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Blanshay, Linda Sema (2001) The nationalisation of ethnicity: a study of the proliferation of national mono-ethnocultural umbrella organisations in Canada. PhD thesis

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THE *NATIONALISATION* OF ETHNICITY:
A STUDY OF THE PROLIFERATION OF NATIONAL MONO-
ETHNOCULTURAL UMBRELLA ORGANISATIONS IN CANADA

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January, 2001.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe heartfelt thanks to many people. My Ph.D experience was made profoundly rewarding because of the support offered by participants in the study, my colleagues, and my family and friends. At the end of the day, it is their generosity of spirit that remains with me and has enriched this fascinating academic journey.

There are some specific mentions of gratitude that I must make.

Thanks to the Rotary Foundation, for first shipping me out to Glasgow as I requested on my application. The Rotary program emphasized 'service above self' which is an important and appropriate theme in which to depart on sociological work of this kind.

Thanks to my 'billeters' for keeping me warm, fed, and smiling on my many research trips over the years: the Kelmans in Toronto, Kim Elliott in Ottawa, and Rafe Bullick in Edinburgh.

Thanks to the many educators from Concordia University (notably, Chengiah Ragaven, and Margie Mendel at the School of Community and Public Affairs) and University of Toronto, who encouraged and inspired me in the pre-Ph.D academic years. Each, in his or her own way, planted in me an understanding of the importance of questioning.

Thanks to Colin Coates and Ged Martin at the Centre for Canadian Studies, Edinburgh University, for professional and moral support.

Enormous thanks and praise goes to my Doctoral supervisor, Professor Robert Miles. His advice and gentle criticisms helped advance the theoretical rigor of my work. Despite the many obstacles that I faced in pursuing this project, not once did he suggest that I reconsider my ideas or vision. Had it been otherwise, I doubt that I could have finished.

Much love and thanks goes to Mom, Dad and Rob for their unwavering support. I don't know if it is like this in all families: They don't know what you are doing or why, but if it is your dream, then it must be valued and supported. This was my experience and has been one of the greatest blessings to realize.

To all of my dear friends over these last long years, may our connections continue to grow and may I be able to thank you on many more occasions together in the future.



ABSTRACT

In Canada, national ethnocultural advocacy groups are highly visible and are consulted by government officials in areas of multiculturalism policy as well as other areas of social policy and constitutional reform. Unlike local 'ethnic' associations that arise for a myriad of community specific purposes, national level 'ethnic' umbrella associations occupy a wholly different political space. One implication of this national level of representation is that *who* and *what* the group is becomes re-configured from a form of social organisation to a form of broad *representation*. At the national level, the organisation not only comes to represent the concrete aspirations of group members, but also becomes a guardian and advocate of a vision of 'the group'. The process through which the 'group' boundaries are socially and politically constructed is the subject of this thesis.

Writers tend to explain the proliferation of national 'ethnic' umbrella organisations through one of four theories: interest group theory, social movement theory, theories of ethnic mobilisation, and state intervention. There is relative agreement that demographic changes resulting from the liberalisation of Canada's immigration policy in 1967 led to larger and more politically active ethnocultural communities. Also, writers argue that the policy of Multiculturalism established in 1971 created opportunity for ethnocultural political participation as never before. There are strengths and weaknesses to each of these approaches, and they are analysed in the thesis. However, none of the existing theories explain how and why organisations formed at the national level at given periods of time, and how the substantive delineations of representation (ie. in terms of 'racial' or 'ethnic' identities) were determined.

The premise of this research is that the organisations cannot be explained in terms of the assumption that they are extensions of 'ethnic' groups. Rather, the story of *what they are* must be addressed through a historical, 'genealogical', study on *how they came into being*, which involves a critical analysis of the relationship between the organisations and the state. The relationship is studied using conceptual apparatus elaborated primarily in the work of certain European writers, specifically Gerard Noiriel and Robert Miles. The main concept applied is *nationalisation*, in relation to other processes such as racialisation and ethnicisation, in order to show that interior state processes of group categorisation and social differentiation affect group boundaries of political representation.

All existing organisations fitting the criteria of national mono-ethnocultural umbrella formation were researched (almost 70 in total) in terms of the circumstances of their formations and analysed against a historical narrative of state intervention. The primary research methods used were interviewing with key organisation and government officials, secondary historical research, and archival research on the history of government 'ethnic liaison' programs and primary documents of the organisations. The research does not explore each organisation in depth, but rather analyses the circumstances of their initial establishments, taking into account the migration and incorporation experiences of members, and investigating in particular the interaction of state processes in the organisation formation.

The aggregate picture of years of formation seen in the time line of formations, and the evidence of a 'liaison' relationship between government officials and the organisers, show that the national umbrella organisations did not stem from 'ethnic' based political dynamics alone. Rather, they were part of larger processes stemming from the *nationalising* state. The findings show that there were several

booms in national mono-ethnocultural umbrella formation in this century. Following the Second World War, in a new Canadian *citizenship regime*, Eastern European 'ethnic' umbrella organisations arose, overdetermined by politics of the Cold War. In the late 1970's and early 1980's, new organisations arose to mediate Canada's national unity crisis. In the 1980's, a boom in 'visible minority' based organisation was supported by the government to mediate the country's multiculturalism policy which is a key component of the contemporary politics of national unity.

The very centralisation of the organisations at the national level, at given times, reflected Canadian *nationalisation* and the seeping of the 'national' into civil society with the growth of the social welfare state. However, it was not only in form that 'ethnic representation' mediated the national construct, but also in content. The boundaries and substantive aims as seen reflected in each organisation are composites of the articulating processes such as *nationalisation*, racialisation and ethnicisation. The data illustrates the ways in which the state administers difference affecting the possibilities for claims-making and representation. Therefore, these organisations tell a story of not only a history of 'ethnic' politics and a ubiquitous relationship with government officials, but also shed light on the creation of *categories* of 'ethnic' belonging that are taken for granted today in the public domain.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACCC	Advisory Committee on Cooperation in Canadian Citizenship
ANF	Armenian National Federation
AFN	Assembly of First Nations
AUUC	Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
BCCC	Belarusan Canadian Coordinating Committee
BUF	Black United Front
BCCA	Bosnian Canadian Community Association
BNA	Byelorussian National Association
CAF	Canadian Arab Federation
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCC	Canadian Citizenship Council
CCCM	Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism
CCEC	Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship
CCF	Canadian Citizenship Federation
CCCJ	Canadian Council of Christians and Jews
CEC	Canadian Ethnocultural Council
CEPF	Canadian Ethnic Press Federation
CFAC	Canadian Folk Arts Council
CHC	Canadian Hispanic Congress
CHF	Canadian Hungarian Federation
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CJC	Canadian Jewish Congress
CLFDB	Canadian Labour Force Development Board, Visible Minority Committee
CNCR	Canadian National Committee on Refugees and Victims of Political Persecution
CPC	Canadian Polish Congress
CSL	Canadian Slovak League
CBO	Canadians of Bangladesh Origin
CCNC	Chinese Canadian National Council
CCB	Canadian Citizenship Branch
CAP	Congress of Aboriginal Peoples
CCF	Cooperative Commonwealth Federation
CAAC	Council of Afghan Associations in Canada
CMCC	Council of Muslim Communities of Canada
CNEOC	Council of National Ethnocultural Organizations in Canada
CPS	Croatian Peasant Society
CFC	Cypriot Federation of Canada
CNAC	Czechoslovak National Association of Canada
DNWS	Department of National War Services
ECCC	Estonian Central Council in Canada
ECF	Ethiopian Canadian Federation
FCAC	Federation of Cambodian Associations of Canada

FCTA	Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations
FDAC	Federation of Danish Associations in Canada
FKCA	Federation of Korean-Canadian Associations
FLAC	Federation of Lao Associations of Canada
FRC	Federation of Russian Canadians
FSSC	Federation of Sikh Societies of Canada
FCCF	Finnish Canadian Cultural Federation
FSOC	Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada
GCC	German Canadian Congress
HCC	Hellenic Canadian Congress
INL	Icelandic National League
ISAP	Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program
ITC	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada
LNFC	Latvian National Federation in Canada
LCC	Lithuanian Canadian Community
MCF	Maltese Canadian Federation
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
MNC	Metis National Council
NACS	National Alliance of Canadian Sikhs
NACOI	National Association of Canadians of Origin in India
NAJC	National Association of Japanese Canadians
NB	Nationalities Branch
NBCC	National Black Coalition of Canada
NCIC	National Congress of Italian Canadians
NCBAC	National Council of Barbadian Associations in Canada
NCCFA	National Council of Canadian Filipino Associations
NCGC	National Council of Ghanaian Canadians
NCJSOC	National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organizations in Canada
NCTTO	National Council of Trinidad and Tobago Organisations
NDP	New Democratic Party
NFPC	National Federation of Pakistani Canadians
NFSS	National Federation of Sikh Societies
NFB	National Film Board
NIB	National Indian Brotherhood
NIC	National Indian Council
NICC	National Indo-Canadian Council
NJCCA	National Japanese Canadian Citizenship Association
NOIVMW	National Organisation of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women
NMEUO	National mono-ethnocultural umbrella organization
PCNC	Portuguese Canadian National Congress
RNC	Roumanian National Council
RCCAS	Russian Canadian Cultural Aid Society
SOS	Secretary of State
SNSS	Serbian National Shield Society
SCNC	Slovak Canadian National Council

SCC	Slovenian Canadian Council
SNFC	Slovenian National Federation of Canada
TCAGC	Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians
UCC	Ukrainian Central Congress
UMOC	United Macedonians Organisation of Canada
VCF	Vietnamese Canadian Federation

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INTRODUCTION

THE FORK IN THE ROAD

In October of 1978, the Department of Multiculturalism convened its third national Conference where a Community Leaders' Workshop on the *Future of Ethnocultural Organisations in Canada* was held. The participants, representing various 'ethnocultural' communities in Canada, discussed strategies for "access to the institutions of the wider society" and in particular, the viability of a national coalition of all ethnic representational associations in Canada. The Report of the Proceedings¹ reveals a clear division in opinion on the potential for such an organisational formation. On the one hand, participants expressed idealism regarding the prospect of building coalitions around common issues of importance. Such a formation was treated by some as if it was the 'pinnacle' of 'ethnic' advocacy in the nation-state. The discussant of the workshop remarked that it:

... represents a furtherance of the Canadianization of ethnic groups as they become committed to social change and redistribution of political and economic power within the larger society of which they are a constituent part².

Adopting a national representational frame signified, for this speaker, an important step in the 'integration' process; the *Canadianization* process. The objective was to deal with the government from the position of an 'ethnic bloc', because it was perceived as the most effective configuration of representation in the Canadian liberal democratic system of national interest group politics. Forming a national

¹ Documented in the "Community Leaders Workshop II: The Future of Ethnocultural Organizations in Canada" in Multiculturalism: A Canadian Reality. A Report of the *Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: October, 27-29, 1978).

coalition would provide greater access to political participation, as it had for other special interest groups. This type of representational configuration would gain greater official recognition for 'ethnic' representative organisations, as well as opportunities for government funding. *Nationalising* the 'ethnic' representational configuration proffered an economy of rewards.

Less hopeful of the potential gains of such unions was Tom O'Leary, who presented a *Supplementary Report* containing the following comments:

In terms of future coalition building, which was a theme that came up all day, the ability to establish viable coalitions on a national level involving all ethnic groups is utopian, to say the least³.

Mr. O'Leary gave several reasons for this. He explained that there is a lack of a shared agenda among 'ethnic' organisations given that some organisations are concerned with cultural retention while others, namely, recent 'visible minority' immigrants, are concerned with jobs and housing: "You cannot take language retention and put it next to racism and say they are the same thing". He pointed out that a national representative body of 'ethnic' groups in Canada would have as an inevitable consequence the dilution of agendas and a distancing from the constituents it would officially represent. Moreover, he added, "there is a fundamental feeling of suspicion and mistrust and insecurity about the concerns of government agencies". He summed up a popular view regarding dependency of organisations on government funding: "You have to break the umbilical cord as it exists now"⁴.

This exchange is germane to the research reported here, considering, in hindsight, the fork in the road 'ethnic' minority representative organisations faced. Mr. O'Leary's perspective lost in favour of that of his "utopian" counterparts. At that

² Ibid. p.128

³ Ibid. p.130

very conference, behind closed doors, private meetings took place between government officials and certain invited 'ethnic leaders'. Those key 'ethnic' leaders began the task of creating a council of national 'ethnic' federations in close co-operation with officials from the government Department of Multiculturalism. By 1980, the *Council of National Ethnocultural Organisations of Canada* (CNEOC) was formed, later to be called the *Canadian Ethnocultural Council* (CEC). It was the first official national ethnocultural advocacy umbrella group slated to address issues of 'Multicultural' rights in Canada while intended to be composed of a comprehensive array of national mono-ethnocultural representation in Canada.

With the establishment of this national umbrella group, the early 1980s saw the greatest proliferation of national mono-ethnocultural representative organisations. 'Ethnic' groups that did not have a national umbrella group formation sought to create one in order to participate in the new national umbrella organisation. Membership in the CEC expanded steadily over the years as more national representative organisations were established. Of the 39 members of the CEC in 1996, half (19) were original members in their present form (see appendix A). The proliferation of individual mono-ethnocultural umbrella organisations was accompanied by the greatest government commitment to organisation funding ever, thus cementing a dependency relationship with the government for the next decade.

The relationship between minority advocacy groups and the state appeared to many social scientists to be 'brand-new', a trajectory that could be traced back only as far as the policy of Multiculturalism, assumed by most to be its congenital forebearer (discussed further in Chapter One). However, contrary to this common understanding, this thesis argues that it did not represent a new development but

⁴ Tom O'Leary, *ibid.* p.131.

rather the climax of a process that had begun decades earlier. 'Ethnic' representation had been rationalised into national units since the turn of the century, but certain organisations were created and *nationalised* in a government intervention tradition since as early as the Second World War.

Original Contributions of the Research

One of the main original contributions of this research is to show through data collected in the government archives and from the organisations themselves, that a systematic and highly politicised relationship between national 'ethnic' associations and the government began much earlier in relation to larger political concerns of the Second World War and then the Cold War. The second major unique contribution of this thesis is that it applies aspects of European citizenship and racism theory to the Canadian case. Specifically, it is argued that the relationship between 'ethnic' representation and the government was defined and shaped by a state *nationalisation* process. Therefore, this thesis looks not only at the causes for formation in terms of timing, but looks at how various state processes in relation to government intervention mechanisms influenced the resulting configuration of 'ethnic' representation as well as the organisations' ideological underpinnings. It contributes to the existing sociological literature by using these particular forms of 'ethnic' organisation as a window onto the processes of 'ethnic' boundary construction in the Canadian state. It will be discussed in Chapter One how there is a lack of study devoted to this type of 'ethnic' associational life in general and this thesis addresses this gap. This thesis describes and analyses the conditions in which mono-ethnocultural national representative groups formed over the years, focusing on how they became organised and recognised at the national level, and why along the

specific mono-ethnic boundaries (eg. in terms of nation of origin in most cases and 'race' in others).

The data collected reflects the history of government interference in national 'ethnic' organisation formation from the Second World War until the early 1990s. There are many ways in which social groups are classified in the state, and in which the state *nationalises* belonging and *otherness* (which is the topic of Chapter Three). However, the data collection and analysis of national ethnocultural umbrella group formation focuses specifically on the role of 'ethnic liaison' officers in the Citizenship Branch and then the Multiculturalism Directorate as the primary historical narrative for this state process. These government policy and program initiatives and the conjunctural context in which they were introduced, explain the reasons for organisation formation at the times that they occurred, as well as the roles they played in Canadian 'national unity' politics. In the process, the determination of the substance of the 'ethnic' categories is analysed. The theoretical framework (outlined in Chapter Two) posits that any discussion of 'ethnic' process or phenomena must be studied in relation to state processes and particularly, the consolidation of the 'national' project.

The idea of a 'fork in the road' to explain the historical juncture faced in 1978 was used at the beginning of this chapter because the metaphor raises the point that in history there are several roads that could have been taken; why this one was chosen is what needs to be explained. It acknowledges momentarily what did *not* happen, for example: increased independence of organisations, or the formation of issue-specific coalitions rather than coalitions based on the perceived mutual interests derived through 'racial', or 'ethnic' minority group 'membership'. It is asked why 'ethnic' organisations formed at the times that they did and how they absorbed the discourse

of 'national solidarity' during the Cold War and then that of multiculturalism later on, mediating the contradictions through *nationalised* configurations of representation. The general assumption is that the clustering of organisational formations on the timeline reveals structural influences on the 'ethnic' mobilisations, based in the *nationalisation* process.

The events of 1978 bring into focus a process that did not start in that year but reached fruition at that time. It is necessary to interpret what made this chain of events possible by 1978 and therefore the data collection aims to determine the original circumstances surrounding the formations of these highly particular forms of 'ethnic' organising in the Canadian social formation.

UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The unit of analysis is 'ethnic organisations'. However, 'what they are' as national, mono-'ethnic', umbrella forms of social organisation is precisely what is researched in this thesis. It is not only the lack of research on these organisations that makes it an important subject but 'what they are' theoretically, is important for the study of 'ethnic' boundary formations in general in the Canadian case, and is the theoretical focus of Chapter One. This thesis focuses specifically on the organisations and not 'ethnic groups' for this reason⁵. The approach is influenced by 'Feminist social historiography' (Pierson and Chaudhuri 1998; Valverde, 1991) because first, it questions empiricist historiography that assumes to explain histories of pre-given categories, such as "women" or "ethnic group" (in this thesis the latter category is the

⁵ There are many established 'ethnic' groups in Canada with organisational representation that are not discussed in this thesis, such as the Tamils, Ismaelis, Hutterites, Somalis, etc. While some of these

primary focus). The organisations are not products of pre-existing 'ethnic' identity groups but rather, as it will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters One and Two, they reflect processes of categorisation based on articulating significations of ethnicity, gender, 'race' and class in the 'national' state.

NMEUOS: Provisional Definition

The criteria for inclusion of an organisation are: 'mono-ethnic' membership; national scope; umbrella structure; and ongoing advocacy mandate. National mono-ethnocultural umbrella organisations (NMEUOs) represent regional and local mono-ethnocultural associations purportedly of a *single* 'ethnicity' *across* Canada. The term 'ethnic' will be analysed critically in the following chapters, but for the present purposes Kymlicka's (1995) conceptual definition is applied here, when referring to those social groups in Canadian society that arise from individual and familial chain migrations. The term excludes 'national minorities', ie. those groups seeking political autonomy (on a territorial base) such as the Quebecois⁶. Moreover, the *polyethnic* segment of society represents those groups that are normally marginalised by virtue of their 'difference' in the dominant society.

The 'ethnic' boundaries of the organisations are sometimes based on religion, or mother tongue, but mostly on the country of origin. Umbrella organisations delimit membership and participation in various ways that are group specific but often there is overlap. The member associations have various functions and projects; from sports clubs to political fraternal societies. The national board is usually democratically

groups have international organisational structures, they did not have operating national level organisations in Canada at the time of this research.

⁶ However, although Native peoples have been advocating for forms of sovereignty, Native politicisation is included in the study because their organisational developments were affected by the same administrative categorisations and government interventions as the *poly-ethnic* organisations.

elected. In many situations, elites are voted by the grassroots association membership. Sometimes it is 'congress style' (one member, one vote) or for example, sometimes it is 'federation style' (eg. rep by pop). The organisations are ongoing, and are generally dedicated to upholding the 'interests' of the 'group', and co-ordinating internal governance and 'external relations'.

The aims and objectives of the organisations vary across groups but generally they assert a representative voice for their constituents on matters directly concerning the group or individuals belonging to the community *at large*. So even though they only directly represent the associations that are official members, they do often speak on behalf of the 'larger community' in certain situations. The federal government acknowledges that they are not ultimate spokesbodies for entire 'ethnic' communities in Canada yet do consult them as 'official voices' on matters concerning the 'community' in general, in Royal Commission inquiries for example, and other forums of consultation. The Canadian Ethnocultural Council (CEC) is a clearinghouse for issues in common amongst all of the NMEUOs. In some cases, member associations may not agree on policy issues yet will create consensus in order to have a united front as the 'ethno-racial' *multicultural*⁷ voice in Canada.

There is very little research on this particular type of organisation (which will be discussed further in the literature review in Chapter One) and therefore there was no dependable source that outlined the population of organisations in existence. There are several possible reasons for this lack of centralised directory of organisations. Generally, it is difficult to apply the strict criteria above, which explains why the final list remained approximate rather than fixed. For one, many organisations are relatively recent. Older ones are often changing in form. The

individual activists involved are normally tied together through social or formal networks. They may join together and enter the public policy arena in reaction to events and then disband until the next occasion. It is often difficult to discern, among newer organisations, which ones are short or long term. Second, there are many layers to 'ethnic' advocacy. Often provincial or local organisations have a role in national activities and therefore may participate in the same arena as the officially 'national' organisations, although as it will be seen in this thesis, these organisations are often encouraged to join with the national umbrella or create one if it doesn't exist already.

Finally, although an organisation appears to have national representation with a democratically elected board etc, they are often not supported by their supposed 'entire community'. In fact in many cases, there are competing national organisations and it is key to analyse why one becomes recognised by the government as the official one. However, many organisations that are marginalised in the 'ethnic' political arena represent large segments of the population. This is the position of many self-defined 'grassroots' organisations. Most Canadian citizens aren't even aware that their official 'ethnic representation' exists (Moodley, 1981; Breton, 1986). It is broadly acknowledged that the officially legitimate organisations do not adequately represent their constituents yet they are approached and funded by the government regardless of this democratic deficit.

The issue of whether the organisation actually represents the group is not the research question. They are "recognised" by government officials and state institutions and consulted in a public affairs capacity. The question here is why ethno-immigrant 'interests' have been constructed along the particular lines of

⁷ By *multicultural* voice it is meant that these groups are generally in consensus on advocating for the

representative national or 'ethnic' origin and why they are implicitly supported by government and institutionalised as such at the national level. The conceptualisation of ethnocultural and other types of minority groups is still a confusing topic for bureaucracies. It is the weakness of the conceptualisation of ethnicity and its organisations and its confounding with anti-racism and inequality issues in Canadian politics that is also part of the theoretical relevance of this project. The methodological priority however at the first stage of research involved identifying the population of organisations.

CONSOLIDATING THE LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

While Royal Commission submission lists provided a starting point for names of organisations, it was necessary to get an idea of how many organisations were operating in total and the nature of the organisations in order to delineate the population for a possible representative sample. The starting point was the 38 organisations of this type affiliated under the umbrella organisation of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council (CEC). It was decided that these organisations would make up the initial focus of the research since it was the establishment of the CEC that represented the epitome of the historical process under investigation. The point was to analyse a particular configuration of 'ethnic' political interests and the CEC and its members were the primary players in this field of political action. However, it was also felt that other organisations who were not members of the CEC might have a similar relationship with the federal government and should not be excluded from the research. Membership in the CEC might represent a common variable among those

organisations, thereby creating a bias in the sample. Exploratory research was needed to assess how many other organisations were in existence outside of the CEC. It was necessary to identify the entire population of organisations in order to make decisions on representativeness. Since no comparative work had been done on this particular type of organisation, and indeed many have not been researched at all individually, the range of existing organisations had to be identified before a sample could be determined.

A decision was made to analyse the formations of all existing organisations rather than choosing a sample for two reasons: First, it is exploratory research and general information on each organisation would be contributing substantially to the available literature. Second, and most importantly, since the point of the thesis was to investigate the effects of the state process of *nationalisation*, a comprehensive overview of the timeline of organisation formations was chosen instead of a case study form. As much information as possible would be needed on the range of organisations established in the period since the Second World War in order to address the historical hypothesis. Although a final list still had not been definitively established, early in the research it was decided that a holistic approach would be taken.

In the meantime, information was collected on the core CEC organisations. After receiving permission from the CEC in the spring of 1995, letters were sent to the Presidents of all the member organisations, accompanied with a questionnaire which sought information regarding the history, aims and objectives, organisational structure and other details concerning the organisation's 'raison d'être' (see appendix C). The letter contained a self addressed, stamped envelope. The representatives were told that in lieu of filling out the questionnaire in its entirety, they could feel free to

send pre-printed material that addressed specific questions. Furthermore, it was suggested that they make reference to published works on the subject that could be accessed either at a library or through a documentation centre. Five months after the letters were sent, a total of 5 replies had been received out of a total of 38 requests sent.

Due to the low response rate and the variable depth of the responses that were received, it became apparent that the organisations would have to be approached directly by the researcher. The interviews were especially important with more recent organisations because of the lack of printed historical information available. Moreover, the secondary purpose of on-site interviewing was to gain access to the organisations themselves. By visiting them for interviews, or arranging interviews with key witnesses, printed material on the subject was accessed from their offices or the private collections of former or present board members and executive.

While information on the members of the CEC and the history of the CEC itself was pursued, a comprehensive search of all existing organisations of this kind in Canada was undertaken. Several directories and lists were consulted to construct a master list. By far the most comprehensive source was the "Directory of Associations in Canada" (Micromedia, 1996). Each entry was examined for 'ethnic' or 'racial' content or relevance, and contacted if it seemed to fit the criteria for inclusion in the study. From this search another (approximately) 110 organisations were identified (outside of the CEC members). They were all contacted to see if they fit the criteria for inclusion in the study. It was found that although some of the organisations listed in the Directory were indeed national and 'mono-ethnocultural', they had concerns that were considered too narrow to merit inclusion, such as insurance brotherhoods, or banking collectives ("benevolent societies", etc.), for example. The list was

narrowed down to 32 plus the CEC organisations, rendering the master list at approximately 70 organisations. The 'master list' (appendix D) was consolidated through cross-referencing among various sources, such as, the 1995-96 Department of Multiculturalism's mailing list which contains 45 national mono-ethnocultural organisation names, among other sources (see Bibliography A) and word of mouth⁸.

Almost fifty mono-ethnocultural organisations were operating in 1996 within a network of national representative structures such as the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, and the Canadian Labour Force Development Board. In addition, there are four nationally representative Native Peoples organisations. Outside of these organisations there is roughly another 15 organisations which fit the criteria but were not involved in the above cited federations or umbrella groups. Therefore, there were roughly seventy organisations that fit the criteria for inclusion and it was decided that all would be researched in terms of establishing their historical outlines, instead of drawing a sample. Again, as stated earlier, the unit of analysis is the organisation and not the 'ethnic group' and it was felt that it would slide the research into an essentialist frame of reference if organisations were then chosen based on characteristics of 'ethnic group'. The point of the study was not to study each organisation in depth but rather to find out the circumstances of its initial

⁸ Other sources include: *The Canadian Council for Refugees, Fall Consultation Conference*, Hotel Europa, Montreal, Canada, November 23-26, 1994, List of Participants; and, the *Access to Justice Directory (Field Test Version)* 1995. Prepared by Pam Ellis, Shelley Trevethan, and Marc Tyrrell. Department of Justice. Canada, and; "Advocacy in Race Relations" in the Resource Guide: *Eliminating Racial Discrimination in Canada*. 1990. Multiculturalism and Citizenship, Canada, and; *Working Together Towards Equality: an Overview of Race Relations Initiatives*. 1990. Multiculturalism and Citizenship. Canada. and finally; *Situation de la gestion des communications dans les organismes multiculturels et interculturels du Canada: Rapport sur les consultations menées en 1988 et 1989 auprès de 40 organismes canadiens hors Québec oeuvrant auprès des communautés ethnoculturelles*. avril 1993: Institut Interculturel de Montreal. and the *Repertoire des organismes des communautés culturelles du Québec*. 5e édition. 1994. réalisée par le ministère des affaires internationales de l'immigration et des communautés culturelles (Sainte Foy, Québec: Les Publications du Québec).

establishment, given the circumstances of the immigration experience, and investigating in particular the interaction of state processes in the formation.

The benefit of the comprehensive approach was that it enabled the researcher to “gain access to specialised problems and smaller populations that otherwise would not be studied” (Singleton et.al, 1988:336) and which play an inherent role in ‘ethnic politics’ in Canada but are typically ignored in the mainstream ‘ethnic relations’ research in Canada (Patrias, 1994). The value of studying all the groups is that a more accurate picture of differential government intervention mechanisms and rationales is revealed.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To gather historical data on the reasons for the formation of national organisations and in particular on the role of state intervention, several methods were used. The two basic methods were documentary research and interviewing, both with the aim of learning specific historical information. The aim was to construct historical *composites* of each organisation’s ‘reason for formation’. This composite information was then compiled into a ‘thick’ timeline to be compared to a simultaneous historical trajectory of *nationalisation* mechanisms institutionalised in government ‘liaison’ initiatives. To create the composites, available data in the form of primary documents such as annual reports, newsletters, constitutions, and correspondence belonging to organisations was used. These were obtained either from the organisations themselves or from collections donated to the National Archives (particularly for older organisations) stored in the Manuscripts division there (see Bibliography). The collections consulted were either donated by an organisation included in the study, or

by an individual who had actively participated in the organisation and left files (eg. files of Hans and Sonja Roeder and George Bonavia). Although many organisations donated historical files from their earlier years, very often the language of the documents was in the language of the country of origin. Therefore some of the rich sources of information such as minutes of meetings, and early reports and correspondences, could not be explored by the researcher.

Interview subjects were chosen by whether they participated in the formation of the organisation or if they had insider knowledge of the circumstances of formation. The purpose was not to assess their attitudes or opinions but rather to gather historical information that mostly, is unavailable in printed form, published or unpublished. Eventually, 41 interviews were completed representing 41 separate organisations and an additional 25 interviews were completed with key informants in the field such as government officials or community workers. Through these multiple sources, rough organisation *composites* were drawn. They summarise the various methodological findings on the primary reasons for formation and circumstances that enabled the formation at that particular time.

Although a primary focus is 'ethnic liaison' history with the government, any other relevant circumstances or key event provided in interviews or outlined in documentary sources was included to attempt to portray the context of politicisation of a given organisation. This was done to try to reflect the range of choices available to the organisation participants, as well as to take into consideration aspects of unique "organisational style" (Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992). Aside from not wanting to skew the organisational historical information toward government intervention unfairly, the role of government involvement is only understandable in many cases

within the context of other relevant events and circumstances to the organisation and its leaders.

In most *official* accounts of organisational formation, the role of government officials, whether significant or minor, is left out and therefore it was a factor that was primarily revealed in the interview material, archival documents, and in some cases, secondary historical material. The information was normally corroborated by the data gathered from the Citizenship (and later Multiculturalism) program reports and correspondences. To study the history of government 'ethnic liaison' rationales and strategies, secondary historical sources were used, and archival collections, the most important being the Ministry Registry files that were consulted for the years between 1941-1978. Approximately 120 volumes of files covering this historical period were consulted. For later years, government documents were obtained through program officers employed at the Multiculturalism Directorate.

QUESTIONNAIRE AND ORGANIZATION HISTORY COMPOSITES:

The interview schedule reflected the original questionnaire sent to the CEC member organisations. It contained ten general questions relating to the history and mandate of the organisation. Background information on each organisation was obtained through secondary sources and primary documents such as organisation constitutions. The elements of the questionnaire are pointed out below and were researched drawing on the multiple sources.

The history of immigration to Canada in terms of waves and conditions of entry was researched as background preparatory work and also essential to understanding the process of mobilisation in Canada. The story of 'entry' into the

social formation provides information on the insertion into production roles and possible issues which explain 'reasons for organisation formation'. The consideration of *push* and *pull* factors of migration help to contextualise the substance of boundary maintenance and identity and to explain possible politicisation motivations.

Year of establishment of the organisation was the first question on the form. It was key to set the establishment date in an overall historical framework, in relation to other organisations in the population as well as possible state influence. The intent was to go deeper than some of the individual reasons for formation given by the groups. The date of formation given is based on the accepted date provided by the organisation as the time when the organisational structure became activated. In some cases, the date was determined in relation to the organisation's legal incorporation. For others, incorporation was not necessarily undertaken immediately and therefore the establishment date is based on other factors, such as the establishment of a working constitution.

Organisation representatives were asked to give the 'story of formation' or stated historical event that influenced the mobilisation at the national level. In answer to this question, it was usually said that 'there was a *need* for a representative organisation' and a general ongoing threat to the 'group' was stated such as discrimination, or need for cultural preservation. Probing questions were asked in order to understand why the organisation formed that year and not before or after, when that same situation may have also been in existence. For example, the role of leadership, especially particular individuals in the mobilisation process who may have single-handedly altered the course of the organisation's history, was investigated. The respondent was asked if s/he remembered any particular event that had occurred, or political issue that sparked a community response. Furthermore, the

role of the government in the mobilisation process was discussed and issues of funding and government affiliations were considered.

The next question referred to the official stated aims and objectives of the organisation, because it partially encapsulated the *raison d'etre* of the organisation, and usually betrayed the historical conjunctural context in which it was formed. These aspects are usually related to the context of immigration, the politics and economics of the place of origin, and social location in the Canadian social formation and therefore were considered important compliments to the 'story of formation'. Aims and objectives ideally represent why the organisation rationalised its own necessity. The question on 'methods to obtain their goals' furthers this same logic. It can represent the kernel of action and self-perceived organisational historicity.

The question regarding major changes occurring in the organisation gives further information on the stated aims and objectives because it potentially points out the issues which were initially important to the organisation which may have changed, or to external factors which altered its course as opposed to the initial course. The question on diaspora links was asked with the same purpose of including potential motivations for formation and *raison d'etre* outside of one of the main ones hypothesised in this thesis (ie. state intervention).

Factors such as organizational structure and member associations were included in order to assess the comparative forms the organisations take in terms of size and reach. These variables were not systematically analysed but were checked in order to investigate how comparable the organisations were in terms of structure and mandate.

Funding sources was a key question in isolating the role of the state in organisational formation. One of the changes to the questionnaire, after eight test

cases, was to this question. Originally, information was sought regarding percentage of government funding and amounts and sources of private funding and how this funding situation changed over the years. But interviewees were not always forthcoming with information. Since it was far too time consuming and unlikely that an accurate funding picture for each organisation could be attained, the uneven information was used simply as an overall guide to aspects of the government 'ethnic liaison' approach in a given time period. Funding is only one aspect of an institutionalised relationship.

LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

There is very little in-depth secondary historical material available on the formations of these organisations. Therefore, various methods of data collection were used but these were not necessarily straightforward in terms of access to historical facts, or circumvention of inherent biases. The interviews were not taped and were conducted on the promise of anonymity. The reason for this is the amount of politically sensitive information in terms of government funding, differential funding support, criticism of other organisations and government representatives, among other issues. Given the lack of available information precisely because of the politically sensitive nature of the subject, anonymity was considered essential to gaining as much information as possible.

However, even the promise of anonymity did not avail to the researcher all of the 'richness' of the reasons for formation. The purpose of the interview was not to be able to analyse attitudes or qualitative views but rather to serve as a way of obtaining historical information that is undocumented. Besides the problems of

documenting “truth” in any historiographical undertaking, bias is a matter of course in ‘interest group’ politics. Often, the informants who participated in the study were intent on maintaining a certain image of the organisation and did not want to discuss initial government links. On other occasions, the characters involved allowed their personal advancement to interfere with ‘objective’ portrayals of organisation origins. In many cases, especially with regard to organisations more than ten years old, founding members were not available for interviews because of old age or infirmity. For the oldest organisations, founding members are deceased.

Therefore the primary documents and secondary historical material available on the organisations were used in tandem with the interview material. Sometimes these sources were complimentary, sometimes contradictory. The primary documents contained gaps and were uneven across organisations, because they were primarily intended for public affairs usage and not for historical documentation. In the government documents, there were significant gaps. Archival record Finding Aids were not available for the hundreds of boxes submitted by the ministry. This made ordering documents difficult since researchers are not allowed to view boxes before ordering them (Access to Information Act privacy regulations). An archivist provided clues and guidance for ordering relevant boxes. As many boxes as possible were ordered over a three year period. Each file had to be screened by an ATIP (Access to Information Privacy) officer, which slowed and limited the research process.

Of course the tantamount problem with gathering information on the links between organisations and government officials in the early stages of organisation formation was that these links were purposely not officially documented (or often in confidential internal reports only), but rather were carried out over the phone and in private meetings. In interviews, government officers were not forthcoming with

substantive information on their links with the organisations. The concrete ties between government and organisation in the initial formation years were carried out by bureaucratic administrators, or Ministerial level officials, in rather innocuous ways so as not to *appear* publicly as interfering in organisational development. It came in the offer of consulting advice and application forms, etc. Since the 1970s, it had been the practice of a particular senior programme manager to “strip” (ie. pull from storage and destroy) the files pertaining to government intervention in NMEUO formations in order to maintain the confidentiality of this relationship⁹. Through the use of multiple sources the organisational histories are outlined more fully, given the inherent problems and limitations of each method in a study of this scope.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

It is one thing to describe the organisations, it is another to conceptualise them. Chapter One will set up the discussion of ‘what they are’ theoretically and for heuristic purposes will point out ‘what they are *not*’. It provides an overview of mainly Canadian sociological literature that seeks to explain issues in ‘ethnic’ and ‘racial’ politicisation and mobilisation. However, it is maintained that, given the lack of research on NMEUOs as a particular form of ‘ethnic’ mobilisation, existing theories tend to be limited in terms of their explanatory effectiveness. For that reason, as well as others described, an alternative framework is offered in Chapter Two. Components of the theoretical approach are drawn from European debates in the sociology of racism and citizenship issues. A social constructionist approach toward ‘ethnicity’ and related formations is applied. It is argued that to understand the

⁹ This was described to the researcher in an interview with a Senior Programme Officer (#65).

evolution of the organisations, a historical approach is necessary that grounds the analysis in the role of the interventionist *nationalising* social welfare state.

Chapter Three offers historical background that supports the hypothesis of the *nationalisation* of Canadian society. State initiatives in creating a national economy, culture, and centralised national polity are traced. Three main 'National Policy periods' are delineated. It also outlines a historical narrative on the development of Canadian 'citizenship', as a legal, social and bureaucratic institution, which acts as a backdrop to the data chapters to follow. It provides a substantive historical framework for the narrative on the development of an 'ethnic liaison' infrastructure in Canada, mediated by the 'national' project, which interacted with organisational proliferation.

Chapter Four begins with a brief overview of organisations that formed from the turn of the century, showing how they were qualitatively different from the organisations that formed from the Second World War onward. The Chapter continues the discussion of organisational formations framed within the historical events of the Second World War, the Cold War and the expansion of the social welfare state between the years of 1945 to 1959. These years were the 'first steps' in Canadian government 'ethnic liaison' initiatives and show the inherent relationship between the Citizenship Branch and the newly forming NMEUOs.

Chapter Five covers the period from 1960 until 1977, which represents a third National policy era in Canada and shows how new discourses and organisational practices emerged in tandem with the conjunctural changes undergone in the state. These years were defined by changes on the international level and domestically in Canada as Quebec politics began to pull heavily at 'national unity'. Continuing the chronological narrative of Chapter Four, it is shown why these organisations formed

in this period, explaining the resulting configuration of boundaries and representation and their mediation of citizenship discourses and practices.

Chapter Six covers the CEC era, when the landscape for 'ethnic' umbrella representation reached its pinnacle with renewed government interest and funding. This era contained many of the government rationales of earlier periods in addition to new political discourses reflected in government interference. The Chapter ends with a discussion on the demise of government support and the contemporary 'ethnic' political landscape in tandem with a change in the Canadian *citizenship regime*.

The conclusion summarises the common threads throughout the history of national umbrella group formation since the Second World War and weighs the role of the *nationalising* state against the specific circumstances of the formations. The classic approaches to 'ethnic mobilisation' offered in Chapter One are re-evaluated, and then the alternative theoretical framework (outlined in Chapter Two) is reconsidered in relation to the findings. The *nationalisation* of ethnicity in Canada is discussed.

CONCLUSION

The original contributions of this thesis are three-fold. First, it represents research into a particular form of 'ethnic' social organisation in Canada that has never been studied in depth. Second, a European framework of theory is applied to the Canadian case, which argues the role of the national construct in the Canadian multicultural Confederation, a relatively unique perspective explained in Chapter Two. The alternative theoretical framework goes beyond social control theory for example, in analysing the links between the *nationalising* state and the content and

configuration of national 'ethnic' formations in the public sphere. Third, the thesis makes use of original data through government documents, primary organisation documents and interview material, to study the role of the Canadian government in this process of *nationalisation* as one of the primary explanatory factors for the formation of NMEUOs in Canada since the Second World War.

Given the exploratory nature of this area of research, this thesis attempts to go some way toward shedding light on an under-researched subject and does not claim to give complete or fully informed accounts of the organisation formations. In depth case studies would be necessary in the future but yet still could become caught in the same traps of the organisation's own self-conception and self-historicisation. It is not claimed that this 'subjectivity' is somehow less relevant than the organisation's conjunctural context, but these 'narratives' must be understood in relation to the structural forces in which they emerge. The reason why an organisation may have formed in a particular period is based on a number of structural conditions and informing discourses that are not always apparent to the organisers themselves. It requires taking a step back, 'a birds eye view', to see that one organisation's formation, in all of its particularity and *specialness*, shares a historical mark with others, within a state process of *nationalisation*.

CHAPTER 1:
THEORIZING 'ETHNIC' SOCIAL ORGANISATION AT THE NATIONAL
LEVEL

INTRODUCTION

The organisations that are the focus of this thesis were described in the Introduction as national mono-ethnocultural umbrella organisations (NMEUOs) and no shorter 'epithet' will suffice. They are not the same as localised 'ethnic' organisations or associations, because they are federations, performing a specific role in terms of both internal governance of local associations and 'external' public affairs for the entire membership. As they exit the locally based, centred, and derived, politics and social organisation, they enter a constitutively different level of political practice and meaning. One implication of this 'level' of representation is that *who* and what the group is, becomes re-configured from forms of social organisation to forms of broad *representation*. The organisation comes to represent not only the concrete aspirations of group members, but becomes a guardian and advocate of a vision of 'the group'. At this more abstract level, the processes of social construction of the 'group' in the Canadian social formation are much more visible than at the local level and is why NMEUOs are key objects of study in understanding 'ethnic' processes and the relationship between 'ethnic' groups and the state.

Theoretically, this decision about 'what they are' is pivotal. It weighs heavily on what kind of model of analysis can be applied to this type of collective action. It is posited here that explaining 'how they came into being' is dependent on deciding 'what they are'. Hence the task of this chapter is to examine the existing perspectives and make decisions on *what they are* sociologically. This chapter will evaluate the

various conceptualisations of NMEUOs offered in the Canadian literature and critically assess their presuppositions regarding the theorisation of their proliferation at the national level. There is no one established debate into which the discussion can enter. There is a lack of prior discussion of NMEUOs in the Canadian literature, which makes it difficult to theorise them at the outset. The discussion is delineated along the lines of the main ways writers in Canada have mentioned or discussed these formations. NMEUOs have been addressed in the literature, mostly tangentially, as either part of a social movement, as interest groups, or extensions of 'ethnic groups' that mobilise for resources, and finally as organisations that have been formed through state intervention. These four approaches will be reviewed mainly in terms of the available literature in Canadian *ethnic studies* with occasional reference to American sources.

The objective of this chapter is to situate this form of *ethnic politicisation* in the theoretical literature and discuss the issues that were raised before the data collection was undertaken, that informed the decisions regarding the direction of the research and the methodology. It is not meant to be an exhaustive discussion of all theory that pertains to 'ethnic' organisation. Rather, it aims to discuss the major perspectives, and at the same time, raise theoretical questions related to the social construction and historical determinations of NMEUOs. Taking into consideration various aspects of theories discussed, the chapter concludes with comments on the strengths and weaknesses of each approach and offers several tenets which it is argued, should be included in the model of theorisation of NMEUOs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the most serious consequences of the reductionism and essentialism of identity politics has been the ways in which it has obscured the emergence of new political and ethnic forms, alliances and convergences (Amit-Talai, 1996:93).

Canadian sociology is now internationally acclaimed in the field of *multiculturalism studies* for the amount and depth of writing on the subject of cultural pluralism. Canada was the first country to adopt an official policy of 'Multiculturalism' and its sociologists have been commissioned relatively widely since the 1960s to study 'ethnic phenomena'. The result is a very broad literature on various aspects of 'ethnic integration', such as demographic issues and 'identity retention' (Breton et al., 1990; Herberg, 1989; Driedger, 1978).

Increasingly, there has been a need for specific bibliographies that summarise inter-disciplinary work done on a particular 'ethnic' community such as Teixeira and Lavigne's work (1992) on Portuguese-Canadian studies, Beguet's bibliography of the literature on the Indo-Chinese community in Canada (1992) and a bibliography on Italian Canadian studies, by F. Sturino (1988). Case studies usually represent work done by sociologists from these 'ethnic' backgrounds; a reflection of the *biography* in sociology¹. In most cases, some attention is devoted to community organisations, but when it comes to discussing NMEUOs, the scope is rather superficial.

A limited amount of information on certain larger NMEUOs can be found in the *Generation* Series published by McLelland and Stewart (in co-operation with the Secretary of State, Department of Multiculturalism). The series arose as a result of the

¹ As Robert Brym pointed out to fledgling Sociologists in his U of T Masters seminar.

recommendations of Book Four of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, along with other initiatives in Canadian ethnic studies. It is a series of monographs that provide broad coverage of migration histories, institutional development and cultural and religious life of individual ethnic groups in Canada (eg. Abu Laban, 1980; Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Lupul, 1982; among others) Most of the books were published in the 1970s and 1980s, with only one book Coming Canadians (Burnet and Palmer, 1988) offering an overview of these institutions and communities for comparative purposes. The government publication Canadian Family Tree (1979) also provides broad comparative information. However, many ethnic groups are not covered in the *Generation Series* and, furthermore, most of the books were published prior to 1980 before the formations of many umbrella organisations included in this study.

Some other examples of this sparse national ethnic organisational literature of a historical nature are: Taking Root by Gerald Tulchinsky (1991), about the politicisation and history of the Jewish communities in Canada; Radecki's Ethnic Organizational Dynamics: The Polish Group in Canada (1979); Soltys and Kugler's Half a Century of Canadian Polish Congress (1995), or; Dorais, Chan and Indra's Ten Years Later: Indochinese Communities in Canada (1988), which briefly discusses the founding and role of the Vietnamese Canadian Federation. Less accessible are unpublished internal reports of organisation board members, and academic works such as Ruth Epp's Masters Thesis The Origins of the Central Mennonite Committee (1989).

There is a wider theoretical field however, in Canadian *ethnic studies*, in which there has developed a unique literature on 'ethnic' politics, including, voting patterns

(Black, 1991) and the participation of ethnic minority individuals in political parties (Megyery, 1991; Burnet and Palmer, 1988). There are studies of organisational dynamics at the local or regional levels such as Breton's work (1991), Daiva Stasiulis's Doctoral thesis on The Political Structuring of South Asian and West Indian Organizations in Toronto (1982), and Labelle's (1995) qualitative research on minority leadership in Quebec. Moreover, Feminist writers have been altering the terrain of research towards more emphasis on community institutions through their work on new forms of immigrant women's organising and politicisation (Ng, 1988; Hernandez, 1988; Ralston, 1995; Agnew, 1996). However, Feminist studies have typically looked primarily at women's organisations at the local level and have not yet addressed for example, the gendered dimensions of *national* 'ethnic' advocacy.

The most famous area of *Canadian ethnic studies* in terms of academic output, including political scientists, philosophers and sociologists, is the multiculturalism and 'identity politics' debates, as expressed by writers such as Charles Taylor (1992; 1993) and Will Kymlicka (1995; 1997). These writers have led the probe into the social and political philosophical issues of 'belonging' and collective rights in the Liberal democratic political community. The prolific effect of this approach has led to a larger debate on Multiculturalism in Canada as a model of citizenship, including critical works by Bissoondath (1994) and Loney (1998) in which the role of 'ethnic entrepreneurs', or 'professional ethnics' (Peter, 1981) such as NMEUO leaders, is often referred. Yet the histories of these "professionals" and their organisations are rarely interrogated. They are largely taken for granted in the 'ethnic studies' literature, as extensions of 'ethnic groups'.

As Amit-Talai (1996) pointed out, while certain areas of *ethnic studies* have been expanded and plumbed intellectually, the changing landscape of 'ethnic' political forms and the intersectionality of political struggle has not been analysed with nearly as much depth. The result is a striking lack of study devoted to 'ethnic' political forms in sociology and other disciplines (Pal, 1993). As Berry and Laponce stated in Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape (1994), there is a need for studies that analyse the linkage between the political system and specific collective identities. This thesis attempts to contribute toward filling this gap by looking at the formations of NMEUOs in a comparative sense, rooted in the historical determinations of the social formation of the Canadian state. Before this can be done, consideration must be given to how NMEUOs may be theorised, and sociologically, *what they are*. The next sections will provide an overview of the literature pointing out the forms in which NMEUOs have been addressed mainly in the sociological literature, while extrapolating possible theorisations for their formation historically in Canada.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT

One of the primary ways Canadian writers address the subject of the politicisation of 'ethnic' organisations at the national level is indirectly through a discussion of a 'Multiculturalism movement' which, it is posited, pushed for the adoption of the policy of Multiculturalism and for example, multi-cultural recognition in the Constitution (A.Cairns, 1995; S. Wilson, 1993; Isajiw; 1977). These social scientists point to the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism of the mid-1960s as the pivotal moment that prompted 'ethnic' organisation into action.

During the 1960s the ethnic elites and organisations that represented 'ethnic Canadians' were referred to as "the third force" (Smith, 1981). The term was often used interchangeably with 'Multicultural movement'. It was the term used by Ukrainian Canadian Senator Paul Yuzyk in his maiden speech to the Canadian Senate in 1964. Advocating minority cultural rights, he made reference to the historic assumption that Canada is characterised by two *founding nations* but that there is a significant other 'third' of the population (non-British and non-French origin), which make up a balance of power between the two, and thus a significant political force on its own. Several national umbrella organisations, representing mono-ethnocultural concerns in Canada, participated in the policy consultations during this time and are therefore assumed to be contributors or participants in this social movement, especially 'the Ukrainians' (Hawkins, 1988a; Palmer, 1991). It is considered in hindsight by these writers to be the 'moment' when ethnic politicisation in Canada in its contemporary form was given its initial development and impetus. The organisations that operate today, such as newer NMEUOs, are treated as products of the events of this earlier phase of 'ethnic politics'.

The events of the 1960s will be described in more detail in the chapters to follow and the conclusion will offer a perspective on whether the organisations did act in a movement form or not. However, the present purpose is to decide whether this approach can help explain the *origins* and configurations of the organisations, not necessarily their activities. Evelyn Kallen (1982;1995) concurs with this general interpretation of events and says that the *ethnic minority protest movement*:

emerged in response to the expressed discontent of immigrant ethnic minorities with their relegation to second-class status under the terms of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Kallen, 1995: 210).

The focus in the popular literature is mainly on a *Multicultural movement* and not as one might expect in the *civil rights era* of the 1960s; anti-racism. While there is writing on local anti-racism initiatives in Ontario for example (Harney, 1996) and in the Feminist literature, there is a surprising lack of research on an 'anti-racist movement' in Canada².

Locating the origins of the politicisation of mono-ethnocultural organisations at the national level in social movement activity raises several possible ways in which one could theorize their emergence. There are three main types of analysis. One is the New Social Movement (NSM) approach, the second is Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) and the third is the Political Process Model (PPM).

New Social Movement Theory:

For the NSM theorist, the definition of a movement is based in the assertion of a common 'identity'. Anyone can participate through individual activity and even mundane discursive interactions because the political effect occurs primarily at a social and cultural level. A movement exists when a challenge to an established mode of thought and its institutionalisation is made. They are 'new' social movements because unlike the previous party-based or class based movements, rather than asserting a

² In general there is a lack of analysis of ethnic politicisation or 'race politics' in the social movement literature in Canada. For example, W. Carroll's 1992 book on social movements "Organizing Dissent" does not address the "third force" or anti-racism. These phenomena are still mainly referred to in terms of social movement by those in 'race and ethnic relations' studies and those in 'political science'. Agnes A. Calliste concurred with this observation in her 1994 presentation to the Learned Society at Carleton University, Ottawa.

strategic stance based in instrumentalist and redistributive politics, these movements are based in identities emerging from variegated locations, frequently of the middle class.

A leading figure in this perspective, Alain Touraine, rejects structural Marxist interpretations of action because, he argues, they deny the actor any real subjectivity. Ideological State Apparatuses in Althusserian theory dominate social actors so that social change can only be totalizing via massive liberation movements (Touraine, 1985). He replaces the base-superstructure model with a triad model composed of *identity*, *opponent* and *totality*: social movements are characterised by the interrelationship between the identity of the actor, the definition of the opponent and the cultural totality over which control is fought. Control in this specific type of social conflict is sought over the cultural patterns that normatively organise all social relations: representations of truth and morality.

The focus is on cultural reproduction as a field of political struggle over dominant meanings. Action is then taking place in the realm of civil society, is *anti-political* because it eschews traditional democratic means of political action and thus the state is displaced (Canel, 1992) as the target for change. However, an important point to be made regarding the premise of a social movement is that it does not emerge from institutionalised sources, and it challenges aspects of the state from *outside* of it.

In the case of 'racial' or 'ethnic' political actors or their organisations, the movement would consist of challenging meanings of ethnicity, 'race' and, potentially, 'belonging' in the 'nation'. NMEUOs would be participating primarily in redefining the presentation and management of identity issues in for example, the mass media.

Omi and Winant (1986) describe 'racial formation' in the U.S. as a process whereby the unifying identity of 'race' is a 'key determinant of mass movements in civil rights politics. As an "autonomous field of social conflict" (1986:48), 'race' is a rallying point whereby participants have a political focus for the re-articulation of 'racial' meanings in the U.S., which had been primarily but not exclusively structured and defined through the state. The focus of the politics then is not redistributive, but rather control over 'identity' and its definition. Central to this approach then, when applied to NMEUOs, is the existence of a unifying identity and a diffuse social campaign to challenge existing oppressive discursive and representational meanings regarding minority 'ethnic' and 'racial' groups.

Resource Mobilisation Theory:

While the NSM approach focused on the 'demands' of collective action as mobilising factors, in terms of 'identity', vs. Marxist theorists who focus on redistributive politics, the Resource Mobilisation thesis (RMT) school (McCarthy and Zald, 1977) points to the problem in demand-side and 'relative deprivation' approaches, saying they do not explain the practical *possibility* for mobilising. For one, demand side theories are seen as inadequate because first, the existence of 'identity politics' does not explain the creation of a social movement and moreover, it is often not the beneficiaries themselves who mobilise for change. Often the initiators of political action are individuals already involved in politics. The actual facilitation of political action is due to the amount of discretionary income available to potential donors. Furthermore, the development of competing organisations strengthens the movement overall.

So, in addition to the 'relative deprivation' or perceived injustice, collective action results from the ability of professionals to garner resources from "conscience adherents" (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). They are those who contribute to the movement because they believe in the cause, whether they directly benefit or not. Members of oppressed groups often do not have adequate resources to fund political mobilisation. This point on the availability or 'supply' of membership, and other forms of resources including finance and leadership, is an important element in understanding the 'timing' of any form of collective action and is certainly relevant to the study of NMEUOs. However, it would have to be asked of these formations; why did resources become available at that time? What explains the opportunity to 'mobilise'?

Political Process Model:

The third major approach to the study of social movements is the Political Process Model (PPM) which expands on this last point. For political process theorists (McAdam, 1982; and Kriesi et al., 1995), resources must be in place as well as a common identity or unifying goal; a *framing process* must be present. The latter refers to the cultural definition of group goals, aspirations and meanings, a component of the subjective aspect of collective action. However, the crucial point in explaining the timing of mobilisation is the kinds of opportunities offered in the political realm. The PPM departs from RMT and NSM in this crucial way. According to these writers, 'they did not':

... examine the interests and structures of the state itself. They also underestimated the political origins of social protest, resource mobilization theory by neglecting questions of ideology and consciousness and new social

movement theory by overemphasizing the apolitical goals of contemporary protesters (Jenkins and Klandermans, 1995:8).

According to Sidney Tarrow (1994), no analysis of collective action can ignore the role of the state, or the 'political opportunity' process, in terms of party relations, political elite divisions, potential alliance partners, and favourable policy initiatives. The opportune time for movement formation then is when conditions are generally favourable to its goals, which, more specifically, occurs when there is conflict, division and weaknesses in established party relations, elite relations and state structure:

"Social movements arise, significantly expand and have their greatest impact during periods marked by a profound increase in the vulnerability of the political establishment to pressure from protest groups" (Ayres, 1997:52).

Moreover, the expanded political opportunities these periods provide are the "ultimate spur to collective action" (McAdam et al, 1996:7) but ultimately to understand the social movement emergence, it is necessary to consider the broader effects of the "national context in which they are embedded" (McAdam et al, 1996:3). It must be asked of the NMEUOs, then, if such political disjuncture or particular circumstances of political vulnerability made it possible for mobilisation to occur first in the 1960s prior to the initiation of Multiculturalism and at any point in time when organisations proliferated. Moreover, it should be asked what is specific to the Canadian national context that structures, permits, provokes or shapes social movement activity.

If one were to draw out the main tenets of each of these three social movement approaches in order to analyse NMEUO formations, the theorisation would state that: NMEUOs, as part of a social movement, participate in 'identity politics', attempting to alter oppressive reflections of minority citizens while the 'groups'

benefit from a growing middle class of *conscious adherents*. They are potentially provided opportunities for mobilisation by a weakened Canadian state.

AS INTEREST GROUPS?

Some Canadian writers assume that organisations such as NMEUOs were once part of a 'multicultural or human rights movement' and over the years became institutionalised, and now operate as individual interest groups, occasionally working together on various projects. As Cynthia Williams (1985) pointed out, ethnic organisations of the past differed from today's issue specific interest groups:

The parade of special groups arguing their particular interests before the joint committee in 1981 is in marked contrast to the proceedings of the 1960 H.O.C. Committee on the Bill of Rights, when the few special interest groups who did appear- the seventh Day Adventists and the Canadian Jewish Congress, for example- addressed themselves almost exclusively to the broader issues of fundamental freedoms and human rights protections (Williams, 1985:122).

It is a challenge to social movement theory in general whether "a hard-and-fast line" can be drawn between social movements and institutional politics (Tarrow, 1988). For Rucht (1996) it is indeed difficult to tell sometimes the difference between social movements and interest groups. While all *social movement structures* are more heterogeneous than interest groups, some movements in certain national contexts take on more formal interest group structures, whereas others may be more party based, and yet others, essentially grassroots. However, "Only when one of these organisations succeeds in reaching a hegemonic position- controlling virtually all collective resources-would I no longer consider it a movement" (Rucht, 1996: 188).

The definition of an interest group according to one 'ethnic' interest group participant is, very broadly:

A group whose members act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common concerns as well as to advance broad societal interests. The group is and its members are non-profit in nature and the group is not centred on providing direct financial or economic benefit to its members. Acting individually, the members would be relatively powerless (Cardozo, 1996:306).

Those who write more directly about the NMEUOs today refer to these formations as 'interest groups' (eg. Pal, 1993; Cardozo 1997; Anderson and Frideres 1981). Perceiving the organisations in this way flows from a long held assumption in sociology that 'ethnicity' is often used as a political resource in the larger public policy arena (Brass, 1985; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970). Using 'ethnicity' as a political resource does not automatically imply the existence of an interest group, but in this case NMEUOs are often professionalised and bureaucratically and institutionally entrenched. They are treated as interest groups much like any other advocacy organisations, such as labour or consumer associations.

In the Canadian literature, Paul Pross (1975; 1986; 1991) has been one of the leading theorists of interest groups. In his theory, it is assumed that they develop as more mature and professional forms of previous social movement organisations. The reason is, according to this theory, that groups that are institutionalised are in a better position to advance claims than 'radical groups' and are more successful on the whole than groups that remain narrowly focused in their claims (Pross, 1991). Therefore, according to this theory, 'ethnic' organisations become institutionalised as 'interest groups' from a conscious decision to become politically successful.

It is a conscious mobilisation by, moreover, a consciously identifiable 'group'. Conceptually, interest groups reflect a 'primal interest', a captive membership. They are: "collectivities organised around an explicit value on behalf of which essentially political demands are made *vis a vis* government, other groups, and the general public" (Presthus, 1973:99). In this Functionalist approach, they play an important role in the political process. Interest groups (a term Pross uses interchangeably with 'pressure groups') "offer services needed by their host political systems, receiving in return specific benefits for themselves and their members" (Pross, 1986:88). They serve functions in terms of communication of demands, legitimation of policy initiatives, regulation and administration of the policy itself, thereby facilitating the workings of the political system.

Furthermore, 'group' elites play a central role. Robert Presthus (1973) argued that the increase in lobbying activity and organisational development over the years has led to 'elite accommodation'. The growth of the state and the increase in scale and intensity of activity for both government and parties has meant that:

... both parties and government are increasingly less able to integrate the conflicting demands and needs of the many groups in society. Interest group elites thus assume a larger role in the determining of public policy (Presthus, 1976:79).

Regardless of the breadth and nature of the constituency, the deals are made behind closed doors, between leaders and 'consequential' participants.

To summarise this perspective, the organisation attempts to convey its *inherent* interest to governing elites through institutional channels, which are seen as the most successful avenue for policy change. The system of interest group relations and elite accommodation fosters this type of activity in order to legitimate policy

(Pross, 1975) and to 'rationalise' the diverse demands made of government (Presthus, 1973). In many cases the government will create or strongly encourage the formation of a pressure group (or interest group) in order to maintain the smooth functioning of governance. They are called *reverse pressure groups*:

Reverse pressure groups may be created because political decision makers are anxious to have all the inputs they can get before they set out to make policy, because they wish to create generalized support for their approach or specific support for some important policies... (Van Loon and Whittington, 1987:409).

In Rational Choice theorisations, a variation of interest group theory, the role of the state is treated as much as part of the 'system' as interest groups are. Michael Hechter et al. (1982) explains the likelihood of collective action in terms of the potential gains individuals believe they may derive from participation. It is the specific conditions surrounding the individual that determines action. A rational individual will not participate in collective action if it is possible to let others do it, allowing oneself to be a "free-rider". While the overall aim of political mobilisation is to obtain public goods, this perspective argues that it is the motivation of the individuals involved that must be considered. They will only participate if the private benefit exceeds the private cost. Entrepreneurial activity on the part of ethnic leaders is seen to be responsible for the political activities of the group because they "supply the group with the desired public good at a profit" (Hechter et al, 1982: 422). But no matter which type of organisation, it must have resources to provide as a private benefit to members. This is bolstered by a community value system that enforces sanctions and rewards.

Thus NMEUOs would be analysed in this perspective in terms of the work of the individual leaders who have brought the organisations to the place where they are today because of their own personal 'entrepreneurial' efforts. This perspective relies

on Resource Mobilisation Theory assumptions in its understanding of interest group 'mobilisation'. Leadership and the availability of elites are central resources that enable the advancement of the 'group'.

Pluralist Theory

Pluralist theory is an important theoretical alternative to the Functionalist one. It analyses interest group formation in recognition of the unequal relations of power that partially determine policy outcomes. Leslie Pal (1993) conducted the most informative research to date on the history of state intervention in 'ethnic' interest group formation. In his book Interests of the State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism, and Feminism in Canada, he applies a pluralist perspective to his analysis of the development of interest group life in Canada. Unlike most Canadian writers in the field, he explores the role of the intervention of the state in helping to create 'ethnic' *interest groups*, through the interference of the Citizenship Branch and then Multiculturalism. His starting point is the fact that the Canadian government has devoted substantial budget money and ministry energy to the development of citizenship policy and toward immigrant and ethnic interest groups since the Second World War. Yet he engages with the fact that 'ethnic' organisations actively sought the support of the state. For him, the state is autonomous actor, target and structure. Public interest groups, including 'ethnic' ones, participate in a relationship of relative autonomy in a policy process shaped by political opportunities, but not controlled by government. His argument for the limits of the role of the state is that these 'interest groups' are also essentially 'identity groups' and therefore: "Were officials to try seriously to compromise the group's autonomy, they would be attacking the group's

identity” (Pal, 1993:264). He essentially agrees in his theorisation then with the Functionalist perspectives that there is a captive membership and an inherent interest in ‘ethnic’ interest groups and it partially explains the ‘group’s’ mobilisation.

Critical of the pluralist approach, Claus Offe (1984; 1985) is a New Social Movement theorist who insists on the relevance of the political circumstances of late capitalism in theorising the formation of interest groups:

Policies that provide status to interest groups, assign certain semi-public or public functions to them, and regulate the type and scope of their activities are, under conditions of advanced capitalist social and economic structures, far more important factors affecting on-going change in the system of interest representation than factors that have to do with changes of either *ideological* orientations or *socio-economic* opportunity structures (1985 :223).

He argues that growing state interventionism is empirically connected to increasing political institutionalisation of organised interests (Offe,1985:227). Yet while both Pal (1993) and Offe (1985) assume that ‘ethnic interest groups’ are affected by political opportunity, they assume that they exist to represent an inherent *interest*. They do not interrogate the construction of ‘interest ’or ‘ethnic’ category construction.

‘ETHNIC MOBILISATION’

The ‘ethnic mobilisation’ approach is a broad label for a variety of theoretical approaches to understanding political institutional development in the field of the sociology of *race and ethnic relations*. Key concerns in this area are the development of a *group’s* social organisation as a measure of its level of ‘integration’ or ‘assimilation’ into the dominant society, and how factors of inequality correlate with factors of institutional development. It is a highly polarised field of debate much like

any other area of sociology but probably one main assumption in common is that 'group' mobilisation occurs in conditions of competition for resources: either political, economic and symbolic. The approach presupposes that 'ethnic' and 'racial' groups exist through culturally and socially determined circumstances and thus experience a unique form of *inter-relations*, distinct from other forms of social relations such as those of gender or class.

The approach is typical of an era of American sociological inquiries that questions the persistence of 'ethnicity' in spite of the supposedly unifying effects of modernisation (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Gans, 1979). Each perspective addresses how 'ethnicity' became the basis of social organisation for the mobilising groups. Often, a form of modernisation theory is apparent in that it is assumed that institutional development is a sign of social *advancement* or 'integration'. Furthermore, consistent with this approach, writers look 'internally', to the attitudes and values of the members of the 'group' in order to understand its institutional 'development' (Allahar, 1991), rather than look 'externally' to factors such as availability of opportunity or the role of the state. Consistent with this perspective, Breton (1964) coined a phrase for many writers to come, *institutional completeness*, to refer to the degree to which a group has developed institutionally. It was understood to mean also that a group had identified a common interest, mobilised resources and co-ordinated a plan of action (Fleras and Elliott, 1992b). This approach contributed to an understanding that there is a linear unity to 'ethnic' groups and their institutional development. If the 'ethnic group' is *the unit of analysis*, a national level organisation would be conceived as a product of an advanced stage of internal organisation, or 'institutional completeness' of the 'group'. Advancement would

usually result from factors such as the existence of supportive social norms related to common organising, time spent in the country, and level of socio-economic advancement.

According to Anderson and Frideres (1981), the induction into the national political realm is an inevitable outcome of community organisation network expansions and inter-organisational co-operation. When the local and regional associations link up, usually as a result of high communication between associations, the new level of organisation automatically bolsters the group into the level of interest groups politics. The linkages lead to a more complex bureaucracy which:

... entails the emergence of a structured leadership whose activities fall within the legitimate scope of activities of the larger society. These leaders, then, assume the role status of pressure-interest groups and engage in interaction with the political structure (Anderson and Frideres, 1981:239).

In this perspective, formations such as NMEUOs are products of institutionally advanced 'ethnic' groups who would have had to have been in the country for quite a while to have been able to garner adequate resources and advance the networks.

