese presence in the Maritimes, or an Italian one on the Saskatchewan pairies. The editors of the series and their academic editorial board do not advocate this madness but somehow the urge to please the ethnic group leadership, cultural bureaucrats and politicians--indeed to satisfy the "nation making" purpose of the entire multicultural policy--insinuates itself and contributes to the underdeveloping of the field.

There is a risk that in all of this the immigrant group's own psychic space and cognitive maps, its evolving sense of identity are violated by the very series that purports to rescue them from historical obscurity. The framework of the series presumes them to be Canadians in the making, and their other loyalties and identities are underestimated. Their understanding of where they are or were, their sense of sojourning or settling, their sense of being part of a North American diaspora of their people, of being unique in their own local enclave is lost. It is assumed that the ethnic group sees itself within the national frame, has a national cohering tendency that is not in contradiction with but rather part of acculturing to Canada, that national spokesmen are indeed representative of the group. This may be so, but until studies free of the national frame are undertaken such a view of the ethnic group is a learned form of civics not based on historical scholarship. The **Generations** series itself then is not just government-sponsored learning but a major instrument in the building of a Canadian identity within each ethnic group. An Italian in Niagra Falls Ontario will be made to realize through the pages of the new multicultural Canadian history books that

he shares little history with his cousin in Niagra Falls New York, that he adheres rather to the separate history-regardless of the reality of networks and shared Italian North American culture--of Italian Canadians. Thus the multicultural policy and its efforts to encourage history writing within a national frame contributes to the post colonial nation-making, creates parallelism of origin and destiny between the ethnic in Canada and the founding races, and for Ontario, at any rate, makes certain that the immigrant will think like a Canadian vis-a-vis the threat of continentalism and encroaching American culture. Only time will show whether the remaining volumes in the **Generations** series are able to contribute as much to the historiography of ethnic and immigration studies as they do the justification and purposes of the national policy.

The most significant publication program indirectly enhancing the policy has been the development of the journal "Canadian Ethnic Studies," the publication of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association.[28] That journal, based in Calgary, grew out of an earlier publication called "Slavs in Canada," and, under able editors, it has steadily upgraded its own issues and discourse in the field generally. It has tried to maintain a balance between history, sociology, political science and anthropology, between a western Canadian, often rural focus, and the inter-ethnic concerns of the more urban parts of Central Canada. No equivalent journal, no such responsible focus for all aspects of the field, has emerged in the United States. To the extent that it is a product of the federal policy, or at least has benifited from it, CESA and its journal CES prove that political funding of scholarly programs in the field does not always lead to underdeveloping.

At the very time when multiculturalism as a policy has been included in the Canadian constitution, the definition of the policy, or at least the priorities of the state machinery which administer the policy, seems to be changing, and changing in a direction which many Euro-ethnic group leaders find threatening. The fears expressed earlier by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee that multiculturalism as a form of integration into Canadian life was not necessarily compatible with the maintenance of healthy separate ethnocultural institutions, combined with the warning from some observers that Canadian ethnic groups had come too much to depend on government grants rather than intra-group commitment and intensity to maintain their ethnoculture now seem less Cassandra-like and ungrateful. For those educators, "caretakers," and Anglo-Canadians who had always viewed the policy, not as the invitation to any group to persist in its otherness, but as a humane--apparently opposed to the inhumane American melting pot experience--means of weaning immigrants, and especially their children, from their dependence on old world culture, the new direction of the policy makes

sense. It emphasizes the need to fight discrimination, suggests the limits of cultural retention, and suggests a government agenda in which the primary urge is to ease the settlement of newcomers. If a policy aimed at supporting the folkloric national life and associational structure of the white European ethnics, especially the displaced peoples, provided an effective means to ease settlement of the mass migration of the 1950s and 1960s, a different strategy seems appropriate for dealing with the integration of the "new immigration" composed in large part of Asians and West Indians.

