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Review [untitled]

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governmental process, and eloquently expressing the author's conviction that since culture is central to the life of a people, governments, both federal and provincial, must evolve cultural policies that serve as a more deliberate response to social needs than ever in the past.

Ostry carefully traces Canada's cultural developments before World War Two and the origins of our first cultural institutions, arising in the main from the efforts of interested individuals who were able at times to draw upon the support of a prominently placed person such as a governor general. After 1945 the pace of development picked up, especially with the move of the St. Laurent government in appointing the Massey Commission and the government's deferred decision to establish the Canada Council. Ostry rightly regards these developments as a turning point in Canadian cultural history. Until 1957 and the creation of the Canada Council, Ostry ponts out, the CBC served as almost the *only* source of public patronage for the arts, and indeed its programme budget is still "by far the largest source of public support for artists in Canada."

After 1957, the pace further quickens as new government policies and structures emerge, both in Ottawa and the various provincial capitals. Ostry is particularly good in assessing the influence of several secretaries of state, including Maurice Lamontagne and Gérard Pelletier, and in suggesting the counterpoint to federal initiatives provided by provincial political developments, especially in Quebec after 1960. The two chapters assembling the information on these more recent developments, even by themselves, make Ostry's book a must for anyone trying to understand this phase of Canadian social history.

Ostry argues that only through a purposeful and more consciously articulated policy can Canadians discover and share our cultural experience. "A federal policy can provide the links, the connections or the opportunities for sharing and connections.... It is the function of the central government in a genuine federation to try to build connections and link these communities, provinces and regions into a larger whole, to try through imagination to reach out and convince them to see and sense the larger community, Canada" (178). Ostry warns, however, that such policy should not be imposed from above, should not stem from the initiatives of either politicians or career civil servants. The goals of liberty and choice demand another process, with full reliance on the voluntary sector. Ostry gives consideration to the option of another royal commission, similar to the Massey Commission, but discards that option in favour of an elaborate but less structured form of public consultation which he outlines.

Whether or not we accept the author's proposal for initiating the next stage of policy development, one can only applaud him for setting the issues squarely before us and for speaking his mind so unequivocally. An unusual and not too civil civil servant.

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The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic: A Quest for Identity
Leo Driedger, ed.
Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978, pp. viii, 351

The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic is a collection of eighteen essays on different aspects of ethnicity in Canada, volume 6 of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association series. The chapters are grouped into five sections: theoretical perspectives; migration and immigration policy; psychological maturation; the

identity of native peoples; case studies of ethnic minorities. While the editor has taken care to ensure that his own introduction and subsequent linking and summary sections provide maximum assistance to the reader in evaluating specific contributions, some attempt at cross-referencing, agreement on terminology, and establishing common points of reference might have been made.

Perhaps this is an unreasonable expectation, given the assortment of topics and the variety of disciplinary approaches and research methodologies adopted by the authors. For the most part, the essays are well-written and informative. As an introduction to ethnic studies in Canada and a contribution to the re-assessment of the significance of minority groups within Canadian society, the collection represents a useful addition to the literature. However, if we are to apply more exacting standards, the book fails to realize its promise. In his introduction, the editor raises a number of fundamental questions concerning the future of cultural pluralism in Canada. While these questions are further elaborated in the primarily theoretical essays by Isajiw, Breton, and Newman, they are seldom addressed in the empirical studies which follow.

William Newman offers a concise analysis of the cultural bias of assimilation theory, which still informs much of the scholarship on ethnicity in North America. Similarly, Raymond Breton examines the radically different evaluations of ethnicity which follow from an "individual rights" and a "collective rights" philosophy. A number of factors appear to have played their part in enhancing the legitimacy of ethnicity as a basis for social organization and collective demands on the state. Breton argues that a general view has developed that social and governmental institutions are malleable and hence adaptable to ethnic diversity. This perspective contrasts with the assimilationist view that it is the people not the structures which must change.