Contrary to this hypothesis is the 'assimilation thesis' which presumes that 'ethnic' organisations are primarily immigrant based, devoted to adaptation and incorporation issues. When the adaptation is complete, the ethnic organisations lose their membership and their function. Burnet and Palmer (1988) summarise the *normal* course of 'ethnic' organisational formation:

The numbers of post-war immigrants, their tendency to create new associations rather than join existing ones, their varied educational levels and experience in organizations, and the wide range of their backgrounds, interests, and experiences have all led to the proliferation of ethnic associations (1988:191).

While there is agreement that certain ethnic institutions are primarily formed by immigrants, most writers view the organisations as a mark of advancement because of the role that elites play in their function. Like the Resource Mobilisation Theory approach, this 'social organisation' perspective presumes that a certain level of organisational 'readiness' is necessary before an 'ethnic group' can mobilise. However, in saying that, there are several debates within the 'ethnic mobilisation' approach concerning the reasons why an 'ethnic' group would mobilise politically at a particular point in time and the basis of its struggle. Mobilisation is not automatic when resources are available and often mobilisation (ie. the formation of representative organisations) occurs with relatively variable start-up resources. It is on this point that the theoretical debates about the *source* of the impetus to mobilise come into play.

The Struggle over Symbolic Resources: Identity politics

In the first case, culturalist theory regards ethnic mobilisation to be a result of the lack of symbolic resources offered by the state and society. The demand is for a redistribution of symbolic resources. The link between politics and ethnicity is discussed in terms of the symbolic order through which public policy can manage ethnic demands. The major Canadian theorist in this area is Raymond Breton. In his writing, 'ethnic groups' provide pressure on the state to alter its symbolic input, which is inadequate because it "makes it harder for individuals to define themselves satisfactorily" (Breton, 1986:29). They 'feel foreign' in an adopted society and therefore mobilise to include their identities in the national symbolic identity. This is similar to the NSM approach but in this perspective, there is no universal identity.

Rather, 'ethnic groups' are assumed to have inherent particularistic, mono-ethnic specific, symbolic needs.

The mobilisations occur in relation to socio-political change and new spaces in the political symbolic sphere, which can open up due to liberalisation of immigration or citizenship policy. For example, Breton writes that because of the decline of the British Empire, and its receding importance in Canada, the cultural dominance of British Canadians waned (1991). Therefore there was a shift away from an exclusive concept of 'nation' in Canada and space opened for alternative symbolic meanings.

Charles Taylor (1992;1993) also deals with the role of the symbolic order in identity construction and takes the position that politics today consists in part of a demand for recognition of cultural equality by 'ethnic groups'. Thus it is a 'politics of recognition', a philosophical argument that has galvanised political scientist's attention to issues of cultural pluralism in Canada. His philosophical argument is not limited to cultural groups but to all minority or social groups with particularist 'recognition needs'.

In an earlier age recognition never arose as a problem. General recognition was built into the socially derived identity by virtue of the very fact that it was based on social categories that everyone took for granted. Yet inwardly derived, personal, original identity doesn't enjoy this recognition a priori. It has to win it through exchange, and the attempt can fail. What has come about in the modern age is not the need for recognition but the conditions in which the attempt to be recognized can fail (Taylor, 1992:34).

Because the philosophical inward born identity which is characteristic of the modern age can only be cultivated inter-subjectively, or dialogically, it has the possibility of being unrecognised. Taylor explains that in pre-modern times, social roles were strictly defined and it was nearly impossible to break out of an ascribed identity.

Today, identity depends on social exchange and may not receive recognition. Worse still, deprecating self images may be imbued in subjugated people, as Fanon (1964) argued. The politics of recognition arose as a means for minority groups to overturn negative self images and feel included within the dominant culture.

Cultural Division of Labour:

According to the Cultural Division of Labour Theorists, to 'feel' included is one thing, but to 'be' included is another. They refer to ethnic segregation in differential labour markets and the inevitable collective action that it engenders. For example, Bonacich's Split Labour Market Theory (1972) proposes that 'ethnic' and 'racial' groups receive different wages within the same labour market and this identified relative inequality presents a point of 'ethnic conflict'. Ethnic conflict and the likelihood of collective redress increase with the rise in wage differentials. Piore's Dual Labour Market Theory (1979) suggests instead that 'ethnic' members are segregated in secondary labour markets and are unable to envisage any advancement or rise into the primary sectors. Collective action is undertaken to address this inequality. In either case, 'ethnic' conflict is promoted within classes, ie. separate 'ethnic' unions are formed, and ethnic political action is undertaken against socio-economic marginalisation.

Michael Hechter's book on *Internal Colonialism* (1975) and Robert Blauner's *Racial Oppression in America* (1972) explained 'ethnic' mobilisation in terms of the actions of exploited minority groups occupying the 'periphery' of a nation state and acting to join the 'centre'. In Blauner's case, the theory was intended to explain Black movements in America in particular as stemming from a total societal system of

oppression. The economic relationship that structures the dominance is that of colonialism; the state has colonised its minorities. This theory addresses minority 'peoples' who occupy nationalist minority positions and conduct possible secessionist politics in retaliation.

These theories suggest that the context of either internal colonialism, or split labour market or divided labour market, provide the structural basis in which political organisation of 'ethnic' groups emerge. The group boundaries and efforts to maintain 'identity' are thus encouraged and shaped through these structural conditions (Prattis and Chartrand, 1990). Applied to NMEUOs, they would represent structurally marginalised social groups that are attempting to redefine their political and economic relationship to the dominant society.

Competition Theory:

In a reversal of the Cultural Division of Labour approach, Competition theory proposes that it is precisely because 'ethnic' groups acquire money that they mobilise and not because of the lack of it. Susan Olzak and Joanne Nagel (1986) ground a theory of ethnic competition and related mobilisation in the processes of modernisation. Modernisation is assumed to provide the conditions for increased competition in the areas of, for example, employment and housing. When 'ethnic' groups are segregated within the larger society in terms of these valued resources, ethnic competition is low because of less contact among groups. When assimilation occurs, competition among groups for the same resources is greater and it leads to conflict. When conflict occurs, boundaries strengthen between groups creating the

conditions for more tension. This is how modernisation alters 'ethnic' boundaries from small scale affiliations to larger scale politicised identities. Widening of the 'ethnic' boundaries while strengthening them provides a better base from which to compete. The theory incorporates the role of the state in assuming that its widening administrative reach tends to shape ethnic identity formation because it creates a new area of ethnic competition, namely one over state resources.

As stated in the beginning of the 'Ethnic Mobilisation' section, modernisation theory is prominent in various aspects of this theory. Applied to the theorisation of NMEUOs, a possible application of 'ethnic mobilisation' approaches could be that they are products of 'ethnic groups' which are in essence the 'political and social actors'. Through organising at the national level, members are advancing socio-economically within a context of historical marginalisation. They are involved in a struggle over economic, political or cultural resources. With more resources at their disposal, their professionalisation advances, resulting in institutional bodies to advocate on 'the group's' behalf.

STATE INTERVENTION

The final approach to be discussed in understanding the formation of NMEUOs is the role of state intervention, sometimes referred to as 'social control' (Pal, 1993; Anderson and Frideres, 1981). 'Social control' is a very broad term that can encompass many theoretical positions, from functionalists to Marxists and areas of sociology, from 'deviance studies' to 'Women's studies'. According to Scheerer and Hess (1997), it refers to:

... all social (and technical) arrangements, mechanisms, norms, belief systems, positive and negative sanctions that either aim at and/or result in prevention of undesired behaviour...(1997:103).

The focus is on the regulatory mechanisms that are exerted, mainly by the state, to maintain some form of 'control'. The term is used in such a broad sense by most writers that it is sometimes used interchangeably with the term 'state intervention', a term that is even more expansive, minus some of the traditional particular theoretical presuppositions with which 'social control' is historically affiliated.

In this context of 'ethnic' politicisation, 'state intervention' refers to a range of both direct and indirect ways in which the state influences the agendas and configurations of 'ethnic' representative organisations. Some writers, for example, assume that the NMEUOs began as products of economically marginalised grass roots 'ethnic' associations that were later co-opted by government officials for the purpose of controlling their potentially insurgent agendas. Therefore, the mobilisation of these ethnic organisations in a particular national form was not in relation to 'internal' impetuses alone such as for example, 'rational choice', or in reaction to structural conditions of relative inequality or marginalisation, or elite entrepreneurship. It occurred because of various government mechanisms to exert control over potential radicalisation in civil society.

The Canadian case is now classic because of the extent of government attention devoted to 'ethnic' organisations through various policies and bureaucratic programs, especially since the establishment of an official policy of Multiculturalism in 1971. Martin Loney (1977) was one of the first writers in Canada to suggest that the way to understand ethnocultural organisation development was through the initiatives of the state. He argued that many of the government's seemingly 'altruistic' initiatives

were actually designed to preserve the status quo of unequal relations. He looked at the Citizenship Participation Branch in Canada and showed how:

... state aid to minority and dissident groups plays an important role in legitimation, in sustaining the view that the state is not the agent of a particular social class but rather the benefactor of all (Loney, 1977 :435)

Loney (1977) was one of the first to discuss it in the case of ethno-immigrant organisations, but Native activists and writers have long known about the Canadian state's intervention in Aboriginal organisation, and the effects it has had on the ability of Native organisations to provide 'resistance' in the Canadian political process (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980; Weaver, 1981).

The creation of a government department as a mobilising factor for ethnic organisation is complimentary to the political opportunities approach because such a government initiative created an infrastructure of dialogue and a forum for politicisation. However, a theory of 'social control' or 'state intervention' points out that the 'bureaus' dealing with organisations and their development involve a series of mechanisms to alter the organisations' agendas and channel them towards moderate goals and institutional tactics, as Jenkins and Eckert (1986) found in the case of elite patronage of the Black Civil Rights movement in the U.S..

Mechanisms of control do not have to be deliberate or specifically directed in order to be regulatory. State intervention can be indirect and still mediate the "dialectic between change and order" as Scheerer and Hess (1997:103) put it. The role of the state was neglected in North American ethnic mobilisation theory typically but according to Enloe (1981), the state-building process itself has a direct impact on 'ethnic mobilisation':

First, the establishment of a specialized arm of the state to deal with certain ethnic groups (maybe not openly admitted in the authorizing legislation but still quite evident to the target ethnic group) provides an otherwise disparate, resource-poor group with a clear object for efficiency focusing its hostility, resistance or pressure (1981:133).

Daiva Stasiulis has analysed the role of the state on 'ethnic' communities in Canada in some detail. She opted for the term 'political structuring' rather than 'social control' when she argued that the state affects not only the content of organisation work but also the delineation of collective action itself. It occurs through indirect mechanisms such as: immigration policy (which chooses immigrants and incorporates them differentially thus effecting community chances), support of differential provisions in urban infrastructure, and the introduction of specific 'ethnic' policies to address 'integration' problems. Direct forms of intervention include directed funding to specific organisations (Stasiulis, 1980; 1982). In this regard, she makes specific mention of the funding of the development of national organisation structures in general:

By bestowing funds to ethnic associations which have some semblance of national organization, the intent of the federal government may be to foster structures which will further nationalist sentiments and feelings of gratification for the federal government. This propensity to fund the national or umbrella organization within the community is aided by its often moderate stance on most controversial issues and its professional, "responsible" leadership (Stasiulis, 1980:35).

With some moderate organisations of a given community co-operating and others not included or rejecting the dependency relationship, 'groups' are divided and yet recognised through the mainly moderate sector alone, thus skewing the delineation of the community representation.

The subject is expanded by other Feminist neo-marxist writers who explored the effects of the interventions of the government in terms of funding and co-optation of key activists and organisations. For example, Wallis, Giles and Hernandez (1988) who worked closely with the organisation *Intercede* (a coalition of domestic worker groups based in Toronto), pose the central question: "To what degree can minority women's groups criticise the state and still be assured of funding?" The relationship between the state and minority organisations is considered in terms of the funding ties and a general relationship of dependence. Public funding is treated as a mechanism of social control which operates in various ways (Ng, 1988). The assurance of funding carries responsibilities that necessitate that key individuals end up spending most of their time writing reports and following government departmental guidelines. It ultimately co-opts radical organised individuals and collectives (Bolaria and Li, 1988).

Carty and Brand (1988) describe how the government, through the creation of separate organisations, marginalised issues of gendered concern such as day-care on to White Women's organisations, like NAC, and created separate organisations for "visible minority" women to deal exclusively with issues of 'race'. It was a strategic effort on the part of the state to contain the women's network of minority activists.

Referring to the state:

It often pretends interest in the issues nevertheless, by becoming directly involved when absolutely necessary though this involvement takes the form of royal commissions, advisory committees, race relations units and experts, and the big public relations pay-off: conferences. These can all be seen to be strategies designed to ameliorate the problems, diffuse potential conflict, and ultimately placate offended parties. After all, the state is paying attention to the issue and cannot be accused of inaction. It is noteworthy that in the end, however, the results of the royal commissions, advisory committees and so on are an excessive number of reports which are directed to no one in particular, and to no specific action (Carty and Brand, 1988:42).

The writers point out that not only are existing organisations de-radicalised through various mechanisms but that the process of state support actually intervenes in the delineation of organisational representation. The state creates categories such as 'visible minority' vs. 'White immigrant' for bureaucratic purposes and thus politicises 'groups' on these administrative lines, which also serve to contain action. Himani Bannerji (1996) explains that this was the effect of the initiation of the policy of Multiculturalism in Canada:

Whole communities have begun to be re-named on the basis of these conferred cultural-administrative identities that objectify and divide them. Unrelated to each other, they become clients and creatures of the multicultural state (Bannerji,1996:124).

In Enloe's (1981) theorisation of the role of state-building on 'ethnic' mobilisation, she considered how the process of *ethnic identification* is also affected in the state-civil society relationship. She writes:

... the state employs ethnic categories to suit its administrative-political needs. In so doing it requires individuals subject to certain laws to respond as 'Hispanics or 'Indians' or 'Filipinos'. Over time, this state practice may encourage individuals to see themselves as part of not just an artificial state category but as a group which shares important common experiences: oppression, deprivation, and also benefits (1981:134).

The expanding reach of the state since World War Two led to the creation of administrative categories, the census definitions, and hence the shaping of 'ethnic' boundaries of politicisation.

The 'state intervention' perspective then is highly relevant for the study of NMEUOs because this thesis tries to understand not only why they were formed at the times that they were, but also why they assumed the form of the particular mono-ethnic and national organisations. 'Social control' and 'state intervention' theory

explain the mechanisms that lead to organisational change and their co-optation but do not necessarily explain the substance of the changes. There is further theorising and research needed to explain why and how the groups become delineated in specific ways and what effect the national construct has. In trying to understand the reasons for their formation in the specific configuration that arose, it is necessary to look at the role of the state not only in its role in co-optation of organisational actors, but in its very implication in the delineation of 'who' the groups represent and what ideological assumptions the organisations embody.

CRITICAL EVALUATION

The previous sections offered theories of 'what they are'. This last section will discuss each approach and point out 'what they are not' and outline some basic tenets for the theoretical framework. Ultimately, the theories can only best be evaluated after a discussion of the data. However, at the outset it is clear that certain theories are not applicable or contain weaknesses that warrant their exclusion from the initial theorisation of NMEUOs. An alternative framework will be introduced in the next chapter drawing on some of the decisions made here regarding the theories in this literature review.

The first problem with applying a social movement paradigm to this form of ethnic politicisation is that the approach focuses only on the 'Multiculturalism period' (1960s and 1970s onward) and does not offer any explanation for the politicisation prior to it. Second, there is little evidence to show that a 'movement' existed as such during that period. The policy that emerged in 1971 was essentially a state initiative

and was introduced with a questionable 'movement' basis (Moodley, 1981). Raymond Breton found that the Liberal policy of Multiculturalism required considerable prodding on the part of the government to get people to notice it: "How widespread and intensive ethnic mobilisation was is difficult to ascertain" because surveys done after the establishment of the policy show a very low awareness of its existence (Breton, 1986), let alone 'ethnic' demand for it. Moreover, it is difficult to substantiate the existence of a 'social movement' at that time as somehow qualitatively different from previous ethnic 'lobbying' or 'liaison' efforts with the government. This period of events will be discussed further in the Chapter Five.

Yet the lack of fit between these organisations and the concept of social movement could also be due to the problem of theorising social movements in general. It is a very broad and ambiguous field of study. Social movement theory in general rarely considers the component parts of a movement and, rather, focuses on the taken for granted solidarity of its supporters. Less is known or explained about the groups that come and go, and *flit in and out* of 'movement activity'. The organisations in this study have co-operated on many projects but they do not unanimously participate in all endeavours. Does it mean that when some groups desist temporarily, the movement ceases to exist? As Rucht (1996) pointed out earlier, it is not clear what the relationship is between a 'movement' and its supporters, or constituent organisations.

In terms of the NSM approach it is difficult to characterise these individual *mono-ethnic* organisations as part of an 'identity' movement. Their priorities are very often particularistic and, at times, this has meant their interests are diametrically opposed (eg. Turkish vs. Armenian feuding, Jewish vs. Arab conflict, etc.). Michel Wieviorka (1995b) argues that 'ethnic' mobilisation cannot be considered a social

movement because movements address the realm of ideas, culture, identity and the self. Mobilisation from this Tourainian perspective, occurs at the level of individuals as well as groups, yet addresses the primary overarching conflict within society. 'Ethnic' action must therefore address the inclusive aspirations of 'freedom, dignity, justice', 'human rights and equality' and avoid being 'differentialist' or particularist. As such, these organisations do not qualify as NSM's unless each organisation "links its assertion of ethnicity to social and political demands shared with other excluded groups; if it accepts, at least in principle, to advocate demands other than its own in the narrowest sense" (Wieviorka, 1994:29). In summary, although they converge from time to time on certain issues, NMEUOs diverge on others, such as employment equity policy. If a social movement is supposed to represent *a force within the social totality* (Eder, 1985) (whether identity or strategy based) it cannot be said that these organisations constitute a holistic force for change. They are divided on issues of 'race' and class, among other issues.

Are they interest groups then? This is also problematic because the very conceptualisation of interest groups assumes that they represent an inherent *interest*. Stepping back into their theorisation, functionalist writers for example assume that they 'serve' the system by reflecting the interests of marginalised groups and are therefore automatically generated as the political system requires them. This theory does not take into consideration that some groups of people or 'interests' in society are 'unserved' or 'unrepresented' (this would mean that the 'political system' is not working properly) and the existing interest groups often play a role in *servicing the state* rather than it's constituents. This raises another key issue: representation.

Even in the pluralist perspective, Pal (1993) assumes that *claims* made by an 'ethnic interest groups' reflects existing 'ethnic' social groups. However, as Claus Offe (1985) writes:

Pluralist theory tends to explain the existence, strength, and particular articulation of interest organizations by reference to properties of the constituent elements of the organization... That this type of explanation leads at best to a very limited understanding of the dynamics of interest representation becomes evident as soon we realize that an identical number of interested individuals with identical degrees of determination to defend and promote their interest may produce vastly different organizational manifestations and practices,....(1985:222).

Interest groups and their 'constituents' are taken for granted. Moreover, in the case of 'ethnic' interest groups, there is an added theoretical shortcoming. 'Ethnicity' is objectivised and essentialised in the assumption of an 'inherent' interest. NMEUOs represent groups that are highly internally differentiated and the outcome of their configurations and organisation manifestations is not explained.

If they cannot be considered 'interest groups', should the conceptualisation of NMEUOs remain firmly rooted in the *race and ethnic relations* approach? The answer is similar to that given for interest groups. Such an assumption would reify group membership and essentialise 'ethnic' claims. The 'ethnic mobilisation' theorists are concerned with the conditions in which 'ethnicity' emerges and the struggles in which boundaries are fortified or weakened, but the 'ethnic' group, often presumed to stem from prior national or religious lines, is assumed to pre-exist the mobilisation which is then stimulated into action. It is beyond these theories to account for shifting boundaries in that 'ethnicity' is intersected with other forms of socially and politically constructed boundaries as mediated by the nation state. The challenge of research in this field is to uncover the processes and mechanisms that contribute to boundary

maintenance and identity formation in a particular form at a given time. Thus, ethnic organisations are social formations that, in part, reflect 'ethnic group' concerns and boundaries but also reciprocally contribute to their ongoing elaboration, definition and experience. Therefore, NMEUOs will not be considered inevitable *end-products* of advanced ethnic social organisation, or representative units of 'ethnic groups'.

Nor are they considered as inherently marginalised 'groups' seeking cultural reaffirmation or political resources for advancement. An understanding of 'competition', whether in advanced circumstances of 'integration' or due to extreme relative deprivation, assumed that the 'group' views itself as a group in a political way but it is this process that needs to be explained, as the social control theorists pointed out. The state is considered a key factor in determining 'ethnic' boundaries of politicisation, as suggested by the political opportunity theorists and more closely by Enloe (1981) Stasiulis (1980; 1982) and Banerji (1996). Neither the functionalist nor the pluralist theories question the political construction of 'interest' and its shaping by an interventionist state. The 'ethnic mobilisation theorists deal with the state as one factor among many in the struggle for resources and the 'ideal state' of 'integration'. The political opportunity theorists focus on changes within the state that make organisational changes likely or possible, which is essential for accounting for changes in configuration and the creation of new organisations. None of the theories explore adequately the role of the 'national' construct of the state in determining organisational configurations or the meanings underlying the boundaries. Therefore the study of NMEUOs, as original political forms, is not easily reduced to neat categories of 'ethnic' membership, and requires an alternative framework, drawing on

some aspects of existing theory and drawing on theoretical models in other areas of sociology.

CONCLUSION

Each of the theories discussed above raised pertinent issues for the study of the rise of NMEUOs in Canada since the Second World War. However, there were several dimensions of a theoretical framework that were not addressed and yet are fundamental to the approach. One aspect was the basic tenet that 'ethnicity' is intersected by other differentiating processes in the capitalist state. This is a major theoretical position in sociological theory but rarely applied to 'ethnic mobilisation' cases. Given the lack of research on NMEUOs in general, it will be a contribution of this research to use these organisations as a *window* onto that process.

The second major tenet that this thesis applies in a fundamental way is the role of the state in creating categories, which for example, the Political Process Model and the 'state interventionist' approaches each address. As it was explained, there are weaknesses to each of these approaches when used alone with reference to NMEUOs. However, while these theories are not strictly applied, the point raised on the centrality of the state in understanding 'ethnic' processes such as mobilisation and identity formation is key to the crafting of the theoretical framework. The role of the state needs to be further theorised and elaborated through other theories in the field of political sociology and 'racism studies'. There is a third point that few theories raised, except for the PPM approach in a marginal way. In arguing for an understanding of the role of the state in creating opportunities for mobilisation, the context of the

'nation' will be analysed, for its effects on the configuration of NMEUO formations and their substantive boundaries. These three main points are explored in more depth in the chapter to follow and they premise the decisions regarding the structure and organisation of the thesis in general.

In conclusion, the various approaches reviewed in this chapter were framed within a discussion of 'what' NMEUOs are in order to understand how they came into being. This research project now takes the opposite conceptual approach in that it looks primarily at how the organisations came into being, in a historical approach, in the belief that it will shed light on *what they are*. For the purposes of writing, they will continue to be referred to as NMEUOs because it still seems that no shorter epithet will suffice.

CHAPTER 2: ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

If ethnicity, following Barth, is not about communicating an already existing 'difference', the political project, then, is crucially about identifying how narratives of 'commonality' and 'difference' are constituted and contested, and how these are marked by the conjuncture of specific socio-economic and political circumstances (Brah, 1996:241).

INTRODUCTION

In the last Chapter the question asked regarding NMEUOs was- 'what are they?' It was concluded that the answer to that question is integrally linked to '*how they came into being*'. An understanding of the ontological status of these organisations is bound up in a theoretical framework that analyses their social and political construction historically. In the overview of the contemporary literature in Chapter One, it was discussed how many writers assume that NMEUOs are products of 'ethnic groups'. Addressing cultural differences and factors of socio-economic marginalisation mainly, theories of 'ethnic interest groups' and 'ethnic mobilisation' reify ethnic belonging. Moreover, many of the theories explain 'ethnic' inequality and conflict within a separate theoretical explanandum from class or gender inequality. Based on sociological theories drawn largely from the European tradition, this thesis departs from these popular approaches on three counts.

First, it grounds an understanding of ethnicity in a critical approach that views all social relations as linked and inter-woven within the social formation. Social groups are constructed through processes of signification and, in various conjunctural circumstances, articulate with relations of inequality: class, 'race', sex, among other

social signifiers, are constituted through their intersections. Second, it is argued that understanding NMEUO formations, and 'ethnic' processes in general, requires analysing the social and political context, and in particular, the role of the state in affecting the configurational outcome. The PPM and social control theorists offered analyses of the state considering it as an external variable affecting either 'ethnic' *opportunities* or in terms of *co-optation* of grassroots interests. This chapter builds on these understandings of the role of the state in affecting the configuration of contemporary 'ethnic' organised interest. Based on French 'Citizenship Theory' and a European tradition of writing on the 'nation', it is argued that the state, in its modern link with the construction of 'nation', has institutionalised 'nationality' in civil society which affects the substance and configurations of 'ethnic' social organisation. This is the third point that this thesis explores and develops in its alternative theoretical framework. Understanding how *the national pervades the social* (Noiriel, 1996) is crucial to any analysis of the development of civil society organisations, including and especially formations constructed as representative of 'ethnic' social groups.

This theoretical approach raises several important questions. Can a *national* understanding be applied to the Canadian case? Furthermore, how does the *national* affect ethnic organisation formation? It will be posited in this chapter that NMEUOs are products of a *nationalising* state and the answer to these questions is found in the articulations between processes of racialisation and *nationalisation*, as mediated by the growing bureaucratic 'national' state. This chapter will address these questions and outline the layers of an alternative theoretical approach. Before the specifics of the theoretical model are explored, the first section steps back into the European

sociological literature in *racism studies*, to which this thesis owes much of its intellectual debt. The theoretical framework borrows from a rich historical debate that has unfolded mainly in British and European sociological literature and that has stimulated similar debates in Canada. Rooted mainly in neo-marxian theory, the debate represents an attempt to discuss the evolution of the nation state and its relationship to various economic and political divisions. In a primarily social constructionist perspective, it grapples with the notions of class and 'race' as social divisions in society, and the concepts of the state and 'nation' are re-crafted as key conceptual groundwork towards an understanding of 'race' and 'ethnic' processes and politics.

THEMES IN THE 'EURO-BRITISH' DEBATES

The Debates in Context:

In the history of the study of 'race' and 'ethnic' processes in Europe there have been several phases of debate and accepted paradigms dating from the Second World War. These are typically shaped by the political circumstances of the given 'national' context. For example, in Western Europe, the events of World War II and its aftermath, including the eventual international recognition of genocide as a crime against humanity, led to a major re-evaluation of sociological theories on the subject of racism and 'race relations'. Previously, traditional scientific theories of racism assumed that 'races' were biologically constituted and inquiries tended to focus on the differences between them, leading often to 'qualitative' conclusions about 'racial' characteristics. In France, de Gobineau's work, especially his *Essay on the Inequality*

of the Human Races, ascribed immutable differences to what he perceived as the three 'races' (ie. *white, yellow and black*). In England, Robert Knox attempted to develop a science of 'race' (Solomos and Back, 1996). The popularity of Social Darwinism and eugenics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century blended with theories of 'race' in both scientific and social thought.

It was in the American context that a shift in academic thought on 'race' occurred with the first sociological analyses of 'race relations': "the focus was no longer on innate or acquired features characterising a particular human group, but on—predominantly inter-cultural— relations between groups" (Wieviorka, 1995a:11). The most prolific figure of the field, especially characterising the work of the Chicago school during the 1920s, was Robert E. Park. The focus was typically on issues of 'assimilation' in relation to his optimistic cyclical 'race relations'; from contact to competition to accommodation to assimilation (Park, 1950). This was a theme that persisted in the American context for many decades to follow, especially in the 1960s and 1970s as sociologists grappled with the 'persistence' of ethnicity and its 'revival' despite the 'integration' of immigrants (Yancey et al., 1976; Burgess 1978). By the 1960s, the term 'race relations' began to be replaced with 'ethnic relations' in certain academic contexts in the U.S. First, because of a new understanding of inter-group relations as 'inter-cultural relations', and second, it is surmised, because of political pressure to defuse 'race' politics in an increasingly volatile political era (Ng, 1991:14).

In the post-war era, in the years following the UNESCO inquiry on 'race' (when international scientists reported to the UN that 'races' are not scientifically based categories), new thinking on the subject had emerged in Europe. European

writers, and in particular a new school of German thought, understandably focused on issues surrounding anti-Semitism, the role of fascism, and the nature of individual prejudice. Racism was seen as a modern ideology, an *ideological weapon of imperialistic politics* (Arendt, 1973) or a *myth* (Poliakov, 1974) cultivated in situations of political and economic competition within and between 'nation states'. Studies on 'race' tended to be unconnected to studies on 'ethnic' processes as the latter were considered primarily 'cultural', anthropological, as opposed to the political and psycho-social bases of 'racist behaviour' and doctrine.

In Britain, the post-war intellectual climate was somewhat different from other parts of Europe given that Britain was not occupied during the war. As a 'vanquishing' power, Britain did not grapple as much with the issues of politicised 'race thinking' and the origins of genocidal politics (although given Mosley's fascist party's relative success at the time there was no legitimate reason why British thinkers should not have engaged in these intellectual challenges as well). It was the context of de-colonisation and the strains perceived as a result of increased migration from its 'coloured' Commonwealth citizens that captured the sociological focus in Britain in the 1950s and then increasingly in the 1960s.

As with the other European contexts for sociological debate and inquiry, there were many concurrent theories and positions put forward by writers but certain perspectives lasted to influence wide schools of thought. One of these was a growing school of Marxist thinkers, typical of an era of de-colonisation, socialist revivals in European countries, and post-war liberalisations in human and civil rights. Marxist theorists drew relevance from the history of colonial suppression and exploitation in understanding contemporary forms of 'race' inequality. They argued that racism and

discrimination were rationalisations of class exploitation, especially in the colonial and former colonial settings. Furthermore, during this period the western economies were advancing in relation to this period of increasing labour migration. Writers such as Castles and Kosack (1973) addressed this sociologically by involving these structural conditions in their analyses of 'race' inequality. They applied a *divided working class thesis*, in which racism functioned not so much in the creation of an 'underclass', but rather to divide the working class and interrupt its common consciousness. In this economic approach, racism functioned purely to maintain the dominant order.

By the late 1970s the centrality of colonialism for the study of 'race' and ethnic processes increased. World systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974), migrant labour theory (Phizacklea and Miles, 1980), and the internal colonialism theory (Hechter, 1975) were prevalent models for explaining the role of the capitalist state's involvement in the marginalisation of populations defined as 'racial' or 'ethnic' minority groups. It was commonly argued that capitalist exploitation of labour power from the *periphery* in the *metropolis* was a primary dynamic behind racist domination.

Reacting against what were seen as economically deterministic models, several writers became influential in arguing that colonialism itself, with its set of meanings and particular oppressive mechanisms, structured the *black*¹ experience in Britain (Sivanandan, 1976) lending 'race' theoretical praxis. John Rex's Weberian underclass thesis (1970) argued that colonialism had in essence stigmatised Black

¹ The word *black* is used here in reference to Sivanandan's application of the term, however it is used elsewhere in the thesis printed with a capital 'B' to denote a named group and so as not to essentialise

workers who were then relegated to an *underclass* position because of 'racial' discrimination in various markets (employment, housing, etc.) These were not the only approaches to view 'race' phenomena as separate from the mode of production.

By the early 1980s, the field of cultural studies in Britain burgeoned primarily with the intellectual work of the *Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies* at Birmingham, that produced volumes such as, Policing the Crisis, 1978, and The Empire Strikes Back, 1982. Stuart Hall, a major contributor and leader of this school, questioned the economic determinism of the marxian approach and posited that 'race' is as important to class structuration as class is to race structuration' (Hall, 1980). Leaving Althusserian presuppositions of class and the state, he opted for a Gramscian use of the concept of 'articulation' as a theory and method in cultural studies to refer to 'connections'; ie. linked discursive formations and social forces that change in different contexts and create identities and structures at a given point in time. Consistent with the concerns of cultural studies in general (described as a discursive formation in itself (Hall, 1996:263)), culture and class are presumed to operate not quite separately but, in a relatively autonomous context.

In France, the debates in this area were not quite as active prior to the 1980s. As a *republique*, the 'nation's' Jacobin principles downplayed 'difference', which was reflected in themes of sociological inquiry. Colette Guillaumin's groundbreaking analysis (1977; 1991; 1995) did emerge eventually in translation, amongst other progressive *oeuvres* (but was slow to travel in the international context because of language barriers) and became part of a new sociological movement. Her work augured a non-reductionist analysis of social relations in which she sought to

a category of group belonging. Its meaning is not self-evident, sociologically or otherwise, and

disassociate the 'signifier' from the reproduction of the social relation. According to her, it was the link between the two that was precisely what needed to be explained (Guillaumin, 1995). This was part of a new general approach toward social constructionism as opposed to essentialism in sociological thought. As Jackson and Penrose asserted in Constructions of Race, Place and Nation (1993:3): "All constructions of "reality" must be seen as a product of the human capacity for thought and, consequently, are subject to change and variability."

Post-structuralism and post-colonialism:

In the 1980s, the cultural studies approach came to intersect with a growth in intellectual work in the area of postmodern studies that focused on the *postcolonial subject* (Bhabha, 1990a; Spivak, 1996), fragmented identities (Lash and Friedman, 1992) and the de-centring of political life in the state arena. Often quoted was Foucault's theory of truth, discourse and power (1980) but sociologists and political scientists applied the 'anti-grand narrative' theories in specific contexts of understanding politics of inequality in the state (McLellan and Richmond, 1994; Magnusson and Walker, 1988). The point for post-structuralists and postmodernists was to deny the 'structuralist' assumption of a homogenous 'social totality' and point out that a new era had ensued, a historical period of variegated political identities and the fragmentation of the social.