Many of these newcomers speak English and are, upon arrival in this country, less concerned with maintaining their cultural identity and more with overcoming those tendencies based on prejudice and discrimination in Canada which force them constantly to feel their otherness. Integration, equality, and recognition as Canadians matter to them more than the right to ethnocultural persistence, or government funds to back up that right. There are certainly grounds upon which the older Euro-ethnic groups and the new immigrants could come together to share and shape Canada's multicultural policy. All immigrants have to one degree or another been "visible" and encountered bigotry. Moreover, Bengalis and Jamaicans are as much carriers of culture in process as Italians, Finns, and Ukrainians were as immigrants before them, and the "new immigrants" short change themselves if they do not use the policy to nurture their ethnoculture rather than just as a tool for policing racism in the host society.

Although it does not seem likely that there are forces which actually try to pit the two clienteles of the Multiculturalism Directorate, so called white ethnic groups and visible minorities, against one another, it is true that the emphasis on solving the immediate problems of the latter, obviously a civic priority for all Canadians of goodwill, does coincide more closely with the thought of those in multicultural education and administration who always saw the policy as a tool of integration. For educators especially, the themes of immigrant contribution, the colourful variety of our peoples--trivialized in festivals and "pizza and pysanky days"--were always seen as themes of integration into a new Canada, one that was diverse in origin but united in spirit, one in which heritage language retention was possible, but progress lay in the quality of English and French learned.

Multiculturalism then is not to rise or fall, according to the will and power of Canada's ethnic groups, but rather it will be defined, and its ebb and flow as taught ethos will be controled by those who man the financial, political, and educational levers of the country. It is not clear what role ethnic politics or successful ethnic Canadian politicians will have in the process over the next generation. There are clear indi-

cators though that some of the cost of overdependence on the goodwill and funds of the government now must be paid as the goals of the policy change. And while these goals seem eminently proper in terms of national integration and civic justice, the role government and educators except of ethnocultural organizations in carrying out the new directions suggests the degree to which natural post-immigration polyethnicity in Canada has been tamed by multiculturalism. For example, the Report of the Nottawasaga Thinkers' Conference of 1983, funded by the Multiculturalism Directorate, entitled "Mainstreaming Multiculturalism in Canada: Challenges and Opportunities" had as one of its proposals the following caution which seemed to confirm the Ukrainian Canadian fear that multicultural policy would gladly go its way without an underpinning of separate ethnocultures.

> "Such ethno-cultural organizations as Ukrainian, German and Italian Clubs and Native Friendship centres must accept the responsibility of facilitate multicultural understanding among their memberships. All too often such organizations plan extensively for the enrichment and enhancement of their own images and unique purpose without appropriate or adequate acknowledgment of all other groups who share equally valuable and unique Canadian identities."[29]

By some process of the inequality of power between immigrants and the guardians of the host society, multiculturalism may very well become an instrument for Canadianization rather than a defence of cultural diversity.

NOTES

1. John W. Berry, Rudolph Kalin, Donald Taylor, **Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada** (Ministry of State for Multiculturalism, 1977), p. 143.
2. Evelyn Kallen, "Multuculturalism: Ideology, Policy, and Reality," in **Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'etudes canadiennes** (Spring 1982), 17.1, pp. 51-63.
3. **Heritage Ontario**, June 2, 3 and 4, 1972, Yaremko made his speech in the spring preparatory to the conference.
4. For a good introduction to the Anglo-Canadian attitudes towards pluralism see: Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," paper presented to the second biannual conference, Can. Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, Feb. 13-15, 1976.