Culture is not necessarily eroded by modernization, but changes and adapts. In his thoughtful piece with the tongue-in-cheek title, "Olga in Wonderland," Wsevolod Isajiw notes the relevance of ethnicity as a response to affective needs in a technological society. Similarly, John and Carolyn Matthiason note the adaptability of the Inuit culture of the Eastern Arctic to the growing impact of the Canadian political and economic system. In terms of the Matthiasons' analysis, the Inuit are not victims but participants in the determination of their fate.

In a rather different way, Frank Epp demonstrates the way in which it is only with the impact of urbanization and the pressures of the modern state that the Mennonites have begun to overcome internal divisions in forming an umbrella-organization, enhancing collective identity. They now possess the organizational means to act to preserve and strengthen group identity, but at the expense of being drawn much closer to the broader society they are at pains to reject. Here lies the irony of multiculturalism. Support is offered to an affirmation of ethnic identity, so long as this goes along with acceptance of individual integration into the dominant order. A principal function of ethnic organizations, noted by Clifford Jansen in his discussion of Italian immigrants in Toronto, is to assist the immigrant to adapt to the surrounding society and to take his place in the occupational structure.

Thus a number of questions remain to be asked. Does multiculturalism have the effect of reinforcing social inequality on an ethnic basis, or is it, alternatively, a means towards minimizing the impact of ethnic background on life-chances? It is an unfortunate feature of the volume that the majority of contributors fail to emulate the precision of the "theorists." The terms "cultural pluralism" and "ethnic mosaic" are used loosely and inconsistently. Little attention is given to

a comparative assessment of the different meanings and the different social and political significance which are attached to ethnicity by the various groups discussed.

In his piece on relations between francophones and Italian, Greek, and German immigrants in Montreal, as manifested in the conflict over language of schooling, Paul Cappon employs an imaginative methodology in demonstrating how social class relations, ideology, and ethnicity interact. The Matthiasons' piece on the Inuit shows a similar appreciation of the need to follow Breton's advice in seeking to understand ethnicity in terms of a dynamic approach to inter-group relations within the context of a changing social structure.

For the most part, however, the individual contributions are too narrowly focussed to add much to our understanding of the basic questions concerning cultural pluralism raised by the editor. Ethnic studies in Canada are flourishing, but, on the evidence of this volume, lack focus.

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The Invisible French: The French in Metropolitan Toronto
Thomas R. Maxwell
Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1977, pp. x, 174

Professor Maxwell has produced a book which is as timely as it is functional. In fact it fulfils three functions: it is the only comprehensive analysis of the French fact in Toronto; it is a sociological study of a fractured fragment the parts of which have little in common apart from language (the French in Toronto are made up of the European French, Franco-Ontarians, Québécois, and the Acadians); and it is a study which cannot be ignored in the current unity debate in the country, for it shows that the Péquiste argument is correct: despite a decade of official bilingualism the position of the French speakers in Toronto has not materially changed. The French Canadian in Toronto is not an equal partner with the English speaker in the national community. However, the difference between the French Canadian and other ethnic minorities is that, in addition to the preservation of cultural traditions on a voluntary spare-time basis, he also has some official assistance, in the television and radio stations and the French-language schools.

Maxwell has done a masterful job in tracing the history of French settlement in Toronto from the 1850's, showing that the reason for French-Canadian immigration to Toronto throughout has been the economic attraction of the industrial centre, particularly since World War Two. But, along with the attraction and growth in migration there has been a dispersal of the Toronto French community across the metropolitan area, which has destroyed any hopes of establishing a strong *viable* community. At one time this appeared possible, when in 1887 the French parish of Sacre Coeur was established, and again in 1937 when the new church and parish buildings were completed in downtown Toronto. These hopes, however, were doomed by the tremendous growth of the city between 1941 and 1961 which produced internal demographic changes which isolated the French-Canadian parish buildings in a rundown and working class section of downtown Toronto, whereas the French-Canadian population is physically spread across Metro.

Maxwell shows that the French population, as any migrant group, displays significant differences in social background. The primary cleavage is between the French Canadians and the French immigrants from France and French-speaking countries in Europe. The second cleavage is between the