This perspective resonated for many in the United Kingdom, in a time when the Left had not succeeded, as the ever-persistence of the neo-conservative government reflected. Writers posited that 'The Left' is so heterogeneous, it is no

therefore a proper name reference is used for those who are called Black, or call themselves Black.

longer even constituted by a shared logic or politics (Rutherford, 1990). Furthermore, the unabating systemic racisms in British society demanded re-conceptualisation. The postcolonial writings were reflective of the experiences of those formerly colonised, seeking a form of resistance that class politics had not provided. It was argued that it is in relation to the monolithic 'whole' or centre, of modernist liberal politics that the 'other' is determined, referred to as the *subaltern*, and heterogeneity within the 'group' is suppressed (Yeatman, 1994). Writers sought to disempower discourses of the 'First world' which constructed a peripheral 'Third world', outside and *inside* the 'First world'. While cognizant of the international labour migration regimes that shape social relations, *interruption* of hegemonic discourse was the primary political and analytical terrain for postcolonial writers.

In writing on issues of 'ethnicity' and racism, the field became known as the *cultural politics of difference*; the word 'difference' being a key term in reference to a Derridean application (1978), and in acknowledgement of the limits of Liberal relativism. 'Difference' connoted not merely *diverse* 'groups' but rather subjects as 'othered', overdetermined by hegemonic politics embodied in discourse (Bhabha, 1990b). One criticism of these theories was that they entailed a reductionism of their own and a tendency to describe society as a totally open discursive field. As Hall pointed out, language is not social practice, rather, "the social operates *like* a language" (Hall, 1996:146). There are limits to discursively based analyses. However, while criticisms were levelled, the body of work left an impression on sociologists seeking to re-interpret class politics in light of 'intersected' identities, the necessity to *mine* power and discover articulations in the discursive, and a rejection of the essentialisation of social groups in which earlier theory was embedded.

Enter: Nation

While the postmodern and post-structural analyses were drawing attention to the necessity of acknowledging the complexity of the political subject and actor, the sociological debates on 'race' and class continued, albeit increasingly nuanced by the theoretical advances discussed above. One of the major writers from the earlier CCCS school, Paul Gilroy, took the separate ontological status of 'race' quite far in positing that, first, 'race' is a basis for action (aside from class) as one element through which the social formation is 'structured in dominance' (Gilroy, 1980:51). Second, forms of social differentiation have different histories of subordination and often cannot be disentangled empirically. He added and elaborated in a 'cultural politics of race' theory, most notably in his book, There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack (1987), that there are historical connections between racism and nationalism and the two are integrally linked in discourse and structure. In Britain it is through the notion of 'culture' that nation becomes 'racially' identified, thus creating an exclusive national community. His work entered a new debate from 'race and class', to 'race, class, and nation'. It was during the 1980s that the concept of 'nation' began to be considered more centrally in understandings of racisms and 'ethnic' processes.

Typical studies on 'the nation' prior to the 1980s focused on the ideology of nationalism and its elaboration in a political movement. The 'nation' itself was taken for granted sometimes as a primordial unit, or a *sui generis* political actor in modern state development (Bauer, 1924), even in approaches that acknowledge the need for strategic 'nation-building' to maintain the state's viability (eg. Deutsch, 1966). Anthony Smith (1986) wrote extensively on the *ethnic* origins of nations. He surmised that pre-modern *ethnies* are determining elements of modern 'nations'.

Smith (1986) identified his stance as *between* the 'perennialists' and the 'modernists', the latter occupying much of the contemporary debates. Gellner's work (1983) was at the centre of the modernist perspective in explaining the evolution of nations and nationalisms, arguing that industrial society required a cultural homogeneity in order to function and therefore generated the necessary ideologies. Materialist (or *developmentalist*) writers in particular analysed the inverse formulation of the politics of nations, that is, the role of the state in the development of nations rather than vice versa. They located the evolution of nations in modernity and capitalist development, referring to them as *invented nations* (Hobsbawm, 1990) and *imagined communities* (Anderson, 1983).

Therefore, the debate did not begin and end with the capitalist mode of production. Neo-marxist writers addressed criticisms of economic determinism and various schools converged on social construction theory and the need to focus more closely on the centrality of the state in these relations. In particular, the concept of 'articulations' was introduced in many writings, where different types of social forces besides 'race and class', such as gender and 'nation' (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; Brah, 1996), were given greater analytical place. By this time it was widely agreed that the boundaries of the nation "do not coincide with the so-called nation states" (Yuval-Davis, 1997:3). Neo-Marxist sociologists of racisms and 'ethnic' processes tended to agree that if the nation was an ideological formation structured partly through the capitalist mode of production, it stood to reason that other aspects of boundary and identity formation, similarly constructed would necessarily articulate with each other.

A new debate was apparent in Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s on the articulations between social group constructions within the nation state. Robert Miles' long time sustained criticism of the term 'race' in social scientific discourse became widely instilled in the literature within which there was a paradigmatic move away from the issue of 'race relations' to an emphasis on racism. He argued (1989;1993) among other key points, that there are not only *exterior* processes of racism (ie. the postcolonial model) but *interior* processes that led to specific modalities of racism, specific to the 'nation' state.

In this climate of discussion on process and articulation, an old term came back, given new prominence: *nationalisation*. (Noiriel, 1991; 1996; Balibar, 1988; 1991; Brubaker, 1996; Miles, 1993; Silverman, 1992). Previously the term was used by Mosse (1975) and Nairn (1981), among other writers, to describe the ongoing process of nation-building apparent in European states attempting to create a united polity through the cultivation of existing national ties by activating symbolic icons and unifying myths. With the later discussions on 'exclusionary and inclusionary processes' within the nation state, the term took on an added dimension. It specifically referred to the role of the state in setting the stage for articulations of class, racialisation and gendering processes. The state was reformulated in modernity as a *nationalising* set of institutions (Balibar,1988) that in an ongoing, always unfinished manner, attempts to construct a 'homogenous' community (Miles, 1992; 1993) and all analyses of social relations within the state would therefore have to take that into account.

From this brief overview of a sociological debate in Europe, focusing primarily on the British context, several key presuppositions are derived and applied in this thesis. The following sections outline these key ideas that make up the alternative theoretical framework.

ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL APPARATUS

The Political Economy of Boundary Formations:

The brief history of the sociology of 'race' and the debates over 'race' and class in the European context, show that the dynamics behind these boundary formations are complex and not easily explained in a simple formulation. One of the main presuppositions of this thesis is that the first place to begin in an analysis of social process is with the structural underpinnings and mechanisms that cause social change and reproduce patterns. Therefore, as a preliminary statement on the importance of political economy to the study of 'ethnic' processes, this thesis takes several essential cues from the realist philosophy of social life. First, social reality is stratified. Second, following from that, any analysis of social life must draw links between larger structural mechanisms and the micro-events under study (Outhwaite, 1987:58). A macro level approach involves the effects of international capitalism, via the state, on internal modalities of racism and racialisation processes, in articulation with class and other processes of social differentiation. The importance of the labour migration perspective begins the discussion on how to theorise the construction and

politicisation of 'ethnic' categories and the emergence of NMEUOs in the nation state.

One of the main points put forward by Robert Miles (1982) in his earlier work was that the experience of migration was not coincidental to, or 'autonomous' from, the unequal social relations experienced by immigrant groups in the country of immigration. In conditions of uneven capitalist development, groups of foreign born workers are *imported* into Western industrialised countries (*metropoles*), and incorporated into differing sites of relations of production. In the era of reconstruction, following the Second World War, cheap labour was a consequence of the circumstances of war, and East-West movements constituted large-scale labour migrations across Europe in a process of capital accumulation (Munz, 1996). The very process of displacement reflects the requirements of capital and explains the basis of the structured inequalities (Castles and Kosack, 1973). However, as Roxanna Ng explains², the emerging unequal social relations are not automatic but constructed through the struggles of people 'grouped together by their differing relationships to the emerging dominant mode of production' (Ng, 1991:14).

In analysing the inequalities of immigrant populations in relation to the dominant society, the structural constraints of unequal economic positioning pre-existed the incorporation of groups of native or foreign-born workers. Miles concluded that labour migration then is the *primary dynamic which created the terrain for racial categorisation* (1982:159) in Western Europe following the Second World War. This labour migration approach is applied to the Canadian case (Bolaria and Li, 1988; Satzewich, 1992a and 1992b; Stasiulis, 1997b) in studies that look at

how the country's history of restricted immigration policy articulated with racist ideologies and manifested in the differential incorporation of workers and often their outright exclusion from certain locations of production. This aspect of Canadian history will be explored in Chapter Three while further and related aspects of the theoretical apparatus are discussed here.

Racialisation:

The sociological task, therefore, involves examination of how and why the contradictions of capitalism are experienced and defined by some classes at certain historical conjunctures in terms of 'race'... (Satzewich, 1990 :258).

In this political economy approach, 'racial' categorisations overdetermine class position. In the migrant labour process, workers are still members of the working class; not an 'underclass', nor a separate class, rather, they are *class fractions* (Miles, 1989). Objectively, they occupy specific positions in the relations of production that unite them with native-born workers, yet they are divided as workers, categorised through 'race thinking'. Class is an objective position defined through the relation to the means of production (constructed through subjective meanings as well), yet it is always overdetermined by other structures of domination and division, such as racist and sexist ideologies, through which class fractions are constituted.

'Race' is also manifested a great deal through subjective phenomena, but while 'race' is subjective for many, it is objective in so far as it is socially constructed, institutionalised, and applied in structures of domination. 'Racial' meanings result from historical processes of differentiation based in racist ideology.

² In her comments she makes reference to Philip Corrigan, ed. (1980) "Capitalism, State Formation and Marxist Theory" (London: Quarter Books).

The ideologies are multiple since they are historically and conjuncturally based, hence the use of the term 'racisms'. The point is that there are underlying structures and mechanisms that produce exclusive boundaries that are identified as 'racially based'. As Bob Carter (1996) writes:

In contemporary Britain, it *is* frequently black people who occupy low paid, low status jobs, who form the longest queues at the airport passport control, who are overwhelmingly the target of racist attacks. Explanations for this require some grasp of how, and in what ways, inequalities are generated and reproduced. To repeat, this cannot be found in accounts starting from a notion of 'race' since they assume what needs to be explained, namely the distribution of material goods and rewards according to racialised criteria (1996b:11).

Therefore understanding 'racial' boundaries requires probing into the conditions that produce these categories. Racist ideology in conjunction with unequal economic processes leads to what become 'racial' boundaries through the process of *racialisation*. According to Miles this concept refers to:

... those instances where social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities (1989:75).

Racialist (differentiating) signification refers to a process whereby ascribed biological characteristics are assigned to a group based on phenotypical traits which leads to a common sense interpretation of the group in relation to those ascribed features³. This is a central process in understanding group formation because it configures inclusive and exclusive boundaries in relation to ascribed traits and

³ Robert Miles was not the first or only one to discuss this concept in the British context (Banton, 1977) but in a unique approach, has been the most consistent and influential to argue its analytical utility in reference to 'race' phenomena and in relation to the role of the state.

constitutes a major factor in the delineation of group 'representation', in articulation with other processes of differentiation as mediated by the state.

Intersections:

Class fractions are marked not only by racialised significations but other markers of differentiation, such as ethnicity and gender. 'Ethnicity' is typically treated as a group boundary based on cultural identification. There is tremendous variegation that occurs in relation to constructing 'ethnic' boundaries, between meaning derived on the basis of, for example, country of origin, religion, family practices, and personal experiences. It is similar to 'race' because it is subjected to naturalisations and reifications, but based in cultural, instead of biological, significations. Therefore, 'ethnicity' is both subjectively and objectively configured; the latter, through the application of cultural significations in discursive and material practices that separate out a given 'group' from the dominant society, as an 'ethnic other' in particular historical circumstances. This process is referred to as *ethnicisation* and represents the state of flux that constitutes 'ethnicity'.

Often, racialisation and ethnicisation are intertwined, depending on the significations in the given historical conjuncture. Sometimes they are interchangeable, when for example cultural differences are *naturalised* and hence become racialised. In many cases historically, 'ethnic' boundaries and cultural significations were racialised in Canada and then were *de-racialised* or *re-ethnicised*, at a new conjunctural moment, in relation to new conditions of capital accumulation, as reflected in labour migration regimes. For example, in the cases of the Irish and Jewish immigration to Canada at the turn of the century, members were treated originally as separate 'races' from 'Anglo-Saxon' inhabitants whereas today they are

perceived as 'ethnic' groups. For the reason that both 'racial' groups and 'ethnic' groups are socially constructed and constituted within particular historical conjunctures, and inherently intersecting, the word 'ethnic' is used in this thesis to refer to all *ethnic and racialised* groups in Canada.

Gendered significations also constitute racialised and ethnicised social relations. The various processes of differentiation traverse each other in the struggle over the means of production and reproduction over time (Ng, 1991). Every social subject is constituted by these social relations, intersected by the given significations in a binary way. When a group is defined as "Black", or "female", it is in relation to the 'opposite', or the *norm* of "White", and "male". Or, White females are racialised in relation to 'non-White women'. "Both sets of significations figure the body as a bearer of immutable difference whether or not this putative difference is represented as biological or cultural" (Brah, 1996:157). Gendered significations intersect with 'racial' and 'ethnic' meanings constituting groups in particular ways at given historical moments, inscribed by dominant relations.

The intersecting processes are most plainly observable in the sexual division of labour of racialised and ethnicised workers. Early in the century, White Canadian women's groups, *moral reformers* (Valverde, 1991), worked to recruit White women for immigration as domestic workers and applied 'racial' *purity* criteria. Later, this 'gatekeeping' role, once held by medical Doctors for their ability to 'detect' 'racial inferiority' (McLaren, 1990) and by 'Ladies Societies' (Roberts, 1990), was eventually taken over by the state. Immigration policy was systemically restrictive enforcing an encapsulation of racialised and sexualised constructions. In the case of the Female Domestic Labour Program for example, introduced in 1951, women from

the Caribbean were brought in on temporary restrictive visas, without the rights of sponsoring family members, changing occupations, and without the privilege to develop a personal life and their own families (Arat-Koc, 1997). This was a major change from earlier in the century when White workers were available for these jobs. They were given landed immigrant status in the hopes that they would fulfil a reproductive role as 'mothers of the nation' (Roberts, 1990). When non-White workers began to be recruited, the jobs were assigned by the state as temporary and tenuous (Bakan and Stasiulis, 1994).

To understand the 'content' and shifts in significations, it is to the politics of the 'national' that the focus now turns. The 'national' as an inclusionary and exclusionary frame is also mediated by the state through unequal relations and articulates with other processes of differentiation:

There is a complex gender politics of nation and nationalism, including both the gendering of the nation as female and the construction of women as mothers of the nation, responsible for its physical, cultural and social reproduction (Pettman, 1996:187).

The institutionalisation of the 'national' in the social formation continuously articulates with differentiating processes, redefining or re-inscribing them with meanings. As the British writers noted earlier in the chapter, 'race' and nation articulate in a myriad of ways. Etienne Balibar wrote about articulations of the 'national' signification:

the racial-cultural identity of 'true nationals' remains invisible, but it can be inferred (and is ensured) *a contrario* by the alleged, quasi-hallucinatory visibility of the 'false nationals': the Jews, 'wogs', immigrants, 'Pakis', natives, Blacks... (Balibar, 1991:60).

Consistent with this political economy approach, it is argued that the state plays a key role in the management and reproduction of these social relations. The history of a given state is a history of decisions, 'liberalisations', and restrictions on who may enter the social formation for labour, 'peopling', and development, which comprise *nation-building* policies. Implicit in nation-building is the construction of racialised and *nationalised* categories of belonging and exclusion.

THE STATE

Even a limited definition of the state prescribes that it is the sum of all governing organisations and institutions in a given society. More boundless interpretations deem 'the state' as a totality of power that is embedded in civil society, through material, political and ideological domination of it (Foucault, 1980). In other words, there is a debate over, among other things, the extent to which the state is a separate or integrated aspect of what is typically thought of as civil society, the latter presuming the erasure of it. It is identified in this thesis as a set of organisations and institutions (including the bureaucracy, judiciary, military), laws, norms, policies and programs, which regulate and manage the sovereign political community. However, a simple definition does not begin to describe the complex social relations that are affected and constituted in the state.

Abstractly, the state refers to apparatuses of regulation and control through legal, coercive and ideological mechanisms. The state is not the government itself, because it persists, it carries out functions regardless of the individuals or parties in power (Panitch, 1977). It has an ongoing kind of permanence to it that defies quick

changes or overhauls. It evolves and adjusts its functions and the strategies designed to maintain them, in relation to structural tensions and undergoes shifts which are then reflected in policy direction, in relation to conjunctural change. It is the contradictions it mediates, which pose the challenges to its substantive constancy.

Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992:22) write that the state comprises a:

... body of institutions which are centrally organized around the intentionality of control with a given apparatus of enforcement at its command and basis. This does not mean that the state is unitary either in its practices, projects or its effects (1992:22).

In this definition one gathers that the state is an expansive and controlling entity, linked to many institutions, many dimensions of social life. The vast linkages make it difficult for a unified approach.

The ideological 'unity' is reproduced through ongoing dialogue with separate spheres of society in a context of managing *accumulation* and *legitimation* functions. It is a central assumption that the state evolved as the administrator of the sovereign political community in modernity with the development of capitalism, as an organising pervasive body within which markets and economic development could flourish. It functions as a mediating force among the various interests of society, albeit with the primary function of guarding the financial interests of capitalist development and securing capital *accumulation*. Its secondary function is to organise civilized conditions for workers through redistributive measures and *legitimizing* social policy as a means to maintain the first function. These functions are necessarily contradictory and thus managing this and related contradictions is the central project of the modern nation state (Offe, 1984).

Citizenship:

Citizenship refers to the set of rights bestowed on the legal member of a given political community. It also signifies 'belonging' and therefore inhabits a more profound meaning, skirting inclusivity and exclusivity. 'Citizenship', and related issues surrounding identity and belonging, are generally treated as a 'soft' function of the state but as was discussed in the previous section, 'who' enters the national territory and why they enter at a certain point in time, and their role in production relations, is centrally determined by the state and regulated thereafter. Citizenship is integrally linked in this way to the *accumulation* function as well as being a form of legitimation of unequal structures because of the 'rights' it entails. It is useful to summarize 'citizenship' very broadly as the relationship between individuals and the state (Jenson, 1991) because it necessitates investigation into the layers and mediations of this complex relationship. It is not merely a benign legal status but a central terrain in which relations of inequality are mediated in the state, marking the boundaries of belonging in the *nation*.

Citizenship Regimes:

In the era following the Second World War, when Western industrialised societies world wide were addressing economic 'reconstruction', *legitimation* strategies were introduced through social welfare provisions and the formal recognition of the role of labour unions in policy formation as a counterbalance to capital accumulation interests and structural imbalances. The post war era was defined by a particular social contract between the state and 'citizens groups', marked by the contradictions and interests of the period. The social contract is a

model of citizenship and is referred to here as a 'citizenship regime' (Jenson and Phillips, 1996). A *regime* defines specific parameters of claims-making and possibilities for representation. Therefore, in this perspective, citizens do not normally represent interests based on 'inherency' necessarily, or have access to participation 'on demand' in society. Rather, the basis of 'claims-making' is proscribed by the *citizenship regime*, which is "forged out of the political circumstances of a national state" (Jenson and Phillips, 1996:113).

This concept is important because the relationship between the state and civil society is never 'natural' but rather it is constructed, mediated through various internal and external state processes. It points out the role of the state in regulating aspects of social relations in general, and the particular historical importance of the rise of the social welfare state following the Second World War. According to Balibar (1988), the state was inscribed in the daily life of social practice by the 19th century but the post-war era ushered in an increasingly intervening state that progressively erected institutions for the 'normalisation' of class conflict. He calls this the 'social state'. In a 'national' frame, the state fused private and public life in a new form of social citizenship.

Jenson and Phillips (1996) explain that the social welfare state in Canada and its particular *citizenship regime* grew out of the experiences of the Second World War and its economic circumstances. Social solidarity, labour rights and national standards were stressed in the public affairs of nation building in the 'era of reconstruction'. Endemically, the *citizenship regime* in Canada focused on group representation and social justice with most emphasis on labour rights, given the growing working class militancy. Furthermore, "This discourse of social justice

accompanied a boom in state support for intermediary organizations which might represent citizens to and in the state” (Jenson and Phillips, 1996:118). One of the principle purposes for this discourse was to incur ‘national solidarity’ and enlist citizens into the nation-building project.

During the 1960s the *regime* was further enhanced by civil rights movements when new social groups were recognised by government agencies in the national project, again as ‘intermediaries’ configured as types of ‘claims-makers’. According to these writers, the state does not create ‘identities’ because they are the domain of collective action, but the state may recognise only some thereby shoring them up more than others. Yet, “As it defines rights or grants access, the state simultaneously engages in representing citizens to themselves” (Jenson and Phillips, 1996:114). The effects on the configuration of ethnic representative organisations is the ultimate concern of this thesis.

Exclusionary and Inclusionary Processes

While the state enables the accumulation function in its particular role in the management of the relations of production, it necessarily participates in the ‘reproduction of certain essential political and ideological conditions and relations’ (Bovenkerk, et al, 1990). Taking into consideration both the structural context in which the state operates, and the substantive interventions it has produced in the ‘national’ society, one might say that ‘the state constructs social relations as national and race relations’ (Silverman, 1991:337). Thus on entering the Canadian state, *migrants were not entering an ideologically neutral terrain* (Miles, 1982:162).

As it was discussed, the state always implies a set of boundaries. It is the legal enforcer of borders and notions of *belonging*, stemming from 'nationality', and various social processes of differentiation such as racialisation. The state then is a gatekeeper for the 'community' based on definitions of who may be admitted to the community and its privileges, and who may not. Concretely, it polices these lines through a number of measures, primarily through the institution of citizenship, among other means such as immigration policy and 'integration policies' which are subsumed in the remit of 'citizenship' in the Canadian example, until the 1970s.

Therefore, the state not only configures representation in a given *citizenship regime* through the inherent categorisations of claims-makers through institutional and legal mechanisms, but there is a further process, as discussed so far, that affects representation and group construction: ideological and differentiating processes are mediated through the state. Significations are mediated through the state and overdetermine class in the international migration regime. As Balibar wrote about the role of the state in relation to racist processes in the European context:

In essence, modern racism is never simply a '*relationship to the Other*' based upon a perversion of cultural or sociological difference; it is a relationship to the Other *mediated by the intervention of the state*. Better still- and it is here that a fundamentally unconscious dimension needs to be conceptualised- it is *a conflictual relationship to the state which is 'lived' distortedly and 'projected' as a relationship to the Other* (Balibar, 1991:13).

Balibar eloquently summarises a major point regarding a contention made in this thesis on the construction of 'identity' groups and 'ethno-racial' processes. Exclusionary and discriminatory ideologies and practices such as racism and sexism, for example, are given meaning and articulate within the nation state, and distort social relations. So,

formations such as NMEUOs should not be 'taken for granted' as extensions of 'ethnic' groups but rather may be analysed as refracted forms of administrative categories constructed by the state. They are projected as *natural* and politicised as such. The next section will discuss the last and major component of the alternative theoretical framework.

Nationalisation

The 'nation' articulation has been discussed for its overdetermining significations of social relations and the automatic boundaries it entails. It is discussed here as a primary mode in which the state configures 'ethnic' representation. As Gerard Noiriel investigates in his research on the history of citizenship institutions in France (1991; 1996), the national is institutionalised in society through state projects and policies. It delimits political participation and mobilisations by infusing the social with 'national' meanings and parameters. The *nationalising* process articulates with other social relations and *structures one's relationship to the other*.

The starting point for any discussion of the 'national' and related phenomena is, as discussed earlier, that 'nations' are not 'real' or fixed historic communities. In E. Hobsbawm's book, Nations and Nationalism since 1870 (1990), he points to premodern community organisation and exposes the heterogeneous origins of modern nation states. Essentially, nationalisms were promoted based on *invented* 'nations'. The phenomenon of nationalism is mainly "top-down" with subjective rationalisation from "the bottom". This means that historically the state imposed a national identity for the purpose of unification, in order to consolidate an economic territory. It did so in some cases by taking advantage of collective bonds which were already active (*proto-nationalisms*),

such as a common political history, an elite language and symbolic icons which may be related to religion, for example. National cultures were invented and integrative ties were established through the invention of a national language. Ties were cemented through the democratisation of politics (ie. enfranchisement) and the creation of a 'civic religion': patriotism (Hobsbawm, 1990:85). Culture was invented and passed on through schooling and the press (Anderson, 1983) and other institutional media.

Given that the 'nation' form has its own politically constructed history, it is not the *realness* of the nation that is theoretically relevant here but rather the "process through which the political fiction of the nation becomes momentarily yet powerfully realized in practice" (Brubaker, 1996:15). The 'nation' then is not only as Benedict Anderson puts it, an 'imagined community' but is also necessarily an 'institutionalised community'. In a major work, "La tyrannie du national" (1991), Gerard Noiriel documents through a historical study on the right of asylum in France since 1793 how the *national has pervaded* social groups. The book discusses the Republican and philanthropic origins of this right and its gradual de-liberalisation over the years through the increasing groundswell of ideas regarding the 'national' and concomitant exclusive boundaries created through the institution of citizenship. With respect to citizenship, various methods and techniques were developed (eg. Identity cards, *Bertillonage*) to classify those in the territory, keeping track of the whereabouts of foreigners for purposes of control and possible expulsion. The book is not only about a particular form of migration to France but it is also a historical analysis of a modern process of citizenship policy development that became overdetermined by the 'national' and is relevant in analysing all modern nation states.

The theory argues that, with the rise of national identity, the *social bond* is no longer based on direct relations but rather on the mediated identities of the regulating 'national' state. He points out that a major change occurred in France in 1889 when it adopted its first Nationality Law because it accompanied a process of economic and social integration that enabled the seeping of the 'national' into civil society. The methods of control and monitoring that the French government used earlier in the century laid the groundwork for the use of citizenship as a delimiting factor later on. Many of the methods, and certainly the bureaucratisation of 'identity' and belonging, are now institutionalised in most 'nation states', especially since the introduction of the social welfare state following the Second World War. Through the use of archival documents and secondary material, Noiriél maps out the conjunctural moments of change in citizenship norms and how refugee policy changed in tandem with it. Methodologically, this work is the closest example for the framework of this research. While this thesis does not address refugee policy in Canada, it does apply the theoretical approach, in mapping out the conjunctural moments of change in Canadian citizenship discourse, as manifested in developments of an 'ethnic liaison' policy. This narrative is considered in relation to the effects it had on the categorisations of 'ethnicity' as expressed in the delineations and formations of NMEUOs.

According to Noiriél (1996), *nationalisation* not only pervades culture and political life, but also the very categorisations of social life in terms of 'identity groups' and social organisation. Since the development of the social welfare state following the Second World War, it has intensified as technological methods of identification have become all the more advanced and invasive, and people openly

integrate and reproduce this individualised relationship with the state, as they accept their categorisations *onto their bodies* even. The greater markets extend, pushing universalism into international rights, and citizenship rights, etc, the greater the national space is preserved and downloaded to individuals as its subjects, constituents and *physical vessels*. The national *thus pervades the social* and, in the case of 'ethnic' politics, defines the parameters of *claims-making*. The state, through its processes of legalisation and bureaucratisation has categorised not only 'insiders and outsiders', but social groups in general in relation to the 'national'. As the bureaucracy grew, such as it did following the Second World War;

Administrative categories contributed to the forging of individual and collective identities, in other words, to the perception that individuals and groups had of themselves and of others" (Noiriel, 1996: xxii).

As Jenson and Phillips (1996) have argued, the categorisations then present different opportunities for political mobilisation. The state does not create 'identity' but, in terms of political mobilisation, this form of institutionalisation of social groups privileges certain aspects of collective identity. Not only does the citizenship regime encourage a particular form of claims-making but the 'national' configures the claims-'makers' further.

There are three ways in which the concept of *nationalistion* is applied to the history of NMEUO formations. First, NMEUOs are *nationalised* forms of 'ethnic' organisation because in organisational structure, they encompass a national representation. This is theoretically important because they are reflections of the *nationalisation* of state institutions in general. With the centralisation of political life at the 'national' level, (which will be discussed further in Chapter Three),

organisations are required to operate at the national level. The local must be reorganised or *re-represented* through a 'national' body, thus affecting group configuration. As Noiriel (1996) explains, with the development of the state territory, members of 'ethnic' communities are confronted with the barrier of distance:

They had to designate their representatives and enter into a juridicial-bureaucratic process of categorization and identification without which they would not be able to defend their rights (1996: xxiii).

The 'national' is not just a 'level' or spatial metaphor for organisation but, as was discussed earlier in the chapter, it inherently implies boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in the state. Thus, the 'ethnic' NMEUO categorisations are not arbitrary. They are overdetermined by class, gendered, racialised and ethnicised significations, and are constituted by 'national' meanings and boundaries.

The second way they are *nationalised* is that state administered categorisations of 'ethnicity' reflect historical conjunctures of the state and the significations active in the given period. So the 'national' construct imparts *meaning* to categories, which changes over time, based on shifts in the conjunctural ensembles of ideological, political and economic relations in the mediation of state crisis. Therefore, it is expected in the history of state development that the 'national vision' is 'contracted out' to 'intermediary institutions' such as NMEUOs. They mediate the 'national' for the state and reproduce it in relation to its many contradictions. Mediating the 'national' is another way than that NEMUO's may be considered *nationalised*. As such they are automatically bestowed with 'legitimacy' in the state and are therefore characterised by 'legitimate politics' of 'national unity'.

Third, and stemming from the second point, the history of the nation form and its institutionalisation have implications for the sociological treatment of modern 'ethnic groups' and political organisations because it points out the "fictive element" (Balibar, 1991:96) of these 'identity' groups. If it were not for the assumption of the *nation*, 'ethnic' communities would not exist delineated along the lines that they are configured at a given point in time. In a binary way, 'identity groups' are constructed in relation to each other. If one is entering a 'national' space, in a system of global nations, then one must be 'from a nation of origin', which delineates ones 'ethno-nationality' for administrative purposes. Given that nations are in reality heterogeneous, this complicates the immigrant experience in the host society, but yet is administered on this simple basis.

A CANADIAN NATION?

The theoretical model that has been discussed so far has borrowed heavily from European writers and relied on research from European countries. Do such analytical concepts apply in the Canadian case? Theory quoted so far has focused on the institutionalisation of the nation form in France, more than other regional areas. However, although the national political model is perhaps more exaggerated in the French Republic, commentators have identified a similar historical political process in other 'nation states'. Brubaker (1996) has looked at this process in Eastern Europe and it has been discussed in relation to the German case (Mosse, 1975; Elias, 1996) and British history (Nairn, 1981; Miles, 1993). Sami Zubaida (1993) explored the bureaucratic role of the capitalist state in institutionalising 'the nation' in the Middle

East. Yet few writers have identified this kind of process in North America (eg. Nagel, 1986) and especially in Canada.

One major reason is that it is felt that the Canadian federation is not a 'true' nation. Social scientists have tended to treat the Canadian federal system as an objective political structure unimbued with ideological import. It is treated as a *non-nation*, its federal structure born out of economic union primarily, what may be considered a 'marriage of convenience'. In sociological terms it has held the contested title of 'White settler colony' (Abele and Stasiulis, 1989), a label that acknowledges the hegemonic nature of the Anglo-dominant culture and political system, but avoids 'nation' terminology.

This is the reasoning of writers who leave out theories of 'nation' in relation to analysing Canadian politics and society, except for discussions of 'Quebecois nationalism'. However, prior to the 1960s and especially in that decade, writers did focus on the *enigma* and dissolution of 'Canadian nationalism'. It can be said that the phenomenon occurred most strongly in a period when writers most felt it was *being lost*. During the 1960s fears were expressed by Canadian writers that, because of the increasing encroachment of the U.S. on Canadian economic and cultural spheres, the country was losing its national identity (Watkins, 1966). This assumes that it had existed in the first place. The 'loss' was *lamented* when it was decided that Canada was to be a branch-plant society of American capitalism (Grant, 1965).

For a long period historically, a *dual nations* concept was discussed (Forsey, 1962) that proposed that "two nations" were living within the Canadian federation (which will be discussed further in Chapter Three). The 'two nations' idea was downplayed for partisan reasons in the period following the events of the *Royal*

Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It was felt that the term should be avoided given that it accorded equal founding status to Quebec, which was not part of the agenda of the Liberal government of the day. Given the belief in either the non-existence or demise of Canadian nationality, applying the concept of nation, nationality, or *nationalisation* to the Canadian confederation is increasingly rarely done by many Canadian social scientists.

One notable exception was Donald Smiley who was unusual amongst Canada's political scientists in acknowledging and exploring the aspect of 'national community' in a broader way than the 19th century 'nationalism' analysis perspectives (1965; 1966; 1967; 1975; 1976; 1980). Furthermore, he argued consistently in his time that: "Nationalism cannot reasonably be discussed apart from some consideration of the growing scope and importance of the activities performed by modern governments" (Smiley, 1966:96). He was referring partially to the presence of what we are terming here *nationalisation*. Despite differences in culture and political drives across the country, 'nationhood' exists in the effort a government devotes to such a project. He argued that the very implication of the intervention of the state in civil society was an important factor in understanding 'national' life.

On an empirical level the *non-nation* position is supported by facts: Canada is an immigrant receiving, officially multicultural society. But as it was explained earlier in the section on *nationalisation*, nations are always 'imagined communities' as well as highly heterogeneous. They are always ongoing projects, institutionalised in various forms, and never 'whole'. In this way, 'nation' is a process and articulates with other social relations in 'nation-building'. Canada does promote a national culture and has institutionalised through centralised cultural and political institutions, a

national 'norm'. Furthermore, Canada has gone through several phases of nation-building, through immigration and citizenship policies, all of which led to the institutionalisation of exclusive 'national' programs and concomitant racialised barriers in the society. Evidence of the effects of a *nationalisation* process is the belief of Canadians in a distinct Canadian national culture revealed in a poll done in 1993 of Canadian opinions on immigrants. It showed that *75% of Canadians feel that immigrants aren't doing enough to assimilate into the national culture* (The Montreal Gazette, December 14, 1993: B1). Although people may not be sure what the 'national culture' consists of, they have imagined its future and constructed its barriers of inclusivity and exclusivity.