5. J.S. Frideres, "Multiculturalism and the Third World Immigrants: A Report on a National Conference," in **Canadian Ethnic Studies** VII:2 (1975), pp. 105-13.
6. G. Rocher, "Multiculturalism: The Doubts of the Francophone," Report of the Second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism (Ottawa, 1976), pp. 47-53.
7. See especially John Porter, "Dilemas and Contradictions of a Multiethnic Society," **Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada** 10 (4), pp. 193-205 and his **The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada** (Toronto, 1965).
8. Freda Hawkinns, "Multiculturalism in Canada," report for the Australian Population and Immigration Council and Ethnic Affairs Council, June 1978, p.2.
9. Larry Zolf, "Mulling over Multiculturalism," in **Maclean's Magazine** (14 April 1980), p. 6.
10. Daiva K. Stasiulis, "The Political Structuring of Ethnic Community Action: A Reformulation," **Canadian Ethnic Studies** XII:3 (1980), p. 18.

10a. "UCC Slams Multicultural Centres" in **Ukrainian Echo** (April 1977) Vol. 1:1 p. 2.

11. **The Symons Report**, an abridged version of volumes 1 and 2 of **To Know Ourselves: The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies** (Toronto, 1978), p. 60.
12. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, **Book IV: The Cultural contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups** (Ottawa, 1970), 345 pp.
13. **Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the other Ethnic Groups**, p.3.
14. **Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups**, p.5.
15. Jean Burnet, "Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Policies in Canadian Society," paper delivered at the IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago, 1973; "The Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: An Interpretation," in **The Education of Immigrant Children**, ed. A Wolfgang (Toronto, 1975).
16. **Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups**, p.5.
17. **Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups**, postscript, pp. 225-27.
18. Pierre E. Trudeau, "Statement by the Prime Minister, House of Commons, October 8, 1971," in **Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada** (Ottawa. Minister of State, Multiculturalism, 1971), appendices pp. 43-54 contain the programs for implementation.
19. **Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada**, p. 54.
20. See especially the unpublished paper by J.J. Loubser, "Discussion Paper on Canadian Ethnic Studies," Dept. of Sociology in Education, Ontario Institute of Studies in Education (1971) in the library of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
21. See the **Annual Report of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario 1976; Polyphone: The Bulletin of the Multicultural Society of Ontario** 1:1 (Fall-Winter 1977).
22. Institut quebecois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC), **Premier Rapport Annuel, 1979-1980** (Quebec, 1980), 79 pp.

23. **Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada,** pp. 52-53. The government, through the Centennial Commission, had been involved in an earlier ethnic history series for the nation's 1967 Centennial. That series was called **Canadian Ethnica** and was published under the auspices of the Centennial Commission and Canadian Ethnic Press Association.
24. See general introduction to **Generations** series in each volume by Professor Jean Burnet and Professor Howard Palmer.
25. Edward R. Lewis, **America. Nation of Confusion: A Study of Our Immigration Problems** (New York, 1928), pp. 342-45.
26. On Adamic as historian, see R. F. Harney, "E Pluribus Unum: Louis Adamic and the Meaning of Ethnic History," a paper delivered at the International Symposium Louis Adamic: His Life, Work, and Legacy, at the Immigration History Research Centre, University of Minnesota, May 1981, 25 pp.
27. This is not the place to review each volume in the series. Nine out of the twenty have appeared. They are of varying quality and value. It is the nature of the auspices and political and therapeutic purposes of the series which occasionally defeats thexcellent editors and many serious authors. Symptomatically, the history of the larger groups-Italians, Jews, Irish, Germans, Dutch-have not yet appeared. Volumes on the Scots and the Ukrainians have been published, but as collections of essays not as finished narratives or syntheses.
28. The best general introduction and short bibliography to the literature on ethnic and immigration history in Canada is by the former editor of the **Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal**. See Howard Palmer, "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s," **Journal of Canadian Studies** (Spring 1982) 17:1; Andrew Gregorovich's pioneering effort of 1972, **Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography** (Toronto, 1972), will be reissued by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario in the coming year. That edition had over 2,000 entries; the new one will have over 4,000, plus an annual supplement, reflecting the growth of the field.
29. The Committe on the Future of Multicultural Education, "Mainstreaming Multiculturalism in Canada: Challenges and Opportunities," Report of the Nottawasaga Thinkers' Conference, Oct. 1983.