Canada's primary political conflict, 'the *national unity crisis*', has been its central challenge and stems from the belief and the vision of a unified political community. While most people living in COQ (*Canada outside Quebec*, Taylor, 1993) would deny that it means there is a Canadian nationality, (again, what is authentic nationality?), minority groups in Canada are quite conscious of the presence of a dominant culture. The accusations of Quebec's separatist leaders of Canada's hegemonic and assimilationist dominance flag up a ubiquitous ideological 'centre' against which minorities are delineated. Some have argued that 'Multiculturalism', the policy of 'diversity', and its offshoot programs, arose precisely to mediate this context of domination:

This is because the very discourse of nationhood in the context of "Canada", given its evolution as a capitalist state derived from a White settler colony with aspirations to liberal democracy, needs an ideology that can mediate fissures and ruptures more deep and profound than those of the capitalist nation state (Bannerji, 1996:109).

'Diversity' is made sanctimonious to the 'nation' while the policy marginalises the very groups it purports to 'recognise'. As in European nation states, the nation form depends on minority groups within to accord its majority status and its own cultural specificity in relation to others. Furthermore, policies of *legitimation* address 'ethnic politics' as a particular, marginal, struggle within the capitalist social formation. The existence of internal boundaries and exclusions is a hallmark of the 'national'.

Since the 1960s, the dominant perspective regarding Canadian politics and citizenship has been to deny the role of 'the national' because of the country's obvious variegations. But more recently, writers on Canada have been using the conceptual language of European sociologists (Smith, 1993; Roberts, 1990; Ng, 1991). The 'national' never does actually fit the boundaries of the state, and so the point is to analyse how classic nation-building ideologies, economics and politics have become institutionalised and *naturalised* in Canadian society in the process of creating a Canadian 'people' and culture. It is in the ongoing *attempt* that social life is deeply inscribed by the relations of inequality and significations bound up in the totality of the project of building the modern nation-state.

CONCLUSION

This chapter began by saying that in order to understand what NMEUOs *are*, they must be theorised in terms of 'how they came into being'. With reference to the opening quote of this chapter by Avtar Brah (1996), since 'ethnic' forms do not reflect already existing 'difference', it is necessary to identify the processes through

which they are constituted and delineated. The alternative theoretical framework explored the role of the state in constructing 'ethnic' categories and influencing the formation of representative configurations. The role of 'state intervention' was expanded from the theories of 'social control' in the previous chapter in that the institutionalisation of the 'national' is 'operationalised' to explain the substantive outcomes of representational forms (within conditions of mediation and regulation). As Balibar (1991) said, one's relationship to the *other* is mediated and *lived* through the interventionist state, and as Noiriél adds, the social bond is re-cast through the 'national'.

Jenson and Phillips' (1996) showed how the institution of citizenship in the liberal democratic society de-limits 'claims-making'. Collectivities are constructed through the delineation of an understanding of 'rights' and interests and thus the state *engages in representing citizens to themselves*. Therefore, *who mobilises when* reflects the given historical *citizenship regime*, the content of which is affected by the conjunctural circumstances in the state, extending theories of political process to the very core of ideological processes of the state. These theorisations of the state and 'citizenship' were included because they broaden and deepen the major sociological argument made, namely that these delineations, 'identity categorisations' (configuring NMEUOs), are overdetermined by significations and processes of differentiation mediated by the capitalist 'national' state. These understandings inform the alternative framework and help to further the theoretical argument regarding the social and political constructions of 'ethnic' boundaries and related formations in the Canadian historical context.

The major factor focused on here in the determination of boundaries is the construct of the 'national'. It is rarely applied in understandings of the *internal* processes of differentiation, such as ethnicisation and racialisation in the Canadian context. It is argued here that it serves to shed light on the particular process of NMEUO proliferation in Canada since the Second World War. The 'national' articulates with other processes of differentiation in shaping the 'ethnic' representative outcomes in the interventionist state. Gerard Noiriel (1996) outlined how the state creates categories through the legalisation and bureaucratisation of 'identities'.

The thesis will look at the circumstances surrounding the formation of most of the NMEUOs recorded since World War Two, placing this trajectory of *nationalised* 'ethnic' politicisation within a historical narrative of state and citizen relations. The framework is crafted on the understanding that 'ethnic' categories are created by the labour importing state in a labour migration process. Therefore, consistent with this theoretical presupposition and political economy approach, some history of 'ethnic' migration patterns of incorporation are included in NMEUO 'case studies' throughout the historical narrative. This is central to analysing the circumstances of the incorporation of the 'group' into the Canadian social formation and the significations that operated in the administration and bureaucratisation of the 'categories' in the receiving state. The approach is grounded in a realist position that links the macro processes with the details of micro level group formations. Changes in the substance of the model of citizenship and the policies of 'ethnic liaison' in particular are explained by conjunctural shifts in the state. These moments, and the historical phases they comprise, will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3:
THE NATIONALISATION OF CANADIAN SOCIETY

Robert Grant Haliburton... lamenting the fact that Confederation had been created with as little excitement among the masses as if a joint-stock company had been formed, he asked, 'Can the generous flame of national spirit be kindled and blaze in the icy bosom of the frozen North? (Berger, 1966:5)

INTRODUCTION

There are several elements that are common to all 'nation-building states'. Among them are, the establishment of a centralised government, the crafting of citizenship laws, and the development of the press and a centralised education system, all of which support the 'invention of nation' (eg. Noiriél, 1991; Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm; 1990). However, a nation-state is more than just the sum of these institutions. As it was suggested in Chapter Two, the state project inherently engages institutions in the ongoing *nationalisation* of society. This process is observable in the 'nation-building' policies and programs of a government at a given time and for example, in the discourses and practices of citizenship and immigration policy, which will be explored in this chapter.

Discourses of the national project, the boundaries of citizenship, and 'ethnicity' articulate in the government's policy of 'ethnic liaison'. 'Ethnicity' is never benign in the state. It is always rendered socially and politically meaningful via intersections of class and gender in particular conjunctural contexts. However, the discursive content of nation does not *create* social relations (such as 'ethnic' relations), but rather, as Valverde (1991:11) put it: "practical social relations are always mediated and articulated through linguistic and non-linguistic signifying

practices.” This thesis discusses both linguistic and non-linguistic signifying practices of the categorising Canadian nation-building state and the effects on organisational configurations of ‘ethnic’ representation in the state. The ideological relations and structural factors affecting ‘ethnic’ social organisation at the national level are explored for each period since the war in the following chapters.

The organisation of the historical material reflects the substantive periods of ‘National Policies’. Canadian history is punctuated with them, introduced usually in the periods following economic re-structuring. The policies comprise visions for development of a given government that are generally reflective of global political economic trends of state accumulation and legitimation strategies, but are specific to the Canadian context of internal crises management. These National Policies are historical beacons and memorials to major structural change in the nation state and efforts to resuscitate nation-building.

This chapter provides the background for the chapters that follow. In the gradual building of a national whole, ‘differences’ were constructed in terms of biological and class significations as related to first colonial domination and then labour migration movements. There are two ways in which this chapter lays important groundwork for the rest. First, it outlines aspects of *nationalisation* of the Canadian state and second, following from that, it shows the history of inclusions and exclusions inherent in that process, a history that informs the categorisations of social groups and their possibilities for ‘claims-making’. The narrative traces the development of a new plane of political access configured as the ‘national’ space in Canada. As Jenson and Phillips (1996) describe, the development of this citizenship regime involved the centralisation of political life in the federal government as well as a change in the

ideological meanings inscribed in the fields of 'belonging' and representation (ie. claims-making).

Following a growing literature in Canadian Feminist historiography (Iacovetti, 1998; Valverde, 1991; Pierson and Chaudhuri, 1998), Canadian history is outlined here through the processes of division that are entrenched in the state and social relations, linking ideological constructions and signifying practices with the history of production relations. This chapter outlines key historical turning points in the development of boundaries of exclusivity and inclusivity and how the national became institutionalised in the Canadian state. It shows how consequently *the state divides us at each historical moment* (Ng, 1991).

The following is not intended as a comprehensive history of the 'national project' in Canada. Rather, it highlights instances in Canadian nation-building that illustrate aspects of the *nationalisation* process. Using secondary sources primarily, it lays the political sociological groundwork for an understanding of the changing relations between 'ethnic' groups and the state over the years since Canada's founding.

PRE-CONFEDERATION

It is difficult to determine with equanimity one defining moment for the beginning of *Canadian history*. Aboriginal peoples have lived in this territory for the past, it is estimated, 40,000 years. Aboriginal nations living in Canada today (except for the Inuit) migrated across the Bering Strait from Siberia during the last ice age. Explorers over the years, from the Norse at the beginning of the millennium, to the

Portuguese, Spanish, and other European kingdoms, made stops in what is presently known as Canada for exploration and exploitation of whaling, fishing, and later for fur trade. It was in the late 16th century that permanent settlement began with the English colony in Newfoundland, and with Champlain's settlement in the area of the St. Lawrence basin in the early 17th century. The English colonial government occupied area to the West and South (eg. New England colonies). Both European presences maintained a relatively co-operative co-existence with Native peoples, albeit an intrusive one, for the purposes of trade in this phase of mercantilism (the French in particular (Jaenen, 1993)).

By the mid 18th century, European-based imperial projects and conflicts put the English and French colonies at war. Each side enlisted the help of Native peoples, Algonquin nations on the French side and Iroquois nations on the English side. The English won a significant battle defeating Quebec on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, later referred to as 'the Conquest'. The French were forced into a compromise that they would 'never forget': *Je me souviens*¹. In 1763, France ceded New France to England in the Treaty of Paris. The English originally undertook a policy of assimilation but reversed it in 1774 in the Quebec Act, when it was clear that 'anglicisation' was not likely or viable for the time being (Francis and Smith, 1994:261). For the next century, the British established responsible government in the provinces (Upper and Lower Canada) while it dominated both areas financially and politically. With the imperial struggle now over, the Native peoples were no longer of use to the colonial governments. The paternalistic relationship between Aboriginal

¹ Who in Quebec can forget; it is the motto printed on provincial automobile license plates.

peoples and colonial governments regressed from 'mutual interest' to that of coercion (Miller, 1991):

They once had been vital to the fur trade, but the trade had departed westward. There was no need to employ Indians as cheap labour on white plantations, for the family farm was the unit of settlement. Nor were there enough Indians to provide a worthwhile market for British manufacturers. The only economic interest that the Empire had in the Indians was to arrange for the peaceful transfer of the land to which their possessory title had been acknowledged by the Proclamation Act of 1763 (Upton, 1994: 375).

Once the responsibility for Indian affairs was transferred from military to civil offices in 1830, colonial legislatures disregarded the treaty between Indians and the Crown and began the process of dispossessing Native peoples from valuable land (Miller, 1991). The 1857 'Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in Canada' reflected a new relationship of paternalistic, assimilationist treatment of Native peoples that included the colonial bureaucratic assumption of deciding who (for 'enfranchisement' purposes) was an Indian and who was not. This change in European-Aboriginal relations signalled a major turning point in the development of modern Canada. The Native Peoples, although never considered 'equals' at least had some relative power independent of the colonial powers but at this point they began to lose their land and their autonomy to the 'developing nation'. It would culminate later in the Indian Act of 1876 which legislated their new status as 'wards' of the Canadian state. It is possible to interpret this event as a key part of the transformation following the Conquest because of the move from a colonial society to a settler society dominated by one 'ethnic group' (a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant group) marginalising and administering the *other ethnic groups*.

The Native peoples were not the only ones to become officially institutionally dominated by English colonial government. Catholics, both French and Irish Catholics, were separated out from White Anglo Saxon Protestant privilege and were deemed 'requiring assimilation'. In a binary fashion, the French were typically racialised differentially from the 'English race' (see the selected historical texts in MacKirdy et al., 1967; Bumsted, 1992). Their Catholic 'Latin' *qualities* were seen as unassimilable into the British nation. Eventually by the mid 1800's, it was argued by certain genealogists that the "French and British peoples both had some Norman stock in common" (Berger, 1966:13) yet these racialised categorisations persisted well into the mid twentieth century². Some British officials advocated banning Irish Roman Catholic migration to Canada altogether. They were also viewed as 'racially' inferior. The Orange Order in Canada³, especially in cities along the eastern sea board, gained widespread Protestant support for their anti-Catholic mandate (See, 1998:380).

During the late 1830's and early 1840's the French *Patriots* staged several rebellions in Lower Canada (presently Quebec) but were suppressed. The semblance of entente between the French and English settlers was tenuous and was again significantly disturbed with Lord Durham's *Report* in 1839. He came to Canada to address the problems related to the rebellions and in the end became famous for his recommendations on the assimilation of the French into the English Empire outpost:

² For example, Arthur Lower consistently refers to the two 'races' in his classic Canadian historical texts which were written in the 1940s (1946) and even as late as the early 1960s, the government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism referred to the French and English Canadians as the 'two founding races'.

³ The Orange Order was originally based in Ireland, led by British garrison troops and Irish Protestants who came to Canada in the earlier part of the 19th century. Later, when Irish Catholics (many escaping the potato famines in the 1840's) came to Canada, a 'nativist' response was triggered because of the competition they posed for jobs in Depression circumstances. The mandate of the Order was to protect 'Protestantism and British institutions against Irish Catholic encroachment' (See, 1998:407). The movement was 'racist' against Catholics.

I know of no national distinctions marking and continuing a more hopeless inferiority. The language, the laws, the character of the North American Continent are English; and every race but the English (I apply this to all who speak the English language) appears there in a condition of inferiority. It is to elevate them from that inferiority that I desire to give to the Canadians our English character (quoted in Craig, 1963:149).

Rebellions challenged any sense of status quo desired by the English colonial governments yet, toward the second half of the nineteenth century, talk of the establishment of a nation-state began to gain prominence. George Etienne Cartier was instrumental in enabling the French and English to reach an agreement (Lower, 1946) because he assured French Canadians that: "Confederation respected their nationality through its recognition of local loyalties and distinctive identities" while creating a 'new nationality' (Laselva, 1996:159). Cartier offered these words of conflict resolution at the time:

We could not do away with the distinctions of race. We could not legislate for the disappearance of the French Canadians from American soil, but British and French Canadians could appreciate and understand their position relative to each other (quoted in Wallace, 1927:36).

CONFEDERATION: THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF BRITISH RULE

Paving over divisions:

July 1st, 1867 was the date of Confederation. However, as was shown in the previous section, it was not the beginning of union developments nor was it the end. There are many theories intended to explain why Confederation became desirable to the leaders of the divided territory. Some of the main reasons given by historians are: the creation of internal markets, exploitation of the Western resources and eastern expansion, and

the threat of American encroachment after the Civil War. Ged Martin (1993) argues that the challenge is to see Confederation not as a result of circumstance (because it negated any logical union development) but rather as an *idea* that lodged itself in the British North American perception of possibility and destiny.

It was discussed in the last chapter that the origin of the *idea* of nation came from the evolution of capitalist relations and the development of markets internationally (Hobsbawm, 1990). Smith argued that the *fathers of Confederation* sought to “ensure a strong central government and executive” and the new union was to “be a credit instrument that would provide the resources necessary for the economic development of the BNA Act” (1993:648). Partly on the basis of a desire to create a new empire in the style achieved by Americans, Canadian leaders encouraged joining together to resist the pull to join the U.S. in a common market, and instead began inventing tradition based on a common future. That future was primarily of a ‘British’ tradition in substance. British institutions were reproduced on Canadian soil and indeed the country’s founding Constitution, the *British North America Act* was modelled after the British example (Stasiulis and Jhappan, 1995). Like *nationalising* European states, Canada was founded on inherent ‘difference’ but in the Canadian case those entrenched differences were ‘cleavages’.

Founding cleavages:

... it was accepted in theory that social evolution expanded the scale of human social units from family and tribe to county and canton, from the local to the regional, the national and eventual global... In practice this meant that national movements were expected to be movements for national unification or expansion (Hobsbawm, 1990:33).

Four provinces joined in the British North America Act (Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) but the new government was very conscious that the rest of the colonies had not joined. Prime Minister John A. MacDonalld became devoted to "rounding up the strays" (Bumsted, 1992). The job of rounding up more provinces involved making extreme concessions, like promising a railroad to Vancouver and ignoring settlement debts regardless of plans not to do so. The union was tenuously based on the joining of colonies that were used to being governed independently and unsure of a centralised authority.

The case of Manitoba's entry into Confederation touches on several of the crises of Canada's political establishment. It exemplifies the regional, cultural and religious cleavages that characterised the new Confederation from the outset. In 1870 the province of Manitoba was created after the Canadian government bought the, formerly Ruperts Land, colony and surrounding Northwest territory from the Hudson's Bay Company. No one had consulted with the Metis (descendants of Native and French parentage) living there and so, during the negotiations, there ensued much protest and resistance against the Canadian expansion. The intention of the federal government was to open the prairies to White Settlement and therefore to "swamp", as P.M. Macdonald put it, the Metis with an influx of settlers (Stasiulis and Jhappan, 1995). Led by Louis Riel, the Metis overthrew the governing council of the settlement and established a provisional government for the negotiation of Confederation. The conflict escalated and eventually Riel was executed. The events became highly

symbolic for Aboriginal peoples and for French Canada of the pervasiveness of racism in the new state⁴.

Aside from cultural and religious cleavages, provincial independence challenged the Confederation too. However, it was Ontario that originally led the debates for greater provincial autonomy in opposition to the centralised 'national planning' of the federal government:

...As early as 1869 Ontario became distressed at 'the assumption by the Parliament of Canada of the power to disturb the financial relations established by the British North America Act (1867) as between Canada and the several provinces' (Bumsted, 1992:14).

Despite the provincialist strains, a movement for cultural nationalism was gaining widespread support by the intelligentsia and key political figures. For example, the 'Canada First' movement was established in 1868 by a group of journalists, writers, poets, businessmen and politicians as a nationalist movement to promote the ideological side of the new union, which they felt was being neglected in the more 'materialist' nation-building campaigns. They sought to apply European principles of nationalism to Canada's development situation. They advocated "a new nationality", a phrase first orated by famous Irish born Canadian journalist and politician, one of the *fathers of Confederation*, D'Arcy McGee:

Trained in the vivid school of Irish nationalism, McGee merely transferred to Canadian soil his nationalist aspirations... D'Arcy McGee was, in truth, the Mazzini of Canadian national unity (Wallace, 1927:28).

⁴ The Metis arrested and imprisoned land surveyors sent by the Canadian government who ignored orders to cease their work. Several months later a squad of men from Ontario planned to overthrow Riel's provisional government but the mission was aborted by a small force of Riel's men. The conflict until this point maintained a controlled veneer but in March of 1870 the Riel government decided (by jury) to execute one of the Orangeman agitators, Thomas Scott. The event became a

He died a year after Confederation. It is thought he was killed by Fenian terrorists⁵, whose cause he consistently criticised. The 'Canada First Movement' adopted his mantra but advocated a more narrow view of Canadian identity⁶, a White British Protestant position, reflective of European imperialism and nationalisms, and the local anti-Catholicism that made up one of Canada's perennial cleavages.

However, 'national belonging' was clearly not a very strong sentiment bearing in mind the amount of emigration to the U.S. The severe economic depression that beset Canada in the post-Confederation years made some question the value of the union altogether. Some severe nation-building was required to stick the pieces in place better than the Confederation Act could. Debates over imperialist versus continentalist responses to economic problems loomed over the fledgling country during those times of economic depression and cultural conflict, but nationalism won out.

THE FIRST 'NATIONAL POLICY'

Policies of economic protectionism had been in place in Canada since the 1840's, but it was Prime Minister John A. MacDonalD who made a link between his Conservative party position, national policies of unification, and the future of the Canadian 'nation': *A Canada for Canadians* (Bennett and Jaenen, 1986). The *National Policy* reflected the desire to create a Canadian economy to withstand integrative pressures from the

powerful symbol for Protestant hatred of the Metis and led to the Canadian government's refusal to grant an amnesty to Riel and his lieutenants following the annexation.

⁵ The Fenians were strongest in Boston but gained popularity in Canada while attempting to win leverage for their political cause of Irish Independence through terrorist activity in North America (they intended to barter the armed seizure of Canada for Irish home rule).

South or from European colonial obligations. It represented a victory for Conservative Canadian nationalists amidst stirrings for greater reciprocity with the U.S. or alternatively, those who advocated greater ties with the 'mother empire'.

More specifically, his *National Policy* contained a series of nation-building policies: 1) economic protectionism, 2) the completion of a railroad, and 3) settlement initiatives. The first aspect was a protective tariff for newly established vulnerable Canadian industries. It was highly contentious. It was opposed by Continentalist thinkers like Goldwin Smith and Edward Blake on the grounds that free trade was the wave of the future and could be the only practical solution for economic development in a country with, as yet, "hardly any natural trade" (Bennett and Jaenen, 1986:300). Imperialist thinkers like George R. Parkin argued for a different kind of nationalism, that of Imperial reorganisation. Most imperialists can be characterised as being anti-American in that they were concerned that Canada's national fruition came about and developed through its ties to the 'birthplace of modern liberalism' (ie. Britain): sustained ties with the mother country would ensure the *integrity of Canadian political freedom*. Parkin believed that because of its rich resources and geopolitical position, Canada was actually key to the future of the entire British empire (Berger, 1969). This tendency however was fervently opposed by French Canada and was gradually downplayed in Canada's state development. The first national policy was centred on uniting the country in a centralised economy and protecting it from U.S. intervention. As Noiriél noted, economic protectionism is a hallmark of a new *nationalising* political community:

⁶ Flamed by their protest against the execution of Thomas Scott. Later, this movement would be praised by Vincent Massey for the way in which its poets "strove to awaken Canadians to a sense of national purpose" (1948:36).

En meme temps que l'etat commence a s'ingerer dans la vie economique et sociale, s'opere un puissant processus d'integration nationale. Polanyi a decrit ce phenomene au niveau monetaire, en montrant qu'a la fin du xix siecle, les banques centrales d'emission deviennent les bastions imprenables d'un nouveau nationalisme" (Noiriel, 1991:84).

During the first *National Policy*, ruling interests were concerned that Canada's economic power should be harnessed via the federal government. These measures were taken in the spirit of unification and expansion of the nation-state and its goal to unite the new 'nation' as an independent political entity.

Canadian nation-building in these early years was about creating an internal market, but it was also about securing it, joining it, and peopling it. Expansion into the Northwest was seen as the future market for Canadian industrialisation. The second aspect of the national policy involved the construction of a national railway to connect the country both practically and symbolically. It united the country in terms of communications that enhanced the increasingly centralised role of the federal government. Furthermore, it created an illusion of 'defence' against American penetration:

The Northwest was the key to the future of both the National Policy and the nation, and an expensive and partially unproductive railway through Canadian territory was the price Canada had to pay to "protect" it from American penetration and absorption (Brown, 1966:158).

The third element of the national policy was the settlement of the country. It was difficult to attract the 'preferred' immigrants in the beginning. The first years following Confederation saw a net exodus from Canada rather than influx. In order to populate the vast Canadian lands more people were needed than were available, that is, in terms of available White Europeans. Between 1861 and 1901, more Canadians

had left Canada than immigrants had arrived (Granatstein et al.,1986). Potential immigrants and Canadians themselves were drawn to the United States. There was very little, it was thought, to be gained in Depression ridden Canada. This trend began to be reversed in the years following Clifford Sifton's appointment to Minister of Interior (1896-1905) with the election of Liberal Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier. The worldwide depression lifted and free land in the United States was no longer available. Canada began to experience a boom in immigration that lasted until World War One. Specifically, Sifton set up overseas offices for recruitment in selected countries and implemented a more aggressive recruitment program. The labour base of the country was a primary preoccupation of government in the office of the Minister of the Interior at the turn of the century yet, 'peopling' the nation reflected the exclusionary boundaries inherent to the British inspired *nationalising* state.

ICONS AND ICE: RACIALISING THE NATION

The result of life in the Northern latitudes was the creation and sustenance of self-reliance, strength, hardiness- in short, all the attributes of a dominant race. 'Northern nations always excel southern ones in energy and stamina, which accounts for their prevailing power' (Berger, 1966:5).

"The factor of Northern orientation" as W.L. Morton (1961) put it, has been an attribute in theorising Canada's distinctiveness in relation to other nation-states and most certainly in relation to the United States. Canadian historians have usually incorporated Canada's geographical specificity in explaining the emergence of specific political institutions and economic policy. Innis' Staples Theory (1956) interpreted

Canada's hinterland colonial status, as a provider of staples products to the imperial market, as having a determining factor on its economic development. Turner's Frontier Thesis (1962) interpreted the development of Canadian democratic institutions in light of the 'frontier experience'. Other writers, influenced heavily by Darwinian theory, went as far as to say that the *people* of Canada were distinctive because of their natural ability to withstand the treacherous climate and their moral purity. For example, the temperance movement in Canada at the turn of the century often made reference to the 'purity' of Canadians, in this example, using the metonym of milk consumption:

Pure food and drinks, most commonly embodied in milk and water, were simultaneously physically and symbolically pure... The combination of whiteness and coldness made snow an appropriate symbol not only of Canada but also of purity (Valverde, 1991:23).

This mythology of the North served to corroborate the idea of racialised exclusivity of a Canadian nation, associated with 'hardiness' and moral purity. Immigrants were selected and recruited on the basis of whether they were part of this 'hardy and moral stock'.

*White Canada Policy*⁷:

As was shown in the pre-Confederation era, 'race' was part of the institutionalised language of nation. The 'White Canada Policy' of the Immigration Act had its roots in the late 1800's and was abandoned formally only in 1967. Recruitment of 'pioneers' led the Canadian government officials to pay for *preferred*

types of farmers through recruitment programs in the U.S. and Germany. It was the business community that lobbied the hardest for an open door policy. Labour demands were varied; there was a need for skilled factory labour as well as brute agricultural labour. Immigrants were recruited based on their suitability for either type of occupation. Northern European migrants were sought out for their *propensity* for hard labour in cold climates. It was not important whether they spoke English or not. They were not invited to live in the city and occupy management positions. These jobs were reserved for more 'civilised' migrants like those from the British Isles, preferably Scotland (Knowles, 1992:46).

Clifford Sifton's slogan *last best west* attracted many newcomers including American farmers, but the goal of "only farmers need apply" was difficult to achieve. British immigrants were mainly from industrial centres, seeking urban employment, therefore, he abandoned the strict ideal of Northern European immigration only, and invited continental Europeans such as the:

... stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born of the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half-dozen children (Granatstein et al., 1986:242)

The 'hardy peasant' was valued for his farming abilities and his wife valued for both her labour and the role she played as a stabilising factor in the family (England, 1929).

The entry into Canada of Slavic migrants was looked upon as a necessary measure to pioneer the Northwest but certain Canadian nationalists like Sifton's successor as Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, opposed the *indiscriminate* recruitment of such migrants:

⁷ Because of its 'racial' restrictions, Canada's immigration policy was generally described as a White Canada policy, "a policy that had been clearly sanctioned and pursued by every Canadian

We want to build up a nation, a civilization, a social system that we could enjoy, be proud of and transmit to our children; and we resent the idea of having the millstone of this Slav population hung around our necks in our efforts to build up, beautify, and improve the country... (quoted in Hawkins, 1991:8).

'Race' was not the only determinant of an 'outsider' but, as seen in the case of the rejection of 'Barnardos' boys from England, class was a factor as well. In 1908, 70% of those deported were unemployed British migrants (McCormack, 1981). The determination of suitable immigrants was influenced by Eugenicist 'science' that was influential and widespread in Britain and the U.S. at the time. It opined that qualities, such as *poverty*, were hereditary based and therefore would have little chance for 'race betterment' over time. This belief, along with 'nativist' sentiments and hostility to immigrants in the public sphere, led to the implementation in Canada of mandatory medical inspections of newcomers by the late 1920s (McLaren, 1990).

Complimenting the position of the eugenicists were the "moral reformers", voluntary associations and missionary churches seeking to encourage the recruitment of only 'morally pure' immigrants, "on the belief that only European Christianity could provide the basis of character development" (Valverde, 1991:115). White Protestant "ladies societies" ('immigrationists') acted as primary selectors and supervisors of preferred women immigrants in the labour recruitment process. For them, "Canada was to be a British country, founded upon the moral, patriotic and racial influence (and unpaid labour) of British wives and mothers in Canadian homes" (Roberts, 1990:111).

prime minister from John A. Macdonald to Louis St. Laurent" (Knowles, 1992:144).

Despite the stringent racist preferential selection process, the immigration aperture was widened slightly because it was reasoned that the country's protective tariffs would be useless in promoting Canadian industry if there was not enough labour to maintain the economic infrastructure. A larger migrant labour base was sought. "Coolie" labour was brought in, in the form of Chinese workers, (forced to pay a 50\$ head tax) to build the railroad. The business leaders' voracity for cheap labour was at odds with labour union standards as well as nationalist British Canadians who viewed the Asian migrants as "obnoxious to a free community and dangerous to the state" (quoted in Granatstein et al., 1986). As a result of the broad disapproval of the Chinese immigrants, the Laurier government moved to restrict their entry even further by raising the head tax to \$500 in 1903 (Ward, 1982).

The labour gap was filled by the recruitment of Japanese and East Indian migrant workers. They faced racist riots and nativist opposition as well. Full scale riots ensued in Vancouver when violence was incited by the Asiatic Exclusion League in 1907 (Knowles, 1992). Referring to Chinese and Japanese discrimination, Kobayashi wrote:

...the two cases are similar in that there was little public differentiation of those who made up the "yellow peril". The ideal world was one in which Asians did not intrude upon the white landscape (Kobayashi, 1990:453).

As a result of the backlash, a diplomatic agreement was reached, a 'Gentleman's Agreement', between Canada and Japan which determined the acceptable numbers of emigration from Japan to Canada each year at four hundred. Unlike in the Chinese case, political sensitivity was exercised in dealing with Japanese government

representatives. Canada was obligated to tread carefully because of Japan's treaties with Britain (Kobayashi, 1990).

In that year, the 'continuous journey' regulation was implemented. It did not directly exclude Asian immigrants legally but effectively barred them from entering the territory. It stipulated that only passenger boats having made non-stop journeys could be admitted for entry to Canada, even boats from Asian Commonwealth countries. It acted as an effective barrier to South Asian immigration as well as to Japanese immigration via Hawaii since there were no direct services at that time, (Knowles, 1992)⁸.

In 1923, the *Chinese Exclusion Act* was introduced, eliminating all Chinese migration to Canada for the next 25 years. Further restrictions in the Immigration Act were introduced. Immigration regulation, P.C. 1922-717:

... prohibited the landing of immigrants except farmers, farm labourers and domestics, the wife and minor children of residents in Canada, and British subjects from white English-speaking countries...and American citizens. This regulation practically excluded Caribbean blacks except dependents and domestics going to assured employment. Thus, in the period before World War II the entry of Caribbean blacks was small and sporadic (Calliste, 1996a:386).

By 1923 only citizens of predominantly white Commonwealth countries could be deemed British subjects, which effectively hindered non-White immigrants from obtaining 'Canadian nationality' (McLaren, 1990:57). Furthermore, American immigration agents were instructed not to enable the passage of Blacks into Canada on their private schemes (Knowles, 1992:86). Later, a 'climate clause' would restrict

⁸ The regulation was strictly applied and in one case of the S.S. Komagata Maru Charter, 376 East Indians were made to wait in the Vancouver Harbour for a period of two months, without adequate

immigration of 'Black races' in a more official capacity because of their 'natural unsuitability to the cold' (Hawkins, 1991:17).

Barriers to Belonging in the Pre-Citizenship Era:

The *nationalisation* process is necessarily interactive internationally because the boundaries of 'national' governments are drawn in relation to other 'national' entities. Countries around the world were erecting barriers to immigration in the form of exclusion acts, etc. to protect their 'own' labour markets (Noiriel, 1991:93). Governments made arrangements between them regarding acceptable levels of immigration, emigration and treatment of their 'nationals' abroad. 'Identities' were *nationalised* in an inter-dependent binary system. Consulates were established to deal with *overseas nationals* and *foreign* governments. The invention of the passport, for example, was key in this global process (Noiriel, 1991), and was used as an exclusionary measure in Canada.

Immigration policy in 1921 required non-British immigrants to be passport holders, and in many cases to have them visaed prior to entry, which was necessarily exclusionary for the refugees of the First World War, among others. The Nansen passport was created by a United Nations committee to address precisely this problem of stateless persons in Europe (originally refugees from Russia), but was not recognised by the Canadian government. The government reserved the right to deport immigrants which negated the purpose of the Nansen program (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1994). Representation of the immigrant was tied to notions of 'national origin' through the administration and legalisation of nationality and its citizenship limits.

food or sanitation, while Immigration officials addressed various legalities. The ship was sent back

Those who were brought in to work were often denied full 'nationality' rights (the early form of citizenship) as it was shown in the case of the Chinese and Japanese and the *nonpreferred* were not afforded the franchise until mid-century (Adachi, 1976). Furthermore, *nationalised* immigration selections articulated with a racialised and gendered division of labour resulting in segregation within labour markets and professions. Black female domestics endured a split labour market (Calliste, 1996a). Certain immigrant groups, as it was shown with the Chinese workers, were clearly segregated into certain labour areas and were not invited to share in economic competition in other markets. Quotas and restrictions were established widely for women, and members of 'ethnic' groups in cultural associations (Tippett, 1990) and professions. Moreover, universities imposed quotas on 'ethnic' applicants until the mid-1950s⁹.

Canadianization: Education

"The creation of symbols, their inculcation in the citizenry and transmission is important as a force to mobilise the citizenry as 'nationals'" (Noiriel, 1991:315). In this way, citizens regulate themselves. During the formative years of 'Canadian nation-building' the *nationalisation* process came to be reflected in cultural policy and schooling. It was felt that the immigrants needed to be assimilated through the school system in order to be 'Canadianized'. Robert England, CNR employee and later government immigrant consultant, wrote in his book on the subject: "It is the rural

with 352 of the passengers (Sampat-Mehta, 1984).

⁹ For example, in this letter from Ira Mackay, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of McGill University, to Sir Arthur Currie, Principal on the subject of a Jewish quota: "There can be no doubt about the danger to the University every way of entertaining a very large number of Jews [Letter, I. Mackay to

school that our immigration machinery has thrown and will throw its raw material for nation-building on these lines" (1929:208). He was a great proponent of the potential for schooling to build a Canadian 'nation', *despite the claims of the eugenicists* (England, 1929). All children (immigrant or not, and including Native children sent to residential schools) were offered a curriculum replete in British content:

The pre-1914 years in all of English-speaking saw the climax of the movement to use the schools for patriotic purposes. Children from coast to coast received a daily dose of flag-saluting, allegiance-pledging, and patriotic song-singing and poetry reading (Stamp, 1970:305).

The selections were designed to "produce loyal subjects of the empire" (Stamp, 1970).

One event early in Canada's national life marked the decisive thrust of the federal viewpoint on national uniformity in education. In 1890 the Manitoba Schools Act was passed which virtually eliminated public funding to denominational schools in the province. It was yet another event that divided Protestant and Catholic public opinion. The federal government's reticence to intervene in favour of denominational support signified the national standard set with regard to support for teaching only general "Christian morals and Christian dogmas" (P.M. Laurier, quoted in Granatstein et al, 1986: 36).

Canadianisation: Communications

Benedict Anderson (1983) wrote eloquently about how 'nation' is 'imagined' by its disparate 'members'. He argued that it was through the diffusion of printed text

Sir A. Currie, April 23, 1926, Montreal, Series:ZS, file: "Jewish Students at McGill" (Canadian Jewish Congress Archives, Mtl.)]

and its common vernacular that people across vast regions could reconcile vast spatial distances with feelings of 'belonging' to a larger, 'anonymous' community. Like any *nationalising* country, Canada benefited from the role of printed communications, and as mentioned earlier, the 'Canada First' writers sought to harness the medium for their nation-building message. However, it may be said that a new level of 'common national feeling' was reached in 1927 on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee. "Until at least the 1930's, perhaps the most popular means for imparting historical knowledge and lessons in civic virtue in the larger cities of North America was the civic pageant" (Cupido, 1998:26). On this occasion however the national organising committee had even more in store. For the first time, Canadians listened to the same radio broadcast from Ottawa, simultaneously, across the country. They heard talks from Canadian and British politicians and luminaries¹⁰ and heard music from the University Toronto quartet and other famous Canadian musicians and vocalists (Weir, 1965) as well as an emotional rendition of 'God save the King'. Radio systems up until that time had not been co-ordinated.

As a result of the great success of the radio event, the Prime Minister commissioned an inquiry a year and a half later. In 1929, the *Aird Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting* led to a series of debates that ultimately led to Canada's first Radio Broadcasting Act in 1932. Federal control of public radio was opposed largely by the private sector and Quebec radio operators, but was seen by federalists as an educational boon to the 'nation' and as the valued alternative to private ownership,

¹⁰ As well as a speech from the only Canadian ever born within the precincts of the House of Commons! (Weir, 1965:37).

especially American owned. Prime Minister Bennett said this in his motion for a second reading of the bill, on May 16, 1932:

First of all, this country must be assured of complete Canadian control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence. Without such control radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for the communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thoughts and ideals... (quoted in Raboy, 1990 :45)

THE INTER-WAR YEARS AND THE WAR MEASURES ACT

Social Unrest:

Between the years of WWI and WWII, Canada underwent severe economic depression that effected the *nationalisation* process. The crises in the state would lead to conjunctural shifts in politics, economic policy and ideological notions of belonging and membership. These structural crises that shook the country's newly laid foundation would directly affect the design of the post-war National policy programs. However, initially, the wartime periods had an 'integrative' effect on the country, at least on English Canada (Finlay and Sprague, 1993). The First World War was actually a nationalist triumph to some extent for Canadians in relation to the brilliant victory of Canadian divisions at Vimy Ridge 1917. As Arthur Lower put it: "I have often heard it said that Canadian nationalism came home in the baggage of the soldiers from the First World War" (quoted in Matheson, 1997:371). However, the Conscription debates and its legislation exacerbated the French-English divide. French Canadians were not interested in fighting on behalf of Britain and resented being forced to do so.

For Canadian workers, the end of WWI did not bring the great future that was promised by encouraging governments during the war. The major problems besetting the new nation state following the First World War were the regional pulls by provinces experiencing economic recession and labour unrest. The first major labour uprising occurred in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. The strikers received support in other areas of Canada and the event reached its culmination on the 'Black Saturday' riot between marchers and police. The seven leaders of the General Strike were jailed; the British ones were released shortly after and the 'foreign' leaders were deported. A decade later, during the Great Depression of 1929, Canadian nation-building was set back more severely because of economic crisis. Provincial socialist parties rose in the post-war years with growing worker support at a time when Canadians were looking to provincial governments for resolutions rather than to the federal government. The 'nation' had become characterised by a 'place sensitive citizenship' (Jenson, 1991). All forms of politics, including the Feminist movement, were decentralised in region specific program goals (Jenson, 1991). An identity-based, cross-national movement had not yet formed within those political economic conditions.

The most pronounced example of this was the election of the Social Credit Party in Alberta in 1935. The new party's platform was based on the monetary theory of Scottish engineer Major C. H Douglas, who advocated the issuing of money to citizens as a form of 'social credit'. This would presumably increase purchasing power and foil greedy finance institutions which, it was assumed, were led by a Jewish conspiracy (Stein, 1973). The party was anti-internationalist and anti-Semitic and lasted until 1971, promoting the idea of giving money to citizens as their right and

'cultural heritage' (Irving, 1959:6). It is a stark example of the institutionalisation of racism in regional political party activity.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) rose in the West in 1932 and left a broader mark on Canadian history. It was a federation of various socialist and labour union organisations and, on a socialist platform, became the official opposition shortly after in British Columbia and Saskatchewan. It was not successful in Eastern Canada and Quebec; Quebec had its own isolationist Premier in Maurice Duplessis. Later the CCF would change its name to the New Democratic Party and continue to provide vigorous opposition in national politics. In the aftermath of the Depression, regional inequality within the federation was one of the main impetuses for the enlarged role of the state in the late 1940s. However, in the meantime, events of the Second World War gave special powers to the federal government to assert a renewed role in nation-building in Canada.

Immigrants as 'Enemy Aliens':

The unifying effect the war had on Canadian nationality was typically defined against notions of 'outsiders'. During both World Wars, whether immigrants actually held their home country ideological positions (of communism, socialism, or fascism) or not, they were often treated as 'enemy aliens'. The *War Measures Act* enabled the government to arrest without bail anyone suspected as an 'enemy alien'. A system of internment was set up to detain them. Almost 9,000 individuals, some German but mostly Ukrainian, were arrested during the First World War and in a repeat performance, many unnaturalised Germans, Ukrainians and Italians were interned during the Second World War (Herd Thompson, 1991). Furthermore, sections of the

immigrant communities were harassed through their press associations and communal halls on suspicion of subversive 'enemy' activity (Dreisziger, 1988).

The worst case of internment occurred during the Second World War when hysteria reigned over Japan's military victories, resulting in distrust of Japanese Canadians in general and their sentencing to detention centres and labour camps. In February of 1942, roughly two months after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour, approximately 22,000 Japanese Canadians were ordered from their homes on the Pacific coast of Canada. Most were relocated to detention camps in the interior of British Columbia and the rest were sent to other provinces to fill labour shortages in sugar beet fields (Knowles, 1992). It is widely acknowledged by historians that the war measure was only speciously based on real security precautions. The war was an excuse to disperse what was seen as an 'undesirable' community (Kobayashi, 1990, Sunahara, 1981). Like the shelving and containment of Native peoples earlier, this mechanism was applied during the Second World War as part of its arsenal of policies to 'manage' racialised 'non-preferred' citizens.

Furthermore, during the Second World War, the doors were tragically shut to refugees fleeing from the Holocaust. Immigration had been reduced to a trickle in the inter-war period because of the experience of the Depression and the social unrest it incurred. There was increased public intolerance towards immigration in a period when employment was so low (Herd Thompson, 1991). However, the government did not even allow in the amount of people that it was agreed the country could handle. The government sent back boatloads of Jewish refugees to Europe because of anti-Semitic feelings on the part of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, feelings which fed off of a 'latent anti-Semitism' throughout Canada (Abella and Troper, 1982).

Canada's exclusionary immigration policy was not altered substantially following the war. There was a relinquishment of eugenic measures from its recruitment and selection practices as a result of lessons learned in the international community from the genocidal practices of the Second World War (McLaren, 1990). The Chinese Exclusion Act was finally repealed in 1947, but the sentiments behind it were still active. The following quotation of P.M. William Lyon Mackenzie King summarised the tone of the time:

There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population...(Statement by the P.M. W.L.Mackenzie King, HOC, May 1, 1947).

The basis of the *nationalisation* process shifted considerably by the 1940s, from building a national market to building a national welfare state. However, the racialisation of immigrants and Native peoples and its institutionalisation in various levels of public policy may be seen as the bridge from the Victorian era to post-war Canada.

CANADA'S SECOND NATIONAL POLICY

It is clear that Canada was founded and administered on a highly exclusionary definition of the national community. The Second National Policy period saw a change to new definitions of belonging. The ideological and economic circumstances and effects of WWII internationally in terms of human rights and de-colonisation movements played a great role as did the increasing class politics described in the

period of 'social unrest'. The second major national policy era of nation-building is traced to the era of *Reconstruction*, following the Second World War.

The era of Reconstruction:

La fusion de l'Etat social et de l'Etat national s'est accomplie dans l'union sacree, dans les politiques de "reconstruction" consecutives aux guerres mondiales. Elles s'est refletee dans le nationalisme du mouvement ouvrier lui-meme (Balibar, 1988:230).

During the post-war period, the government was paying increased attention to class cleavages through its redistribution programs among the population as well as to regional differences in socio-economic standards. Agitation led by Western farmers and industrial workers prior to the war played a big part in the redistribution commitments (McBride and Shields, 1993:8). As a result of the increasing threats of labour dissatisfaction, a Keynesian model of economics was adopted in many industrialised countries. Both the Liberals and Conservatives of the day were promoting it as a reaction to the economic crises of the time, to maintain relative stability amongst working class agitation and the CCF threat (Finkel, 1977:358).

The release of Leonard Marsh's report on Social Security in Canada in 1943, was symptomatic of the Keynesian tide that led to Britain's famous Beveridge Report and provided, in part, a blueprint for aspects of Canada's *Second National Policy*. The focus of reconstruction after the war was on a commitment to achieving and maintaining high levels of income and employment while offering healthcare insurance, welfare, and transfer payments to provinces through the federal government:

At the risk of some oversimplification it may be said that while major accumulation functions have increasingly been assumed by the provincial states, the legitimisation and coercion functions have continued to be performed to a much greater degree at the federal level... This is a reversal of the situation at Confederation, when accumulation was considered the *raison d'être* of the federal state while the legitimization was let to the provinces. (Stevenson, 1977:86).

The economic programs undertaken included a universal family allowance plan (1945), the Canada Assistance Plan (federal-provincial shared cost social welfare spending), old age pensions (1951), job creation programs, training programs, and a federal Medical Act (1966). The unemployment Insurance Act was implemented in 1940 applying to only 42 percent of the workforce (McBride and Shields, 1996:43). By 1971, it was virtually comprehensive, however not without compromise with provincial governments¹¹.

During the war the government had vastly extended its reach in civil society through the National Resources Mobilization Act. It enabled the government to intervene in mobilising the voluntary sector in the war effort. Furthermore, through the issuing of grants and other types of spending, the federal government was able to exert influence over the provinces. The 1945 conference on Reconstruction was the first official Dominion-Provincial conference whereby co-operation between the federal government and the provinces was sought in order to implement national programs. It started a formal tradition of communications between the levels of government that would take on constitutional issues in later years (Bumsted, 1992). A

¹¹ Moreover, "A few bland promises in the throne speech, a meager and actuarially sound unemployment insurance scheme and a family allowance payment do not a welfare state make... before family allowance, government expenditure on health and welfare was 2.2 percent of revenues. In 1945 it increased to 10.5 percent. This was a dramatic increase, but hardly the millenium (Chodos, et al. 1991:14)

new social contract was being forged between citizens and the state at the national level, a new *citizenship regime* was being developed:

In such an economy and politics, concepts of space changed; political discourse represented Canada less as a conglomeration of regions and more as a single space north of the 49th Parallel with one labour market, universal standards for social programs and a central government responsible for the well-being of the whole (Jenson, 1991: 212).

From a 'place sensitive' trade unionism and social movement politics, a nation-wide politics of representation and citizenship was developing. A reconstructed federal structure, with policies of *equalisation*, addressed Canadians increasingly as 'citizens' rather than as members of regional collectivities: "The notion grew that all Canadian should have basic services, whether they lived in wealthy Toronto or poverty-stricken Newfoundland" (Jenson and Phillips, 1996:116). In gaining access to the state, Canadian citizens would now increasingly be represented through *nation wide* organisations that would 'speak for' social groups, such as a unions, a Women's movement, or 'ethnic' umbrella organisations.

Canada's First Citizenship Act:

A key landmark in the new citizenship regime occurred in 1947 when Canada established its first Citizenship Act. Prior to this, Canadians were officially 'British subjects'. Canada had a Nationals Act of 1921 'to meet the needs of participation in the international community, the League of Nations particularly'¹². However, until 1947, Canadian belonging was still implicitly tied to 'imperial membership'. The move

¹² HOC debate, May 21, 1975, Hon. James H. Faulkner (Sec. Of State) speaking on 'Measure to establish conditions and provisions governing citizenship'.

toward establishing the new status was part of the 'total' nation-building approach introduced in the post-war era. In a 1946 parliamentary debate, the Hon. Paul Martin stressed the importance of creating a distinct Canadian citizenship:

For the national unity of Canada and for the future and greatness of this country, it is felt to be of the utmost importance that all of us, new Canadians or old, have a consciousness of a common purpose and common interests as Canadians; that all of us be able to say with pride and say with meaning: "I am a Canadian citizen"¹³.

The Act pronounced both on citizenship naturalisation issues and a more general citizenship 'education' function. The first aspect joined the previously separate nationality and immigration law regulations. It declared that those born in Canada, married to a Canadian, or resident in the country for at least five years, could be granted citizenship as well¹⁴. Each aspect was overseen by a separate government department; the second one by the 'Citizenship Branch'. Section 37 of the Citizenship Act (1948) stated that responsibilities of the Minister included: "to provide facilities to enable applicants for certificates of citizenship to receive instruction in the responsibilities and privileges of Canadian citizenship". The new Citizenship Branch regarded this to be of 'particular interest' and undertook several steps to implement it such as: producing manuals on Canadian institutions, distributing bulletins to foreign language presses, liaison work with ethnic and immigrant organisations, *distributing to provincial departments and to social service groups the names of recently arrived immigrants in order to facilitate the planning of citizenship classes*, and working

¹³ Paul Martin, quoted by Hon. James H. Faulkner, Secretary of State, Wed., May 21, 1975, HOC Debates, 'Measure to establish Conditions and Provisions Governing Citizenship'.

¹⁴ "An Act Respecting Citizenship, Nationality, Naturalization and Status of Aliens" 1946, Statutes of Canada, Chapter 15, part I, p.67

with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and National Film Board to produce promotional and educational material¹⁵.

An instrument toward which a universal Canadian identity could be forged was welcomed, but this was especially so as seen through the lens of the Cold War. A unique citizenship was a way to establish a unique membership implicitly tied to a unique *ideology* (Mandel, 1989). The Citizenship Branch of the Department of Secretary of State, formerly of the wartime Nationalities branch worked in close co-operation with the Wartime Information Board in getting propaganda to communities exhibiting 'European' thought processes. The aim of the Citizenship Branch throughout the late 1940s until the 1960s was assimilation through education. It sought to instil in immigrants, 'Canadian values' and teach them 'Canadian ways of life'. *Democratic citizenship* was a buzzword of the early years¹⁶. The National Film Board (NFB) was created out of the wartime Information Board. It had its official start producing Canadian propaganda during the war¹⁷.

The Bill of Rights:

The discourse on rights and discrimination had not yet fully developed in the citizenship sphere¹⁸. The first major step in the development of legal instruments ensuring citizens individual rights was Diefenbaker's *Bill of Rights* which was legislated in 1960. The Bill was promoted as a legal measure that would assure

¹⁵ Taken from the Canadian Citizenship Council Report "From Immigrant to Citizen: Report of the National Conference on the Citizenship Problems of the New Immigrants" (Montreal) January 23-24, 1948, pp.30.

¹⁶ As seen in the "Council as Communicator", An overview of the Council's work since it's founding during the War, Canadian Citizenship Council Bulletin, August 1968, Mg 31 H128, vol.3.

¹⁷ National Archives of Canada, NFB records list, summary.

equality to all Canadians, and was hailed as a major civil rights achievement. It could only be applied to cases where the federal government itself was discriminatory and could not impinge on provincial jurisdiction (Newman, 1973) and could be overruled by the War Measures Act.

It had been on the agenda since 1946, proposed by Diefenbaker in the House of Commons the day the Citizenship Act was legislated. As a 'half-European' himself, he promoted a Bill of Rights campaign to promote 'unhyphenated Canadianism'. Actually a Bill of Rights was originally proposed in 1945 by a CCF member who then dropped it when it became apparent that a Citizenship Act would be passed (Mandel, 1989). Apparently, a Bill of Rights and a Citizenship Act, two seemingly separate legal tools, were confounded as initiatives that would serve to control immigrants and offer an integration policy. The enactment of one would suffice. It was regarded by members of the legal community as a good way to preserve Canadian values from 'European perversion' (ie.socialism) (Mandel, 1989).

Cultural nationalism:

The new found sense of national purpose which grew out of the Second World War was manifested in a radically new role for the federal government in support of cultural activities and higher education and directions in Canadian external policies much different from those of the pre-war period (Smiley, 1967:43).

As legal instruments of universal citizenship developed, emphasis was placed on the development of a distinct Canadian culture. It was recognised by the Canadian government that it was necessary to cultivate national culture, in order to encourage

¹⁸ The Canadian Human Rights Act was passed only in 1975 while provincial acts were ratified earlier.

'national feeling' and support for centralisation of state control in the era of reconstruction. 'National unity' through arts and culture funding was seen as a way to "outflank the CCF" and assert the Liberal presence in this increasingly popular area of national concern (Tippett, 1990:183). The *Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences* was appointed in 1949 to inquire into the best way to organise the new state role. Donald Smiley (1967) describes the work of the Commission:

The Massey Commission was charged with making an examination of the principles on which national broadcasting should be based, the activities of existing federal agencies in the scientific and cultural fields, relations between Canada and the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and relations between the government of Canada and voluntary organizations concerned with the arts, letters and sciences... The report asserted : "If the federal government is to renounce its rights to associate itself with other social groups, public and private, in the general education of Canadian citizens, it denies its intellectual and moral purpose..." (from the *Report of the Royal Commission*, 1951 in Smiley, 1967:45).

A new government program was envisaged and encouraged by artists, unions and community organisations across Canada, as discussed in a 1941 Kingston Conference and articulated in the 1944 brief submitted to the federal Committee on Reconstruction. These artists' groups advocated for the creation of government funded local arts centres in communities nation wide (Tuer, 1992). However, their proposal was ignored in favour of a much more centralised arts funding program that would result in the creation of the Canada Council in 1957 and would focus on what it perceived as 'high art'. As Crean (1976) commented regarding the events and decisions leading up to the Massey Commission and its decisions, it "may be regarded as the effort of an elite class of patrons to preserve its own cultural forms by transforming them into official culture" (quoted in Tuer, 1992:26). Canada's official

culture was determined to be based on Eurocentric definitions of art and a bureaucratic distinction was made from 'folk arts'¹⁹. This attitude is observable in Maurice Lamontagne's comments to the National Ballet of Canada in 1964 when he was announcing to them an increase in funding. He congratulated them on their excellence and thanked them for having "carried the burden of our cultural survival"²⁰.

As a result of the new 'moral' imperative in the *general education of Canadian citizens*, funding was given to post-secondary education, the National Gallery, National Museum, Public Archives, and the National Film Board. Many more public commissions and reports followed over the years in the debates over funding and the arts. Other initiatives included the "Fowler Reports" on Broadcasting of 1957 and 1965 and the *Report of the Royal Commission on Publications*, also in 1965 (Smiley, 1967:45).

Pearson's Nation-Building: Towards the Centennial

In 1957 Lester Pearson gained international recognition for Canada when he received the Nobel Peace Prize for his conflict resolution work regarding the Suez Crisis. Canada began increasingly to participate in international peacekeeping efforts and sign UN human rights documents. In conformance with Canada's new international reputation as a 'leader in human rights', the country finally changed its Immigration laws to a non-discriminatory basis:

It might be argued that Canada backed into a non-racist immigration policy. The motivation was less to court non-white immigration than it was to

¹⁹ This was lamented in an interview with a former representative from the Canadian Folk Arts Council (#41)

²⁰ Speech to the National Ballet of Canada, Maurice Lamontagne (SOS?), nd, RG6, Vol. 45, file:110-6 (NAC).

improve Canada's international image and bring immigration legislation into line with domestic human rights policy more generally (Troper, 1997:195).

It was not only a reflection of a new liberal approach to immigration but stemmed from labour needs and the desire to appease trading countries such as for example, Caribbean countries, whose immigrants had been systematically excluded from immigration to Canada (Calliste, 1996a; Satzewich, 1991).

In 1967 the Points System was introduced which marked a substantial departure from earlier policies: it ended discriminatory clauses based on 'ethnic' or 'racial' origins. It measured immigrant eligibility based on factors such as education, employability and language proficiency; and, it offered a revised family reunification class. Eventually, by 1976, a revised refugee policy was offered as well²¹. The new selection process was considered more equitable but did not reflect a complete equalisation of immigrant selection because the accrual of points was automatically biased toward traditional source countries. Furthermore, the traditional temporary migrant labour programs continued as usual. Seasonal agricultural labourers from the Caribbean and the domestic workers program were still the only permanent work programs to offer only temporary status to migrants (Arat-Koc, 1997).

The 1960s represented a 'coming out' decade for Canada on the international scene which was parlayed into the cultivation of Canadian nationalism (McRoberts, 1997). The government was making concerted efforts to appear more liberal and to implement these principles for a 'nationalist' end. These advances in Canada's international reputation were augmented domestically with nationalistic events. The

²¹ The new Immigration Act of that year made "comprehensive provision for the selection of refugees from abroad and for the determination of refugee status for those who applied for asylum from within Canada (Smith, 1993:63).

year 1967 was the Centennial anniversary of the country and was ushered in with great fanfare. A national commission had been established through the National Centennial Act, 1963, to co-ordinate nation wide activities²². It was also the year Canada hosted the World's Fair, 'Expo '67', the event that it is commonly said, 'put Montreal on the map'. The 'nation's' cultural symbolic repertoire was expanding with the occasions. For example, the country had designated a new national anthem, "Oh, Canada" to abate the normal use of "God Save the Queen".

Two years earlier, Lester Pearson finally succeeded in offering a national flag to Canadians, after considerable debate and dissent. It was agreed by most that a new flag should embody the unique identity of Canada, but the debates occurred over what assignments it should make to the past, and to Canada's enduring 'ethnic' and regional cleavages', French, British and otherwise (Matheson, 1997). The flag debate stirred up all of the contradictions of Canada's history and especially its hegemonic White English dominance. This Conservative party member advocated keeping the red ensign on the flag instead of adopting the maple leaf:

For years my party has stated it has been in favour of a distinctive Canadian flag, but I never dreamt that by adopting a distinctive Canadian flag, we would denude it of everything of our history, traditions and heritage²³.

In this example of a nation-building exercise, the hegemonic assumptions of 'nation' surface. By "heritage", the honourable member refers to Canada's imperial past, a national memory that erases the claims of non-English Canada and against which a revitalising Quebecois 'nation' would rebel.

²² National Centennial Act, 1963, Statutes of Canada, Chapter 36, Vol.1, p.259ct,

REGIONAL CRISES: CHALLENGES TO *NATIONALISATION*

Despite the centralisation efforts of the federal government, by the 1960s, the growing tide of provincialism had gained in force in Canada. In particular the Duplessis government of Quebec refused to participate in many federal-provincial shared cost programs on the principle that it reserved the right to opt out in order to run its own programs. Quebec was a fairly separate entity from the ROC (*rest of Canada*) because of its language, religion and culture but during the 1950s it began a quest for special status within the Confederation. Demands for a constitutionalisation of Quebec's 'difference' were reflected in a number of official reports. The 1956 *Report of the Royal Commission on Constitutional Problems* (Tremblay Report) contained a logic whereby special status for Quebec was advocated. Support for Quebec from the other provincial governments was evident since they could benefit from decentralisation.

However in 1960, the election of Jean Lesage of the Quebec Liberal Party ushered in a new era for Quebeckers making them *maitre chez nous* (a motto made famous and meaningful by the *Quebécois* leader, Rene Levesque). This period is commonly referred to as the *Quiet Revolution* in Quebec's history. The changes included a separation between church and state, modernisation of health and education, and the development of a new middle class to run the new bureaucratic infrastructure. A series of economic policies were introduced whereby the Quebec government took over certain reigns of power from the federal government, such as in the creation of a provincial pension plan and crown corporations (Gagnon et al.

²³ Hansard, August 24 1964, Vol. 7, p.7177

1990). In effect, the modernisation of Quebec posed a challenge to the legitimacy of the Canadian state (Guindon, 1978).

With the political understanding that a new relationship with Quebec had to be forged, Prime Minister Lester Pearson had ordered a Royal Commission in 1963:

To inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop 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.

The Commission was introduced to resolve the tensions between the “two founding races” and carve unity out of biculturalism. The Preliminary Report released in 1965 stated: “Canada without being fully conscious of the fact, is passing through the greatest crisis in its history” (Laselva, 1996:155). The official response to the Royal Commission’s findings came under Trudeau’s Liberal government and represented a renewed *national policy* approach.

TRUDEAU’S NATION-BUILDING

If Canada was dealing with a crisis of Quebecois demands in the 1960s, it became intensified towards 1976 when the *Parti Quebecois* (PQ) beat the Liberals in the provincial election. Leading up to that point Canada experienced its second bout with terrorists (the first had been with the Fenians), the *Front Liberation du Quebec* (FLQ)

in 1970²⁴. The new Liberal Prime Minister, Trudeau was waging a battle against decentralisation of the 'national' state on several fronts. The economic crisis of the early 1970s, again, led to the regions looking toward their provincial governments for leadership, rather than to the national government.

In the post-war era (until the 1970s), Canada's economy was booming as a 'branch plant' economy. With the domestic demand for homes and manufactured goods, Canada was an expanding market while it sold exports to rebuilding Western European markets (Saywell, 1994). Specifically, the Liberal government of the 1940s had undertaken an economic plan that tied Canada's material fortunes to the U.S., through, for one, encouraging American investment in Canadian resource industries and production. It seemed as if the arrangement would flourish indefinitely (Laxer and Laxer, 1977). However, when the U.S economy began to falter in the late 1960s due to challenges from Japan and Western Europe, Canada's economy suffered from both the effects of American recession and other factors common to industrialised countries at the time:

For one, the 1973 oil embargo and ensuing OPEC price hikes affected the Canadian economy as it did other western industrialised countries. Another factor was capital flight: "multinational corporations rapidly shifted their manufacturing investments to the newly industrializing centres of the Third World, where cheap pools of labour could readily be found" (McBride and Shields, 1993:17).

The Liberal government of Trudeau undertook a massive nation-building effort in trying to keep the *nation* united in this era of regional and financial crisis:

²⁴ After the loss of the 1970 election to the Liberals this organisation formed to gain independence for Quebec. Bombs in letter boxes was one tactic employed and more gravely were the kidnappings of the British Trade Commissioner and the Quebec Minister of Labour and Immigration, who was later

One way of offsetting the appeal of separatism is by investing tremendous amounts of time, energy and money in nationalism, *at the federal level*. A national image must be created that will have such an appeal as to make any image of a separatist group unattractive. Resources must be diverted into such things as national flags, anthems, education, arts councils, broadcasting corporations, film boards; the territory must be bound together by a network of railways, highways, airlines; the national culture and the national economy must be protected by taxes and tariffs; ownership of resources and industry by nationals must be made a matter of policy. In short, the whole of the citizenry must be made to feel that it is only within the framework of the federal state that their language, culture, institutions, sacred traditions, and standard of living can be protected from external attack and internal strife (Trudeau, 1968:193).

This quote is reminiscent of a speech that might have been given by a nineteenth century politician in a European country, or Canada at the turn of the century. Far from a mere soliloquy, a plan of action of this kind was undertaken by Trudeau and the Liberal party in the late 1960s. It was a continuation of the *citizenship regime* of the 1940s, renewed with an intensified link to social equity. Trudeau promoted a “just society”, a Canadian society built on pan-Canadian social programs and the empowerment of social groups as an expression of equal citizenship. He was concerned about potential ‘cultural alienation’ of youth, regional groups, ethnocultural minorities, women, minority language groups among others, and therefore sought to foster feelings of belonging through funding programs targeted at these social groups in the Citizenship Branch (Vipond, 1996). “This discourse of social justice accompanied a boom in state support for intermediary organisations which might represent citizens to and in the state” (Jenson and Phillips, 1996:118).

Like previous National Policies, economics, ideology and culture were inter-related in the political platform introduced. First, it was reasoned that, to keep the

found dead. Out of fears of mob disorder, the 1970 “October Crisis” culminated in the invocation of

country together culturally, it had to be integrated economically: standardisation of services could contribute to that. A national energy policy was enacted, a Foreign Investment Review Board resurrected and Crown Corporations established. Regional development became a major prong of Trudeau's National Policy. Aside from the benefits with which it could tempt Quebec, it could quell provincialising tendencies in general through its funding programs. "It could bring regional policy into harmony with national objectives by asserting federal control over the spending of federal monies in this area" (McBride and Shields, 1993:79). However, the regional development programs led to national tensions because of the increasingly active provincial interests. Provinces across the country wanted control over the resources in their regions. Major public affairs initiatives were required to build national feelings of belonging and vision of a united future.

The Response to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:

The Commission had been intended as a nation-building exercise to unite in constitutional agreement the "two founding races" (later changed to "two founding nations"). The terms of reference obviously ignored Canada's native peoples and the country's 'ethno-immigrant' populations. Various political actors had expressed opposition to the terms of reference, such as former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, NDP Spokesman Harold Winch, and spokespersons from various 'ethnic' communities (McRoberts, 1997). One of the key public statements came from Senator Paul Yuzyk in his maiden speech to the Senate on March 3, 1964:

the War Measures Act by the new Prime Minister, P.E. Trudeau.

First of all, the word "bicultural" which I could not find in any dictionary, is a misnomer. In reality, Canada never was bicultural; the Indians and the Eskimos have been with us throughout our history; the British group is multicultural-English, Scots, Irish, Welsh; and with the settling of the ethnic groups, which now make up almost one third of the population, Canada has become multicultural in fact.

In response to the criticism of the Commission's 'terms of reference', a report was commissioned almost as an "afterthought" (Palmer, 1994) on the *Cultural Contributions of the other Ethnic Groups*. When the Response to the Report was issued by Trudeau, he referred to the multicultural character of the country as a way to circumvent Quebecois nationalist demands for special status. The claim was, in classic liberal style, that the country is filled with many 'ethnic groups', all valuable, and therefore one should not be privileged constitutionally over another. The idea of the *other ethnic groups* was used to promote the idea of a unified Canada under a strong central government (McRoberts, 1997). Thus 'ethnicity' was becoming increasingly *nationalised* along with other social and cultural institutions. Two policies resulted from the Royal Commission Report recommendations as implemented through the Liberal nation-building program. The first was the Official Languages Act and the second was the policy of Multiculturalism. The 'national unity' plan was to foster a bilingual Canada in a Multicultural framework. The compromise respected French Canadian special language needs across the country while ensuring that, constitutionally, individual rights prevailed over entrenched collective rights.

Multicultural Citizenship:

Canadian 'national unity' became attached to a new policy: Multiculturalism. It was seen as a nation-building mechanism because *duality* was considered an 'anti-

Canadian' force in Liberal terms. The new policy could provide a unifying ideology for all citizens in Canada and the basis for a common 'identity' that reflected liberal civil and human rights. The original policy as expressed by Trudeau²⁵ encompassed four objectives to assist immigrants and members of 'cultural communities': promote cultural preservation; overcome barriers to full participation; promote exchanges within the country; assist immigrants to acquire at least one of the official languages.

The policy was established under the Government Organization Act. It was therefore not bestowed with official ministry status and could be shut down by the government of the day without recourse to Parliament. Trudeau did not speak about the policy publicly after 1971 and appeared indifferent (Lupul, 1982). The policy was not intended to be permanent because the policy was based on principles of 'ethnic preservation' and 'participation', which were supposed to permeate all government departments eventually. The policy itself was minuscule in the larger scheme of things²⁶ but had a symbolic impact that spread far beyond its substance.

Divergent from the original vision, the policy became infused with a different meaning and political role. The policy was introduced as a liberal affirmation of individual rights of all Canadians to practice and celebrate their own 'culture'. However, it became infused with new 'collective' meanings by the social groups that it inherently addressed. Furthermore, as 'ethnic voters' changed, so did the policy. In the early 1980s it moved away from its 'cultural preservation' foundation to a more strident anti-racism position responding to the complaints of what the Canadian state considered 'visible minority' immigrants increasingly entering Canada notably after

²⁵ P. E. Trudeau speech to the House of Commons, Debates, 8545-46, October 8, 1971.

²⁶ Stasiulis and Abu Laban (1991) found that only 2% of the budget devoted to the official languages act was given to Multiculturalism.

Immigration policy was liberalised in the late 1960s. In this era, the fissures and exclusions of the past catch up nation-building policy, especially as a result of the Liberal policy of Multiculturalism that is introduced without recognition of historic regional and sub-nationalist movements.

The policy was rejected by Quebecois interests as a solution to the national unity problems (McRoberts, 1997) and was opposed by ethno-minority groups that felt the policy was patronising as a mainly symbolic initiative, and did not go far enough in *equalising* Canada's social groups. However, 'ethnic' populations and 'English Canada' have been generally supportive (in a limited way) of this policy (Palmer, 1994).

The Quebecois were not the only group to be offended by the policies of the *Third National Policy* government. Distinct status for any group was seen as *anti-national*. In 1969, the Liberal government produced a *White Paper* outlining a plan for the assimilation of Native Peoples in Canada, proposing to end their legal marginalisation, but also the special status they held through the Indian Act:

The white paper adopted government solutions and ignored Indian proposals. Indians had said that they wanted economic and social recovery without losing their identity; the white paper proposed the extinction of their separate status as a step towards dealing with problems that Ottawa said were the consequence of a different status (Miller, 1991:227).

The White Paper was rejected by most Native organisations and spurred a new phase of Aboriginal politics in Canada which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Trudeau's Liberal policies did not succeed in creating 'national unity' but were part of a greater 'Liberal vision'. They were preludes to the ultimate in *nationalised* institutions: the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Trudeau believed that an entrenched

Constitutional Charter was the best way to unite the unravelling Canadian nation state and at the same time ensure that individual rights were entrenched as opposed to collective rights. He thus sought the resolution of his ultimate nation-building goal, the patriation of the Constitution, via the popularity he could garner from a Charter of Rights (Mandel, 1989).

The Charter of Rights:

The Charter stepped up the rights of individuals offered in the Bill of Rights by addressing specific minority groups and giving them rights against provincial governments instead of only the federal government. It also acted as a supreme nation-building and centralising institution by centring political decision making in the Supreme Court of Canada. As Knopff and Morton wrote "The Charter supplies this national institution with a new and powerful lever of influence over the policies of provincial government" (1985:147). Trudeau offered it as a "nation- saving device" because it offered minorities a new Constitutional status, established the "sovereignty of the Canadian people", de-legitimated the agendas of separatists and provincialists, and "provided the foundation for the dream of one Canada" (Laselva, 1996:97).

However, to some it was 'nation-destroying'. Rather than creating a communitarian sense of belonging, Trudeau's agenda through the Charter was offensive to Quebecois interests. The Charter would protect minority language rights against provincial government infringements, an obligation to which the Quebec government would never concede. Accusations were made by Quebecois leaders and commentarists, that Trudeau was promoting one single Canadian 'national identity' in his rejection of duality. In fact he was. Guy Laforest (1992:16) wrote that what ended

the 'Canadian dream' was Trudeau's institutionalisation of anti-dualist policies, which was a denial of a legitimate collective identity.

A change in the political landscape in the 1980s led to alternative forms of nation-building and a shift in the *citizenship regime*. In hindsight, the Charter was:

... *simultaneously* the culmination of the post war citizenship regime and the beginning of its destabilization... Citizen recognition would no longer occur through intermediary institutions. Individualization of responsibility for life's hardships, from which Canadians had previously been protected by the economic and social rights of citizenship, was the new model (Jenson and Phillips, 1996: 119).

The legalisation of politics accompanied structural changes in the state. It was part of a Liberal plan of 'national unity' that was on one level, politically and ideologically based, but it was also a reaction to "the increasing tendency to malfunction of western industrial economies" (Mandel, 1989:71). As the neo-conservative government would show in the next era, although nation-building was typically linked in the post-war era with the legitimation functions of the state, in this era there was a return to a primarily accumulation role in the development of a national, yet globally subservient, market.

NEW ERA: DEPOLITICIZATION AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

During the recession ridden mid 1980s, the Progressive Conservatives were voted to power in Canada, ending the reign of Liberals. It was at this time, like elsewhere in the industrialised world, that major 're-evaluations' took place regarding Keynesian economics and supply-side measures were instituted in many western industrialised countries. In Canada, the 1985 MacDonald Commission was finishing its *Report on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada*. The

economic agenda being pushed through was one of a decentralised economy and a globally subservient market. The Mulroney government abandoned Trudeau's national regional development strategy, promoted provincial control over resource revenues, and privatised crown corporations, thereby serving to chip away at the traditional role of the central government. It was not the only change from the previous era of historically heightened nation-building. Cultural policy was hit the most with budget cuts. The Neilsen Task Force recommended in their 1985 report that program funding be cut to Departments like Multiculturalism and the Canada Council and the SRTC (McBride and Shields, 1993).

Prime Minister Mulroney's major achievements in office during those years included the establishment of a regressive Goods and Service tax and the signing of a Free Trade Deal within North America, Free Trade being the antithesis of the National Policies of previous governments. The Canadian Left was vehemently against the neo-conservative agenda because of both the 'rolling back of the welfare state' and the denigration of national institutions:

Maybe it should come as no surprise that bankruptcies are soaring, manufacturing is faltering, trust in government is at a low ebb and Canada's sense of nationhood is evaporating faster than a drop of Petrocan unleaded on a hot prairie blacktop in July (Bienefeld, 1992:33).

The new *citizenship regime* that was being developed was tightening access to what were now called 'special interest groups' the organisations that previously spoke on *behalf* of citizens in the post-war era, organisations that were funded by the government. A new form of public consultation was used, one that focused on individual representation rather than group representation as the McDonald

commission, the Task Force on National Unity and other public inquiries of the time reflected. The representational role of organised social interests was de-legitimated in this new era (Jenson and Phillips, 1996).

In immigration matters, a new stream was adopted, for a business class. It is called the 'investor immigrant', described as an immigration policy for capital (Stasiulis and Jhappan, 1995). In sharp contrast to the earlier immigration restrictions against Asian migration to Canada, this clause was instituted in 1986 inviting investors directly into Canada without them necessarily having to be involved in operating the enterprise (Knowles, 1992). The policy was established in full acknowledgement of the availability of a new cadre of investors looking to take money out of Hong Kong before the Chinese take-over in 1999. The stream is currently mainly occupied by Hong Kong investors. In terms of the overall immigration policy strategy:

The implicit policy objective is to transform Canada into a sophisticated niche-player in the new global trade system. "Designer immigrants"- namely self-financed professionals and skilled business immigrants who come without any need of further training for productive roles in the economy- are to play key roles in achieving this goal (Simmons, 1996:44).

The government ushered Canada into the new era of increasingly globalised markets with unrelenting determination but the new understanding was that a centralised economy with social programs was no longer necessary for a centralised identity. The attempt to institutionalise other forms of 'national norms' through Constitutional renewal was still a primary item on the government agenda, as evidenced by the major initiatives of the Meech Lake Summit in the mid 1980s and the

1993 Charlottetown Accord²⁷. The failures of these initiatives to bring Quebec ‘back into the Constitutional fold’ (they had absconded since Trudeau’s unilateral patriation of the Constitution) were a major loss for the conservative government because constitutional renewal for ‘national unity’ was a high priority. The reason was, as gleaned from the report of the Progressive Conservative Party’s 1991 *Shaping Canada’s Future*, to end constitutional ‘uncertainty’, because, among other things, it was bad for business²⁸.

Despite the move away from what had become classic *national policy* initiatives of state expansion into the economy and civil society, the nation-building project was not abandoned in Canada. For example, a major *nationalising* attempt has occurred through Canada’s foremost Conservative global financier, Conrad Black. The last person to define national unity in terms of a nationalist economy he has erected Canada’s first official national newspaper, the *National Post*. In a direct mail campaign, the solicitation (October 9, 1998) reads:

A newspaper can speak for a small town in western Saskatchewan. It can be the voice of a neighbourhood community in Halifax.... In Canada, we have all kinds of newspapers... But we do not have a newspaper that speaks to and for all of Canada. Until now.

²⁷ The Charlottetown Accord contained an opening section called the Canada Clause” which was highly debated because it was supposed to capture the Canadian identity: One of the versions of the opening preamble was the following:

Trustees of a vast northern land,
we celebrate its beauty and grandeur.
Aboriginal peoples, immigrants,
French-speaking, English-speaking,
Canadians all,
We honour our roots and value our
Diversity.

(Report of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons: *A Renewed Canada*, 1992:105) Memorizable song-like nationalist tracts are surely amongst the pinnacle of nation-building instruments.

²⁸ “Canadian Federal and Economic Union: Partnership for Prosperity” in *Shaping Canada’s Future*, (Ottawa: 1991):2.

The newspaper's content shows an unabashed attempt to build support for conservative policies of decentralisation and deregulation of markets, in the interest of the 'nation'.

CONCLUSION

From the inauspicious crafting of a Confederation in the 19th century and the plethora of initiatives and measures undertaken to institutionalise a national identity since then, the Canadian state has undertaken classic ideological, material and cultural aspects of nation-building. In looking at the examples throughout the *nationalisation* process, it is clear that changes in the substance of the process and its outcomes in Canadian society were affected not only by independent government decree, but usually in relation to structural crises in the state. The first national policy was the culmination of material and imperial elite decisions regarding the creation of a protected market in North America, distinctly separate from American interests. The policy addressed economic and ideological aspects of 'nation-building'. Leaders of the day addressed the creation of a 'people', and a labour force. The next distinct and massive undertaking of nation-building occurred following the Second World War in response to internal crises of economic unrest and the demands of the era of reconstruction. International economic forces affected the Canadian formation and, like elsewhere, the social welfare state compromise was adopted. Here, the *nationalisation* process became more fully entrenched in the infiltration of the state

into civil society through 'national' programs of economic redistribution and cultural funding.

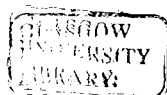
The third National policy era emerged as a response to a series of cyclical recessions in Canada and to Quebec's *independentist* tendencies. The ultimate goal of Trudeau's nationalist vision was the entrenchment of the Charter which, along with his other initiatives, would legislate into centrality several important national institutions, such as the Supreme Court. Since the early 1980s, the National policies were replaced by de-centralising policies based in neo-conservative economic programs. Nonetheless, the welfare state compromise is still in working order and furthers the *nationalisation* process in its legitimisation function by funding and creating identity politics vs. class politics, as it will be shown in Chapter Six.

In creating the boundaries of the *nation* early on, auto-referential racialisation invoked the *great north* in definitions of belonging. The creation of boundaries of national belonging were refracted through racialising, gendered, and *nationalising* ideologies, and institutionalised in immigration laws, citizenship and cultural policy. Cultural policies were erected to promote a primarily British Protestant culture. In the 1960s there was a move away from blatant systemic discrimination in various policy areas. The initiation of Multiculturalism was supposed to introduce a dynamic of 'unity in diversity' in Canadian society and politics, yet had the reverse effect. It actually reminded Canadians, not of *duality* but of the nature of the dominant society as a White colonial construct. At this point there were no more blatant attempts to insinuate the Canadian heritage as White British Protestant, but the incessant Constitutional politics that followed represents a national unity project that is

ambiguous in content, but yet that is precisely why it is vital to the integrity of the nation-state.

To understand facets of the relationship between the state and ethnic minority communities in a given social formation, the totality of ideological, political and economic relations must be analysed at a given historical moment. Citizenship regimes, policy and programs have been determined as a result of structural imbalances and the need to redress them. Government intervention in ethnocultural organisational mobilisation was constituted through this very same changing process.

Two main points should be clear from this chapter that serve as useful background for the data chapters to follow. First, the history of nation-building showed articulations between racialisation and *nationalism* in internal processes of inclusion and exclusion in the nation state. In the labour importing state, these articulating processes of differentiation served to incorporate people differently into the social formation, hence leading to their differential 'categorisations' and administration. Second, given the divisions and pulls that the 'national' formation necessarily embodies and reproduces, there is ongoing effort to overcome the divisions, to *mediate the fissures* as Bannerji (1996) put it. The next three chapters will study the terrain of state 'ethnic liaison' and national ethnocultural organisation formation for political participation, noting the effects of *nationalisation* as described in Chapter Two. The role the organisations play in mediating the fissures in the 'national unity' project is explored now in greater detail.



THE *NATIONALISATION* OF ETHNICITY:

**A STUDY OF THE PROLIFERATION OF NATIONAL MONO-
ETHNOCULTURAL UMBRELLA ORGANISATIONS IN CANADA**

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January, 2001.

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CHAPTER 4:
'ETHNIC' ORGANIZING FOR NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The Dominion Government will always have special interest in the building of a strongly unified Canadian nationalism... I know of no greater work which any Minister of the Crown can do than of promoting this unity. Personal contact on the part of the Minister in a country of such wide dimensions as Canada is a factor of the very greatest value, especially to peoples and groups who have a recent European outlook¹.

- George Simpson (Director, Nationalities Branch, 1941-43)

INTRODUCTION

The last chapter outlined the history of the *nationalisation* of Canadian society in order to provide groundwork for the thesis on the *nationalisation* of ethnicity. This chapter will begin the historical narrative on the formations of NMEUOs in Canada as *nationalised* organisational forms. The chapter will cover the period preceding the Second World War in order to show how organisations forming before that time were 'national' in terms of form but their role in the state differed significantly from the later formations. It was the state intervention, also called 'personal contact', starting during the Second World War that ultimately led to the *nationalisation* of major aspects of 'ethnic' social organisation. The new 'liaison' policy encouraged the formation of NMEUOs in order to co-operate with government officials for the purpose of strengthening 'national solidarity', which as George Simpson pointed out above, was of the greatest possible importance for Canada. During this period of what was referred in Chapter Three as the *second national policy era*, a notion of 'national

belonging' was being crystallised. 'Ethnic' citizens were implicated in exemplifying the new Canadianism. The bulk of the chapter will focus on the post-war period showing how those organisations that formed during this period (and that still exist today) did not form coincidentally or in relation to 'ethnic' organisational dynamics alone, but in relation to *the citizenship regime* that was emerging.

The data featured in the following pages covers the period of 1941-1960, investigating links between the timing and substance of the NMEUO mobilisations and relations with the state. During this period, approximately 14 national 'mono-ethnic' umbrella organisations formed, half of them within in a four year period in the early fifties. This kind of 'boom' in national 'ethnic' organisation formation was singular in Canadian history. Evidence from the government archives documents show that they formed as a result of the opportunities provided by new policy directives and in most cases, through direct intervention by government officials. What is 'new' about the organisations that formed since 1941 is that they were courted, recognised, and institutionalised in the state, whereas the former were not. Institutionalised 'ethnic'-state relations was a new construction that only came into being in this historical period.

Macro-historical events structured social relations in Canada affecting state administrative practice and the creation of social 'categories'. The conjuncture of this period involved the exigencies of the national war effort, the domestic ramifications of politics of the Cold War, and related to it, the politics of the establishment of the social welfare state. The organisations created during this time were caught up in

¹ "Memo regarding the Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship and the Nationalities Branch", G.W.Simpson, undated, RG6 1986-87/319, Vol.1, file # 1-2/1: History of Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State, NAC

mediating the contradictions of the nation-building project and subsequently were influenced in terms of substance and configuration: anti-Communism and the promotion of *democratic* ideology were part of the political and socio-economic circumstances that constituted 'ethnic' boundaries for claims-making.

'ETHNIC'-STATE RELATIONS FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

'Ethnic' = Radical:

Before the post-war history of the *nationalisation* of ethnic organisation began, 'ethnic' communities across Canada had been actively organising, forming mainly local associations since earlier migration waves in the previous century. For example, Dutch, Norwegian, and Slavic immigrant groups, among others, are known to have organised in independent church associations and mutual aid societies during the very first phases of settlement in the new country (Ganzevoort, 1988; Loken, 1980; Radecki and Heydenkorn, 1976). 'Mono-ethnic' immigrant associations proliferated, addressing language training and social welfare issues (Burnet and Palmer, 1988). However, at the national level there were very few organisations, which is partly explained by the inaccessibility of national efforts in a country as vast as Canada (especially before technological advances). Yet, several other factors distinguished their collective organising experiences from their post-war successors.

For one, 'ethnic' populations were expected to assimilate in a context of 'anglo-conformity' (Palmer, 1994) and therefore there was no official support for 'separate' 'ethnic' institutions. Moreover, prior to Canada's modern citizenship policy, certain categories of immigrants, those that did not qualify under the

Nationalities Act for example (as 'British subjects'), were not considered 'full citizens' which was a result of the racist ideological views and exclusionary recruitment practices institutionalised in the Canadian state. With no infrastructure of state control or support, 'ethnic' groups were left to organise their affairs independently and it usually reflected the direct settlement needs of the immigrants and a focus on the political context from which they came.

International politics seeped into Canada via these communities in the various nationalistic and ideological forms that divided Europe at the time. During the early part of the century, 'ethnic' political mobilisation was discouraged because the form it often took was that of labour radicalism and socialist activism, a reflection of the emigration experience and also of their structural position in Canadian society. Donald Avery's book Dangerous Foreigners (1979) chronicles some of the events and organisations dominating the immigrant political sphere. He shows how, for many immigrants, trade unionism was a natural option given that the Colonisation offices of the CPR and Department of the Interior were recruiting more workers than was needed in Canada in a system of surplus labour.

In terms of the government perspective, these immigrants were 'workers', *producers*, and if they did not fulfil this role for which they were recruited, or if they challenged their role, they could be, and were often, deported. Radical politics such as Communism were not the only causes for exclusion and discrimination; fascist connotations also fuelled 'ethnic' significations as it was seen with the designation during both World Wars of "enemy aliens" (Herd Thompson, 1991). A link was overtly drawn in the Canadian state between 'ethnic' migrant, labour status, and radical politics. With these obfuscated, *foreign born* were treated not as equal citizens

but as potential 'problems' that could be removed from the society; literally sent back. Barbara Roberts (1994) argues that deportation on political and economic grounds was used in Canada to rid the society of unwanted settlers. It was implemented from the turn of the century, and became deliberate and systematic with the help of the War Measures Act between 1914 and the early 1920s, as a means to regulate labour supply and demand:

Agitators and radicals challenged a social and economic order (and political system) that immigration policy served. Political deportation and economic deportation (although they are in reality not separate or separable) were methods of preserving the status quo. The Department of Immigration set itself up as the protector of the public purse, the public health, the public morals, and increasingly, the public "safety" (Roberts, 1994:268).

To describe the nature of the state construction and administration of 'ethnic' organisation in the early decades of the century, 'non-British' immigrants were only reluctantly allowed into the country as racialised groups, and then were expected to *assimilate* within these conditions of marginalisation. As shown in Chapter Three, the Immigration Act *preference system* favoured certain Northern Europeans, which then expanded to include most Slavic groups. These new groups had immediate challenges to face, especially in the case of homesteaders and urban poor. There was no state sponsored 'integration' programs for them, no state welfare yet to assist new immigrants, and few political spaces in which they were invited to participate. A small number of 'ethnic' individuals did succeed in gaining public office (Palmer, 1991). However, in many cases 'ethnic' organisations and leaders were regarded as irrelevant to Canadian politics and 'potentially dangerous'. As Jenson (1991) described this period of Canadian development, it was characterised by regional rather than national level politics which shaped the *citizenship regime* and its parameters for claims-

making. Protest parties rising in the prairies at the beginning of the century were more open to immigrant co-operation and several immigrant leaders got their start in politics through these 'protest parties' (Burnet and Palmer, 1988). While there was a lot of imperialist and democratic nationalist rhetoric put forward by politicians and social groups such as the *Canada First* for example, the basis of 'belonging' and legitimate claims-making in the political sphere was very crudely based on one's former nationality, preferably British. Non-British residents and their organisations were basically ignored or disdained in the political and social landscape.

The Original NMEUOs:

It is clear that 'ethnic' political organisation was not encouraged in Canada during this historical period. However, several NMEUOs did form, managing to link their 'ethnic' community across Canada for consolidation of agenda and representation purposes and these cases represent the precursors to the NMEUO proliferation in later years. They formed in qualitatively different circumstances than the later ones, with different political aims and expectations. First, the migration experience of these 'ethnic' organisers must be recalled. Those entering the country from Eastern Europe such as Ukrainians, Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians and Mennonites were generally escaping poverty or political upheaval (Palmer, 1994:307) and their communal associations reflected their immediate concerns and needs. Of the most active organisations among immigrant populations, and usually inherently linked to community mutual aid initiatives, were those advocating a set of ideological political beliefs, usually in relation to the situation of the home country. For example, a national Finnish organisation, the *Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada* (later the

Finnish Organization of Canada) was founded in 1911. Founders consisted in part of people who had fought on the Communist side during the Finnish civil war of 1918 (Lindstrom-Best, 1985) and who had imported their values and politics to the Canadian sphere, which was managed in conditions of massive unemployment and wage undercutting. The initial objective was to found a Finnish-language labour organisation to help lay the foundation of the working class movement in Canada, and hence 'Canadianise' its members through contribution to the country's labour movement (Eklund, 1983). It was similar to the efforts of the Finnish organisation that formed in the U.S. which was allied to the American socialist party.

Similarly, the *Association of United Ukrainian Canadians* (AUUC) was formed in 1918 as a result of the government declaration of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party as an illegal Bolshevik organisation (Avery, 1979). It was originally called the *Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association* and changed to its present name in 1946 (partly to be able to continue its activities after being shut down by the government). It was, and still is, primarily a social and cultural organisation with a Labour movement base. During the first few decades of the century it provided a social service role to new and old immigrants and therefore was quite popular. It also published a newspaper called the *Ukrainian Labour News* that kept Ukrainian Canadians informed in their own language. In its current Constitution, the mandate is described as "progressive" and "committed to change and progress in the interests of the people"². However, the Canadian government perspective was that it disseminated

² "Constitution" of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, 1987 (National Executive Committee, Toronto)

Communist propaganda and was therefore blacklisted for that reason³. It worked with other Communist organisations including those from the Russian, Finnish, Slovak, Polish, Croatian, and Jewish communities, especially during the years in which they were affiliated to the Communist Party of Canada (Avery, 1979:120)⁴. Like other organisations that operated during the “red scare” years, their premises were shut down, they were infiltrated, and members were arrested, especially during the war years for illegal activity (Avery, 1979).

Also outlawed and resurfaced under a new name (like the AUUC) was the *Federation of Russian Canadians*. They originally formed in 1930 as a group of Communist immigrants from Russia who were aiming to raise money in order to return home and in the meantime, to organise Russian and Eastern European workers in a labour movement in Canada. They did so partly by attempting to show Communism’s success in the USSR (Klimoff, 1983). Many of the members were deported in the early 1930s and they were officially shut down by 1940. In 1942, when relations between the Allies and the Soviet Union were improving, the conditions for organising became more favourable. During a conference to raise funds for war-torn Soviet regions, the organisation joined with the Farmers Clubs and the “Russian Committee to Help the Motherland” to form the present-day Federation (Klimoff, 1983:166).

Not all the early organisations were Communist in ideology. The *Icelandic National League (INL)* formed in 1919, immediately after the First World War as an organisation to: “maintain the Icelandic heritage and strengthen the cultural bonds

³ For example, one source that mentions this is a letter from Frank Foulds, Director of Canadian Citizenship Branch, to the Chairman of the Canadian Citizenship Council, Gen. HDG Crerar, Dec. 15, 1948, RG6 Vol.50, file: 9-15, pt.1.

⁴ This was also confirmed in an interview with an AUUC board member (int #33).

between the people of Iceland and “vestur-Slendingar”, Canadians and Americans of Icelandic descent” (Lindal, 1967:297). W.L. Lindal, one of Canada’s most prominent Icelandic Canadians of the first part of the century (a judge and government minister) and an Icelandic-Canadian leader, explained the timing of the formation of the organisation as a result of the outcome of the First World War. The leaders of this new group felt that the allied powers had not gone far enough in making the world ‘safe for democracy’ and thus “there was an awakening” but not a “withdrawal from Canadian loyalties” (Lindal, 1967:296)⁵. The INL is preoccupied today with primarily cultural exchanges⁶ but its origins are understood in terms of international political activism as former Icelandic ‘nationals’. Social and political organisation were linked for members and overdetermined by their ‘foreignness’. In the early part of the century national ‘ethnic’ umbrella organisations were highly implicated in international politics, as expressed with regards to the country of origin and as influenced through American organisation counterparts.

Another organisation that was inaugurated in 1919 (and one of the most consistent until today) was the *Canadian Jewish Congress* (CJC) after several years of Canadian Jewish organisational attempts at forming a national representative body. The aspect of ‘representation’ was highly contested by existing organisations in the Jewish community and dissenting factions that were challenging traditional modes of ‘elitist’ internal governance in Jewish organisational life. Unlike other immigrant communities where the Left vs. other politically minded factions formed completely separate representative organisations, the Jewish community partially succeeded in

⁵ The Canadian government was reluctant to see groups embarrass the USSR, a wartime ally, and therefore attempted to discourage public criticism, a position that outraged ‘nationals’ from invaded areas (see also Gerus (1982) regarding the Ukrainian situation in the early 1940s).

⁶ Based on questionnaire answers received from the INL.

uniting the factions for a certain period of time. The beginning of the First World War galvanised the community in a primary common aim of aiding brethren in Europe.

A circumstance that was particular to this community was the notion of a *world diaspora* of Jewry. Each international 'community' organised in their respective countries, such as the U.S. (and Palestine for example) which fuelled a world movement of organisations. Of no small importance was the initiative to form a World Jewish Congress requiring representation from every country of the 'diaspora'. There was no 'home' state yet that could further divide the community in partisan or 'home governance' issues. Between 1900 and 1920, there was a relative boom of Eastern European Jews coming to Canada, many of them importing their socialist beliefs. They were at odds with the more traditionalist and strongly Zionist leaders entrenched in the community. However, what was once a major obstacle to consensus gradually came to be worked into the new fabric of Jewish social organisation. A compromise was reached in terms of the priorities and organisational structure of the new body. In January of 1919 the first Jewish Conference was held for the purpose of setting up the Congress. Its agenda was determined as:

... the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, the recognition and legalization of Jewish national rights "where they live in compact masses", "equal rights" with other minorities in Canada, affiliation with a world Jewish Congress, relief of war-sufferers, assistance to Jewish immigration to Canada, and "co-operation with the Canadian labour movement" (Tulchinsky, 1992:268).

The CJC was defunct by 1920 because of lack of funds, lack of leadership, and apathy due to the seeming resolution of some of their international concerns such as advances at the Paris Peace Conference and the enactment of the Balfour Declaration (Tulchinsky, 1997:274). The organisation was revived in 1934 in response to the rise

of Hitler in Germany and the growth of fascist organisations in Canada (Abella and Troper, 1982). Events of the Second World War and concerns to save as many Jews as possible led to a new role for the CJC. Throughout its work, it was weakened by division and indecisiveness over how to lobby effectively and build consensus. Yet, it emerged as one of the leaders among all NMEUOs⁷. It was one of the first 'ethnic' organisations in Canada to learn that there is no guidebook for this cumbersome type of representative role, especially in a political environment that marginalises the efforts of the groups it simultaneously makes necessary for access to political participation. Unlike for the later organisations that developed, the earlier organisations did not have a *nationalised* institutional or ideological framework in which to operate that supported 'ethnic' political participation.

There are several more organisations that formed in this early period that did not have government support and still exist today. (They are probably not the only other NMEUOs that existed at that time but it is difficult to ascertain given the lack of historical documentation on the subject). They also reflect the conditions of early 'ethnic' organising at the national level. The reasons for formation were also entirely to do with 'home politics' and political agendas mixed with cultural and social organisation in the new 'host' society.

The *Croatian Peasant Society* (CPS) was formed in 1931 as a direct descendant of the Croatian Peasant Party in Croatia. In 1928 the leader of the party was assassinated in the Yugoslav parliament by a Serbian deputy. It was the

⁷ A look at submission lists to Royal Commissions and Standing Committees on issues of immigration and labour and civil rights shows fairly consistent CJC representation. Also for example, the organisation joined with Japanese organisations to help them lobby for the franchise and compensation after the war. Furthermore, in interviews with later organisations it was revealed by several respondents that initial help was sought from CJC representatives in setting up a constitution and organisational structure for their own organisations.

'indignation' felt by Croatians inside or outside Croatia over this act that led to the eventual formation of the CPP in Canada (Herman, 1994). As it was seen in relation to some other organisations, inspiration for mobilisation was very often drawn from American counterparts (Palmer, 1994) and in this case the Canadian branch was also affiliated with the original U.S. version. When chapters began to flourish across Canada, the nation-wide association began to play a social and cultural function as well as a political one.

Political events in Croatia over the years made consensus among Croatian Canadians difficult to attain. Aside from the republican CPP there was the Yugoslav government supporters and the Communist Yugoslav faction. The CPP did not support an independent Croatian government during WWII because of that government's affiliation with Germany, but its stance, albeit an anti-Communist one, was not appreciated by Croatian immigrants fleeing to Canada from the post-war Communist regime (Herman, 1994). To make matters even more confused, in the Canadian sphere criticism against the Soviet regime contravened allied policy and was discouraged by the Canadian government during the War. Despite the divisions, the CPP united with Serbian and Slovenian groups temporarily to collect funds for distribution to the Canadian Red Cross (Rasporich, 1982:161). The association again suffered in the 1970s from internal political divisions but still operates today.

The *Serbian National Shield Society*, formed in 1916, played a similar role of integration for Serb immigrants to the country. The Society has organised an annual Serbian day celebration since the mid-1940s and has published a monthly newspaper "Voice of Canadian Serbs" since the mid-1930s⁸. It also has competition from other

⁸ "Profile" of organisation prepared by the Serbian National Shield Society of Canada, 1986.

organizations representing members of the immigrant community, such as the Serbian National Federation that originated in the United States and started the first Serbian newspaper in North America⁹. In both the Croatian and Serbian Canadian cases, the sensitive geo-politics of the regions put the organisations in a rather tenuous position with the Canadian government. Both groups organised separately from the 'Yugoslav' Canadian representational structure that was developing tangentially, through government interference, which will be touched upon later in the chapter.

A parallel of the 'Yugoslav case' can be drawn to the layers of politics defining and dividing Czechs and Slovaks immigrating to Canada and the reception and shaping of their organizations within the host society. The Canadian government classified all Czechs and Slovaks coming to Canada as 'Czechoslovakians' from 1918, the year of the formation of a Czechoslovak republic, onwards (Gellner and Smerek, 1968). This was a problem in terms of the statistical representation of the groups in Canada as far as determining population numbers (Sutherland, 1984) but also in terms of the parameters for official organising. In 1939 the Czechoslovak National Association was formed in Canada to "help in the war effort and thereby contribute to the liberation of Czechoslovakia" (Gellner and Smerek, 1968). The umbrella organisation was recognised as the official spokes-body for immigrants of that region. It received its Charter in 1960 from the Hon. Ellen Fairclough, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, as the *Czechoslovak National Association of Canada* (CNAC). They were so named despite the presence of the numerically larger Slovak community in Canada, many of whom were organised in a separate umbrella organisation, the *Canadian Slovak League* (CSL).

⁹ Interview with SNSSC Board member (#13).

There were members of the national Czechoslovak association that were Slovak in 'ethnicity' and many of them advocated for Slovak independence as members of the CSL. The League originated in the American Slovak movement but became independent in Canada in 1932. Their relationship with the Canadian government was precarious at times because of their status as a 'sub-group' in Czechoslovakia and because of their perceived collaboration with the Axis powers during the Second World War. Slovaks were declared 'enemy aliens' and complained of Canadian government harassment (Sutherland, 1984).

The organisation of Slovak immigrants will be discussed further in Chapter Five when a new formation was established in the 1970s. However, the example of the Czechs and Slovaks and their organisational adaptations before the war exemplified the articulations of the international (ie. 'home government') and 'national' (ie. Canadian *and* Slovak) processes of differentiation and politicisation over-determining 'ethnic' social organisation within the Canadian state during that phase.

As it was shown in Chapter Three (with the differential treatment between Japanese and Chinese immigrants for example) geo-political and trade concerns dominated the potential for 'legitimate' organising of ethno-immigrant associations. This condition would increase dramatically during the Second World War when a new phase in the management of racialised minorities was initiated. The original national 'ethnic' umbrella organisations were largely seen as 'radical' and concerned with 'home' country issues. They were either disdained or ignored by the assimilationist Canadian government of the time. There was intolerance for 'ethnic' political organising which, ironically, allowed the organisations a certain amount of freedom in terms of their goals and mandate, since legitimacy was not really an option. Later

'ethnic' associations were offered legitimacy for the potential role they could play in national unity politics. By conforming with the politics of national solidarity, European origin 'ethnic' organisations could provide the ultimate validation for a national 'whole'. With a new economy of rewards being constructed, 'ethnic' social organisation underwent *nationalisation* like other institutions in the social welfare state.

If the first half of Canada's Confederate history and its relationship with 'ethnic' groups, may be described in terms of reserves, deportations, preference, and internment, the second half may be seen as a series of attempts to define them, appease them and politicise them in relation to the 'national' community.

WWII: THE NATIONAL RESOURCES MOBILIZATION ACT

...in the evolution of the status of those Canadians who are of neither British nor French ancestry, the developments of 1940-1941 represent a milestone. They mark a perceptible watershed between the age when "ethnics" or "ethnic populations" were generally ignored, and the post-war era when increasing attention was paid to them, not only at election time but on an ongoing basis (Dreisziger, 1988:22).

The onset of the Second World War period as experienced in Canada was followed by a conjuncture of circumstances that led to the introduction of the social welfare state and the *nationalisation* of its major institutions; economic, political and cultural. It also entailed 'liaison with the foreign born' as a necessary part of the mediation of the contradictions of the welfare state. Ethno-immigrant groups would now be processed and accounted for, and mediate the 'national' state, by emerging as categorical 'nationals' from specific countries of origin, and by organising at the national level for national *solidarity*. But it was the circumstances of the war time

effort in particular that helped shape the substance of state-ethnic relations for the years to follow. There was a new set of political concerns borne out by wartime politics that shaped the perception of the potential for 'integration' of the foreign-born.

First, politicians, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and Cabinet members expressed concern about subversive war-time activity of internal 'enemy aliens' as well as Communists in general. Then there was racist treatment by portions of the 'British' Canadian population against the 'foreign born', occasionally entailing outbursts of violence that needed to be contained. The final key factor was that there was a convergence of opinion on the part of key government officials that a milder approach to immigrant issues was more humane and simply wiser in the long run. It was this set of coinciding factors that motivated Canadian initiatives in 'ethnic liaison' as well as in pro-active policy in relation to immigrant 'integration'. It was also the start of the history of government *nationalisation* of 'ethnic' organisation in Canada.

Starting with the first point, the Second World War was heralded in Canada, much like the previous World War, with the Defence of Canada Regulations (DOCR). In September of 1939, the DOCR were proclaimed under the War Measures Act, permitting the government to take unilateral decisions (often of a police nature) without reference to Parliament. One of its regulations was the internment of those deemed 'enemy aliens' among immigrants to Canada:

In June 1940 the regulations were amended to apply not only to enemy nationals but also to thousands of naturalized immigrants from enemy countries (Germany and Italy-and after December 1941- still other Axis countries, as well as Japan) (Dreisziger, 1988:2).

Other regulations provided for preventative detention of those 'suspected of harbouring anti-state plans', and the closure of buildings and ethnic presses belonging to Communist organisations. The government's concerns over 'ethnic conflict' were heightened by public acts of violence and systematic discrimination against people from 'enemy' countries, especially after Hitler's invasion of the Netherlands in 1940. Mounting racist incidents and employment dismissals of anyone with an Italian or German sounding name were growing. King's aides warned him that things were becoming potentially riotous in areas of high German-born concentration (like Kitchener and Toronto) (Dreisziger, 1988:7).

Canada was faced with a divided population among English and French regions and the western regions with populist governments as shown in Chapter Three, and a potentially riotously racist population of foreign and 'Canadian' born. Add to that the typical RCMP concerns over Communist activity and a situation had arisen that was deemed dire by various officials involved in Immigration and External Affairs. Henceforth, Canadian officials paid attention to social relations in the form of immigrant relations as a matter of policy in a quest for forms of 'unity' (Dreisziger, 1988). Unity in those days was described as ideologically non-divided communities and a commitment to *democratic* values as opposed to Communism. Public affairs campaigns were undertaken to preach non-violence, order and 'Canadianism'. The Bureau of Public Information had begun producing propaganda for Canada to counter that coming in through immigrant presses. One of its significant products was the series done in association with the CBC (by Watson Kirkconnell), called "Canadians All: A Primer for National Unity". It promoted the idea of ethnic participation in the war effort as well as stable 'ethnic relations'. The broadcasts preached:

For a truly strong nation, ... Canadians had to “widen the range of our nationbuilding to include... a fuller knowledge of our fellow Canadians and particularly those who are not of our race or creed (Young, 1988:35).

Internment and surveillance of enemy aliens was not a new policy during wartime but this time prominent officials were beginning to take notice of its lack of subtlety. Norman Robertson was a key individual who affected a lighter approach and was enabled to advance this position because of the death of “hard-liner” Ernest Lapointe, who had previously been King’s main adviser (Granatstein, 1997; Dresiziger, 1997). With a situation of internal forms of scapegoating amidst worries over Communist and labour insurrection mounting, several key Cabinet members and public servants began pushing for a more organised and sensitive policy to address the treatment of Canada’s foreign born. In response to these pressures, the government passed the *National Resources Mobilization Act* (as discussed in Chapter Three) and established the Department of National War Services (DNWS) in 1940. One of its jobs was the dissemination of Canadian propaganda in foreign languages, based on what the Bureau of Public Information was distributing. However, something more concrete in terms of ‘liaising’ (ie. “contact”) and establishing dialogue with ethnic populations was proposed as well.

As early as November 1939, J.F. MacNeill of the Department of Justice wrote to King urging him to introduce a government office specifically for the purpose of addressing Canada’s minority ethno-immigrant populations and developing pro-active policies of integration (Dreisiziger, 1988:5). He was joined by others in government such as Norman Robertson of the Department of External Affairs, and soon, the Minister of the DNWS, J G Gardiner, and Judge T.C. Davis, who came to Ottawa as

Associate Deputy Minister of the new DNWS. In the meetings held, all concerned agreed to go ahead with such a program. There was some stalling initially because they could not find the right person to direct the new office.

The Nationalities Branch: The birth of official 'ethnic liaison':

Finally, in 1941, the Nationalities Branch was established within the Department of National War Services, with the appointment of five members of staff. George Simpson was its director, Tracy Phillips was the 'European adviser' and his colleague V.J.Kaye (East European specialist) was 'liaison officer' with foreign language press. There was also an 'editorial officer' and stenographer. Despite the earnest and sincere motives of many of the officers in promoting this 'unity', the Branch's work was not necessarily altruistic in nature. There was an underlying rationale that informed the politics for years to come. The internment of Japanese citizens in Canada, the declaration of war on minor axis powers and the introduction of this new Department were not merely coincidental to the year 1941 (Dreisziger, 1997). It was precisely because Canada had taken aggressive positions on these issues and was officially at war with those countries, that it introduced new measures in order to appease immigrant workers. The purpose was partly to subdue those immigrants 'working in factories' for the war effort and not to aggravate further internal "racial conflict". The public affairs approach presented the purpose of the Department as a unifying service and a disseminator of information. The aim of the new department was: "to reinforce Canadianism, and racial and cultural co-operation between groups, towards consolidation of the nation"¹⁰.

¹⁰ Letter, unknown sender to Hon. J.A. Mackinnon, Ottawa, Sept. 8, 1942, RG6 box.1, file:1-2/1

The new department undertook officially to 'manage' relations with foreign born and immigrant populations in Canada especially those affected by the war, *to interpret to them Canadian perspectives on the war*, and to harness their organisational capabilities for the war effort. There was also a stated anti-discrimination component where they intended to popularise 'foreign born' contributions to the war effort to non-immigrant Canadians and to seek to eliminate forms of discrimination against them by 'British' and French Canadians¹¹. According to Phillips, the 'European adviser', the aims of the Nationalities Branch were: "a) Immediate: to win the war, b) Ultimate: to consolidate the nation"¹². On a practical level, they sought to achieve this through the establishment of "contact" with ethnic associations across the country.

We made personal contact with as many individuals and groups as we could throughout the country, paying particular attention to groups which we felt needed special help or guidance.¹³

And it was done *quietly*; "We have always avoided publicity or noise. It has been felt wiser..."¹⁴

One of their first points of 'contact' during those years was with one of the most vital and extensive associational forms of 'ethnic' social organisation: the 'ethnic' presses. This was also an information gathering medium for the government, which was one of the main ways the office undertook its aims (Pal, 1993). Kaye headed the ethnic press analysis service in co-operation with the War Information

¹¹ "Memo regarding the Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship and the Nationalities Branch", DNWS, G.W.Simpson, undated, RG6 1986-87/319, Vol.1, file # 1-2/1: History of Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State, NAC

¹² Memo, Tracy Phillips to 'the Minister' (DNWS), March 22, 1943, RG6 box:1, file:1-2/1

¹³ "Memo regarding the Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship and the Nationalities Branch", DNWS, G.W.Simpson, undated, RG6 1986-87/319, Vol.1, file:1-2/1: History of Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State, NAC

Board (the department that succeeded the Bureau of Public Information) and he formally made contact as a 'liaison officer' with the foreign language presses across Canada. The primary purpose of this was to keep abreast of the politics of immigrant communities and monitor potential subversive activity. Relations with the 'ethnic presses' were an important component of the Department's work and served to develop the national politicisation of ethnic organisation. It will be discussed further below but first, there were other institutional reinforcements to the branch's agenda.

The Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship (ACCCC):

Upon being asked to head the Department, Simpson, with the input of Phillips, made several recommendations, one of which was the setting up of an advisory committee. It was made up of 12 prominent experts in the field of immigration. Norman Robertson (by then Cabinet Minister) influenced the naming of the Advisory Council. In the minutes of the Council's first meeting it is shown that it was established right away that the emphasis should be on encouraging common rights and duties of citizens and avoiding "particularities", hence the avoidance of the word *ethnic*¹⁵. He informed the Prime Minister that all agreed at their first meeting that:

... the committee did not have as its object the preservation of group differences, but that it should seek to encourage [immigrant ethnics] to identify themselves as closely as possible with the rest of the Canadian community (Dreisziger, 1988:20).

Minister Thorson, in his recommendation to the Governor General in Council to form the council described one aspect of its role as advising the "DNWS and other

¹⁴ Memo, T. Phillips to 'the Minister', DNWS, March 22, 1943, RG6 box:1, file:1-1, pt.1

departments which are especially concerned with matters of national solidarity".¹⁶

"Matters of national solidarity" encompassed a wide range of policy objectives including maintaining ties with the National Film Board and the CBC and co-operating with the War Information Board in distributing news to the foreign language press in Canada (interpreted by some as Canada's own propaganda). The 'ethnic liaison' component and ethnic press relations were bound up in the priority of 'ethnic' monitoring and 'citizenship education'.

The *Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship* was founded in 1940 at the suggestion of Tracy Phillips¹⁷. The organisation was funded initially by the War Information Board (\$10,000 per year) for the stimulation of production of printed material and broadcasts on *democratic citizenship*. The Council was made up of the nine provincial Ministers of Education (or their representatives), representatives from the NFB, the CBC, the Citizenship Branch, and organisations such as the Canadian Teachers Federation and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, among others. Since education was a provincial jurisdiction, the role of federal input was questioned but since provincial funding to the association was not forthcoming, a role was secured for the Citizenship Branch to provide financial support and input into 'citizenship training'. It provided: "an avenue through which we can put forth our ideas of an educational nature without conflicting with the BNA act"¹⁸. The secretary of the organisation, John Robbins, described its earlier mission during the war:

¹⁵ This decision was agreed by participants at the first meeting of the CCCC; "Summary of discussion of the first meeting of the Committee on Co-operation in Canadian citizenship (CCCC)", HOC, January 10, 1942, RG6 1986-87/319, Vol.1, file # 1-2/1: History of Citizenship Branch, SOS.

¹⁶ Recommendation to his Excellency the Governor General in Council from J.T.Thorson, DNWS, Jan 27, 1942. RG6 Vol. 1, file:1-2, pt.1 "History of Citizenship Branch".

¹⁷ National Archives of Canada overview of the history of the Citizenship Branch.

¹⁸ Letter, Frank Foulds to Hon. Paul Martin, Secretary of State, July 25, 1946, Ott., RG6 Vol.13, file: 1-7.

The survival of our way of life was at stake. The Council was born of the conviction that Canadians would be the more ready to put forth the effort demanded by total war if they understood the issues at stake, if they appreciated their privileges as well as their rights in democracy¹⁹.

It undertook to use whatever educational means it had, through broadcasting, pamphlets, speeches, etc, to spread information and inspire a movement on *democratic citizenship*²⁰.

All of these bodies, including the ACCCC and the Nationalities Branch, were dominated by ardent anti-Communists such as Watson Kirkconnell who wrote "The Seven Pillars of Freedom", George Simpson and Tracy Phillips. The ACCCC was later described as a "bastion of anti-communism" (Young, 1988:38). It was argued by some, such as Norman Robertson, that as a result of their fervour against Communism, they neglected other pro-active aspects of their mandate. But, after all, Cabinet backing and RCMP concerns focused on the 'foreign born' problem which was primarily defined in these political ideological terms. Tracy Phillips was the front line officer when it came to influencing 'ethnic' societies in terms of anti-Communist organising. His priorities were evident in a memo he wrote to the Minister of Trade and Commerce in which he advertised the services of the Branch in sniffing out Communist organisations:

From time to time your Department will doubtless receive communications, protestations of loyalty, or representations, from groups or conventions of citizens of recent European origin, sometimes called the "foreign-born", organized as such. ... In order that the good-will of Ministers should not be abused or exploited, it may be a convenience to you to know that this Division, dealing with some 2 and ½ million "foreign-born" citizens, is usually

¹⁹ CCC: "Secretary's Report to Annual Meeting", by John E. Robbins, January 1948 [RG6 Vol.50, file:9-15, pt.1].

²⁰ "The Council as Communicator" from CCC Bulletin to all members, August, 1968, MG31 H128, vol.3.

in a position to give information as to the background and real affiliations of the conventions or organizations in question.²¹

Ultimately Cabinet support of Phillips' approach resulted in his intervention in the formation of several NMEUOs during the war, what he termed *surgical intervention* for the purposes of countering the existing established Communist immigrant organisations. The Ukrainian Canadian Congress was one of the first to be involved in this government "contact" and 'liaison' (Young, 1988).

'Made in Ottawa'²²: Intervention in NMEUO formation:

Several Eastern European organisations that are recognised by the Canadian government today as representative umbrella groups of their 'communities' were formed within these particular historical circumstances. Their substantive boundaries and aims articulated with state processes, in particular, the government's agenda of 'national solidarity' as it was defined during the War years. The *Ukrainian Canadian Committee* (later the *Ukrainian Canadian Congress*) was formed in such circumstances. The relative size of the group made it a government priority when it came to 'immigrant' political *containment*, but the nature of their home country's precarious status in Eastern Europe, in the balance between Nazi and Soviet occupation, also drew government attention. It was already seen in relation to earlier Ukrainian organisations that there was a large segment of Communist activists among Ukrainians in Canada. This was not the only political faction of the community; it was feared throughout the war that many would side with the Nazis, contravening

²¹ Letter, Phillips to Hon. J.A.Mackinnon, Sept. 8, 1942, Ottawa, (similar letter sent to 14 other federal government offices), RG6 Vol.1, file:1-2, pt.1 (acc:86-87/319)

²² The term 'made in Ottawa' is generally used with reference to the UCC. (See Young, 1988, and Gerus, 1982) but it is my contention that it applies to many others as well.

Canada's allied position, by supporting the Ukraine Independence movement. Furthermore, during wartime, "Ukrainians suddenly became a valuable reservoir of recruits and the urgent need for manpower cast the federal government into the role of arbitrator" (Gerus, 1982:197).

In the government's attempt to promote 'national solidarity' and mobilise 'ethnic' communities for the war effort, the Nationalities Branch addressed the Ukrainian Canadian community with these concerns and approached them with the idea of forming a national representative organisation. This was not a new idea. Several attempts, as early as 1910 (Woycenko, 1968), had been made to unite the community in common leadership. The history of the Ukrainian Canadian community was fraught with inherent divisions and ideological splits which reflected the politics of that region of Eastern Europe. For early immigrants who left prior to the Ukrainian nationalist movement, there was a different political identity and set of relations with the 'home country'. For example, as this testimony of Stephen Mulka shows:

When people first came over from the old country Ukrainian wasn't even a common word; we were called Ruthenian, Galician, Austrian, Bukovynian. When I got the Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon they told me, "Never say you are Ruthenian. You are Ukrainian (quoted in Kostash, 1977:324).

During the 1920s and 30's, immigrants to Canada were preoccupied with the revolutionary movement in Ukraine (Woycenko, 1968). By the Second World War, the various competing political positions between nationalists (republicans vs. monarchists) fascist, Communists, etc. were exacerbated. The intervention of the government in Ukrainian Canadian affairs made the 'union' occur.

Watson Kirkconnell had been affiliated with the organisation for several years and had been busy working to unite two factions. His 'powers of persuasion' may be

revealed in these words on what would happen if they did not co-operate with each other:

If on the other hand they remain hopelessly disrupted by political dissension and if the chief characteristic of their nationalism seems to be hatred for other national groups, then they will do a disservice to the cause they seek to serve, for they will persuade the Canadian nation that the Ukrainian has not yet reached political maturity (quoted in Kostash, 1977:324).

Kirkconnell's admonition reveals a form of government 'peer pressure'. If they could not resolve their vast differences and unite into a new 'Canadian' version of a Ukrainian committee, then they would not be able to participate politically. In the meantime, Simpson had also been involved and served to unite the other three factions of Ukrainian representation in Canada.

However, amalgamating them all was proving to be too difficult. In 1940 they called in Tracy Phillips who arrived in Winnipeg to convince the five factions to "bury their differences at least for the duration of the war" (H.Piniuta quoted in Woycenko, 1968:209). Phillips' interference worked. A Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) was established, structured to address the war effort. It undertook to generate enthusiasm for military service and the purchase of war bonds (Gerus, 1982). The firmly anti-Communist stance of the UCC (denying membership to the AUUC) was an integral part of its mandate and the organisation used its position to attempt to advance its position in lobbying the Canadian government in relation to the 'home country'. As a result of its commendable co-operation, the government confirmed in return, the UCC as the 'official spokesman of "loyal" Ukrainians' (Gerus, 1982:204).

For the government, admittedly, the committee was a convenient means by which to influence Ukrainian-Canadian society without being visible. To ensure their leverage over the Ukrainian-Canadian leadership, Canada's

security forces would periodically use key UCC officials to gauge the political attitudes of their rivals within the umbrella organization. Easy access to the leadership also offered an opportunity to keep abreast of current developments within the community (Kordan and Luciuk, 1988: 88).

The organisation continued to operate after the war, as the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, in its attempts to unite associations of vastly differing politics, until today.

A Polish organisation was one of the next on which Phillips set his sights. In the primary and secondary sources available on Polish Canadian history many factors are proposed to account for the timing of the formation of the *Canadian Polish Congress* (CPC) in 1944. Like for many immigrant communities, the version that arose was not the first or only version. The first national federation to aspire to represent Polish groups in Canada formed in 1931. However, the two most widely active organisations in the Polish community in Canada were not a part of the federation. Typical of the pre-Resource Mobilisation Act years, groups were not unified in the configuration that became prescient for government legitimacy later on. So, reunification was still needed for a more 'truly representative' umbrella group. Calls for this reunification were made by all the major Polish newspapers; the basic goals being to unite to help offer relief to Poland during the war and to fight for an autonomous state. The oldest Polish association in Canada and one its strongest, the Polish Alliance, formed in 1905 and the Federation of Polish Organisations, based in Winnipeg, called for the first Canadian Polish Congress assembly in September 2-4, 1944. It was attended by representatives of 118 Polish organisations in Canada²³.

Why the umbrella formation came about in that year may be explained by a number of "external" factors. According to Reczynska (1995), the formation of the

American Polish Congress several years before may have been an influencing factor. Furthermore, there was the effect of the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which had a mobilising effect on Poles or perhaps the earlier formation of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Written in a prominent Winnipeg Polish newspaper called *CZAS*, in 1939:

For us to be effective and reach into large sectors of the immigrant population, we must be well organised and centrally governed. That is how other ethnic groups operate with stunning results..." (quoted in Reczynska, 1995:14).

Reczynska (1995) acknowledges that there was also the effect of the Nationalities Branch encouraging various immigrant communities to form parallel institutions to the UCC. But in her estimation, the main factor was the influence of the Polish Consuls actively trying to enlist the consolidated support of the Polish Canadian community in their political and social welfare missions as an exiled government. Tadeusz Brzezinski, Consul in Montreal, played a particularly key role in attempting to establish the new organisation (Reczynska, 1995). Yet Brzezinski was linked to Canadian government officials. A government memo on the Canadian Polish Congress, written years after their formation, notes how Brzezinski was affiliated with the representatives of the *Canadian Citizenship Council* (originally the *Council for Education for Citizenship*), the organisation promoting 'democratic citizenship' and fostering anti-Communism affiliated with Kirkconnell and Phillips²⁴. Indeed, the umbrella organisation that brought together the Polish Alliance of Canada and the Federation of Polish Societies, among others, prohibited Communist organisations

²³ "Memo by V.J.Kaye to R. C.M. Drury, Department of External Affairs, Subject: The Polish Congress of Canada", Citizenship Branch, April 26, 1947, Ottawa [RG6 Vol.108, file:9-574-5, pt.1]

²⁴ Letter, S. Zybala to Liaison Officer-Montreal, "Ethnic Groups", April 13, 1960 [RG6, Vol.108, file:9-574-5, pt.1]

from joining (Radecki, 1979) as declared in article #9 of the organisation's Constitution²⁵.

Records of the Department of Citizenship show that the community was monitored and at the very least influenced towards NMEUO formation by its Liaison Officers. In a report to the Nationalities Branch, Phillips provided an update on his latest work. In this one document found in the Citizenship Branch files, Phillips' account shows the ways in which the 'quiet' interventionism was carried out:

In the month under review, the affairs of the disunited Polish Canadian community have at last been maturing towards some co-ordination for war purposes and war-services. The unsatisfactory situation is analogous to that obtaining in the Ukrainian-Canadian community in 1940....It has been our duty quietly and sympathetically to reorient and show the way to these people towards their responsibilities and proper outlook as Canadian-citizens and as British subjects as much as are the New Zealanders, the Maltese and the Welsh. The wisest method to accomplish this objective was discussed early in 1942 between the Minister, the Associated Deputy Minister and Messrs. Simpson, Philips and Kaye. When the principle and the aim were agreed, the Branch utilized part of the \$10,000 grant made by Council for the Branch's research and field-work to invite Mr. Peter Taraska to make a study of the confused and conflicting situation of the Polish Canadian community as a whole. A year of careful quiet work, avoiding publicity, was at last, in the month under review, beginning to show signs of maturing from within the community itself, towards our aim²⁶.

The umbrella organisation that resulted in 1944 was based on a history of voluntary activity and internal community development and politics in the Polish community in Canada. Yet it is also clear that a new infrastructure of 'ethnic liaison' was being formed through the Nationalities Branch and its affiliated bodies. The eagerness of participants to comply with the new 'national' parameters showed that participation in the new infrastructure carried benefits of recognition and legitimacy,

²⁵ The Constitution, Canadian Polish Congress, containing preamble 1944, updated 1989.

²⁶ Report, "Nationalities Branch", undated, unsigned, p.2 [RG6 1986-87/319, Vol.1, file # 1-2/1: History of Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State, NAC]

two qualities previously not afforded to 'ethnic' associations historically in Canada. The government was actively proscribing such formations as a necessary means to gain access to government elites. The case of the Mennonites in Canada further illustrates this point.

In Ruth Epp's Master's thesis (1989) on "The Origins of the Central Mennonite Committee", from which the following information is mostly drawn, she argues that the formation of a broad representational umbrella form of Mennonite associations in Canada is explained by a number of external factors. In particular, mobilisation efforts were in response to the major crises of this century. The primary impetus for co-operation, during both World wars and during periods of international upheaval for Mennonites abroad, was the collection of resources for relief efforts. The second major impetus was centred around the fact that, as pacifists, they had to negotiate alternative forms of service with the Canadian government during wartime conscription. Following the introduction of the National Resources Mobilization Act, a delegation of Mennonite representatives went to Ottawa to discuss the situation with T.C. Davis, Deputy Minister of the Department of National War Services. In conferral with his associate Major Lafleche, he offered a non-combatant military service and rejected an alternative domestic service. At a later meeting, he "emphatically stated that he would deal with one delegation representing all Mennonite groups, not each group separately" (Epp, 1989:53).

There are two dynamics of *nationalisation* occurring here. First, as Epp (1989) comments, in dealing with the Mennonite delegation and taking a strict approach, the government was trying to control a potentially inflammatory situation where leniency was ill advised against a group that was perceived as pro-German.

Many Mennonites had originated in Germany and had not denounced the government regime. Therefore the Mennonite delegation was encouraged to consolidate its representative configuration at the national level in order to, first, 'Canadianise' its members and second, in order to be granted access to political elites. The umbrella organisation had its start in the war years, but did not effectively form into its present structure until 1963.

These requirements reflect the general *nationalisation* thesis because the organisation was encouraged to form into a particular national configuration and was expected to adopt certain ideological stances and counter others. There would be barriers to political access otherwise. As it was seen earlier, direct government intervention was another way in which organisations formed. Earlier, it was discussed how a Yugoslav organisation was promoted by the Canadian government in contrast to the 'ethnic' sub-national existing organisations from that European region. This section ends with a quote from the Citizenship Branch archives that reflects the 'quiet' process and the rationale of government interference in 'ethnic' organising during that period. The report from which it was taken is unsigned but was most likely penned by Tracy Phillips, as the European adviser to the Nationalities Branch. In it, the writer describes the difficulties in attempting to prop up a Yugoslav national association in Canada because of the European influences exerted on Yugoslav Canadians. The report complains that the existence of separate organisations reflects a 'receding Canadianism':

In the month under review, Dr. Kaye's first visit to Toronto since the Allies' (including Canadians') invasion of Europe, has made it clear that the Yugoslav group is rent by a deep disunity and is breaking up into component parts as they were previous to the last great war. This is due entirely to European influences exerted on them from Europe. These influences are being conveyed

by a very active radio service in their mother-tongue by their own relatives calling from the German-controlled radio-stations in Yugoslavia (Croatia). On the other hand, they are also being subjected to a very efficient and well-supplied Communist propaganda from that part of the Canadian press in their own language.

The probability of an imminent invasion (through Italy, the Adriatic, and Salonica) of their Balkan motherland is widening the rift and inflaming the dissensions between these Canadian citizens. Croat-Canadians are abandoning the Yugoslav-Canadian organizations to join the separate Croat parties such as the Selacka Stranka (Peasant Party).

Such notions of Canadianism as they had attained are receding and their consciousness of the responsibilities of being British subjects is therefore in retreat. In order to realize and to deal with this regrettable development, it is essential to have a grasp of the European background and conditions which are causing it. In the course of the month, thirty-five Serb organizations held preliminary conversations in Toronto preparatory the first annual Serb-Canadian congress, in Hamilton on September 3rd to 7th exclusive. Such another congress and opportunity will presumably not occur again for a year.

It was suggested and agreed to be in Hamilton at the time, not to attend the Convention but (in the capacity of someone who has lived among them in Europe and admires their race) to be on the spot, in touch with the influential members of the community gathered there, to counsel moderation, to recall their duties as Canadians and to consult as to practical and immediate means to diminish the growing dissensions and disunity of this Canadian community which should not just be allowed to drift. This was submitted on August 25th in the September itinerary. It was not acknowledged or approved²⁷.

This text illustrates the manner and form of 'intervention' that was attempted through government interference in 'ethnic' organisational life as well as the political ideological beliefs that overdetermined the liaison work. It also shows the implicit state categorisation of immigrant groups based on 'national' origins, as determined by Canada's foreign relations, and further mediated through a racialised and ethnicised lens.

²⁷ Report, "Nationalities Branch", undated, unsigned, p.4, RG6 1986-87/319, Vol.1, file # 1-2/1: History of Citizenship Branch, SOS

Wartime Lobbyists:

Although certain NMEUOs existed by now to represent 'ethnic' interests to the government, it did not mean that they had any influence. Key to the nationalisation thesis is that the process does not occur uniformly but in articulation with the processes of social differentiation that are operating in a given historical time period. During this period, racialised significations determined that non-European groups were not even 'ethnic' and therefore not really first degree Canadians. Therefore advocacy and social organisation of these racialised groups was not sought by government. This was certainly the case with the Canadian Jewish Congress in trying to lobby the government to allow more Jewish refugees into the country during the war. In 1938, the CJC had covertly funded the Canadian National Committee on Refugees and Victims of Political Persecution (CNCR) (an offshoot of the League of Nations Society of Canada) to help in the lobbying effort. It was headed by Senator Cairine Wilson and members included the Canadian Council of Churches and the National Council of Women, for example. It was hoped that a White Christian led organisation would be more effective in advocating for refugee issues (Abella and Troper, 1982). They received an audience with P.M. King but made little headway.

In 1947, the Canadian Jewish Congress funded another national 'Christian' organisation, believing it would have more legitimacy and therefore more political clout: The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews (CCCJ). It was an affiliate of the American National Conference on Christians and Jews, a high profile organisation operating in the U.S. and Britain. The Canadian version started in Toronto but was intended to be national and rapidly became so in 1948 with the help of major funding

from the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'Nai Brith organisations²⁸. A pamphlet explained the CCCJ's purpose: "The Council is an organisation which builds bridges of understanding between Canadians. It strives to span the chasm of prejudice and discrimination by team effort"²⁹. The focus was on respect for religious difference and strategies for reducing discrimination and inequality. It shows the relative lack of power that was felt by the CJC during this period, in that it could not advocate for its goals alone. It needed 'Christian subterfuge'. Yet despite a lack of government interference or support, the social organisation of the group was *nationalised* in its configuration and in the reworded goals that it adopted to conform with the 'legitimate' groups.

The case of the Japanese Canadian organisation formation reveals another lobbying 'outgroup' that *nationalised* in order to gain political access despite government antagonism. Not only were Japanese Canadians not politically useful to the government, but they were treated as "pariahs" (Sunahara, 1981). The Japanese in Canada were historically marginalised, as shown in Chapter Three. Whereas Eastern European groups were officially courted by the government to form national organisations, the Japanese faced continued disenfranchisement and internment during the Second World War. There had been initiatives in Japanese Canadian organising during the 1930s to lobby for the franchise (such as the formation of the Japanese Canadian Citizens League), but generally the Japanese communities in Canada were divided ideologically and generationally. They worked in co-operation with a small number of White liberal groups in attempting to gain the franchise (Ward, 1982; Adachi, 1976).

²⁸ "Director's Report 1950" CCCJ (p.3) [MG28 I481, Vol.13, file: Board Minutes.]

The first generation organisations were affiliated with the Japanese consuls, which became of course 'enemies' during the war and the Nisei (ie. second generation) were still quite young: "Rent by ideological, cultural and generational divisions, Japanese Canadians were effectively leaderless in November 1941" (Sunahara, 1981:13). That is not to say that, had national representation existed, there would have been any change in the events that followed. The Japanese in Canada were not targeted by the Citizenship Branch for internal co-ordination purposes. They were targeted by government for dispersal.

Following the war, an umbrella association was established to work for issues such as an immigration quota, repatriation, compensation, and gaining the franchise. The *Japanese Canadian Citizens Association* (JCCA) was formed in 1947 out of primarily Nisei associations and leaders who, unlike the previous generation, were intent on securing their democratic rights, even after everything that had happened. This dedication to civil liberties emerged for the Nisei generation in the Canadian context as a result of their acculturation (Ward, 1982). The Nisei realised that to have access to political participation, national organising was necessary. According to the government documents reviewed so far from this era and as seen already in relation to the Polish, Ukrainian and Mennonite groups, officials had made it clear that they intended to listen to one representative body per community. The nisei were defenders of assimilation and 'Canadianization' and simultaneously sought to encourage the integration of Japanese in Canada which at times meant discouraging communal gatherings and practising folk traditions, a politics vastly different from today's Japanese community (Adachi, 1976).

²⁹ "Strategies for Reducing Discrimination and Inequality" A Conference Report, CCCJ [MG28 I481

By the late 1940s, with help from the CCF and other national organisations, the JCCA succeeded in obtaining the franchise and won increased compensation for losses sustained during wartime property sales. Shortly after, the government recognised the organisation and commended their efforts: "The JCCA was most helpful during the evacuation of Japanese from British Columbia"³⁰. A new Japanese Canadian umbrella organisation was formed in the 1980s with a new mandate, from remnants of the JCCA which will be discussed in Chapter Six.

The Japanese mobilisation experience reveals that despite the fact that they were not targeted for organisation formation by the government, organisers were still resigned to the reality that an infrastructure of 'ethnic' politicisation and access had been created and, without a national configuration of representation, they would most certainly be left out. The example also shows how government sponsored *nationalisation* is historically specific. Whereas during the 1940s the significations for racialised Japanese reflected pariah status, this would change dramatically by the 1980s.

Re-orientation in 'Ethnic Liaison':

The Nationalities unit was hampered by weaknesses in its mandate and ideological differences among its administrators and advisers. Furthermore, illnesses and George Simpson's resignation due to health reasons weakened the Branch. But the major reason was opposition to Tracy Phillip's work. George Simpson resigned from the Nationalities Branch in 1942 and recommended Judge W.J. Lindal as his replacement. He emphasised in his recommendation report that Lindal was of an ethnic background

himself (Icelandic), had served Canada during WWI, and had been actively involved in ethnic press associations, the main arena of ethnic politics during that era.³¹ The change in staff did not alter the divisions within management, or the primary aims of Cabinet in supporting the Branch. The rationale was inherently tied to original RCMP and Cabinet concerns.

However, by this time, government intervention was considered “patronising” by its ‘clients’. Many of the organised ethnic groups spoke out against Phillips and Kirkconnell and their methods, and the ethnic presses began to systematically criticise them (Young, 1988: 39). Their meddling into other organisational forms was not therefore likely for the time being. Some (especially Communist presses) accused Phillips and Kirkconnell of fascist sympathies. The now Minister of National War Services Lafleche kept the unit going because, despite the Cabinet endorsement of Russia in joining with the Allies, his main priority was to counter Communist insurgents. Therefore, despite opposition to Phillips’ narrow crusade, the initiatives had Cabinet approval. Funding was found (through the RCMP) to funnel to the anti-Communist presses:

In an effort to check undesirable influences and to foster the ‘proper’ viewpoint, the King Cabinet approved the DNWS’ suggestion that concealed subsidies for the ‘loyal’ segments of the foreign-language press be made in the RCMP estimates. The department also tried to secure private as well as government advertising for these periodicals (Young, 1988:33).

³⁰ Memo, “The JCCA” Chief, Research Division to Frank Foulds, June 28, 1950, Ottawa [RG6 Vol. 78, file:9-203-1]

³¹ “Memo regarding the Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship and the Nationalities Branch”, DNWS, G.W.Simpson, undated [RG6 1986-87/319, Vol.1, file # 1-2/1: History of Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State, NAC.]

In one example, in a memo from Phillips concerning the Canadian Foreign Language Press, he informs the Department that, with regard to an Italian newspaper, a credible editor was found to operate a counter press:

Information for Canadians of Canadian Origin who do not yet *think* in French or English: Referring to my talk with Mr. Lash on 2nd of Feb., and to my departmental note of that day.... a capable anti-Fascist Editor is available...
 Perhaps it is now possible, as was suggested, to look for a patriotic donor of, say, \$6000 as capital outlay, to enable a paper to be founded³².

Relations with the ethnic presses was one primary means of gaining a foothold into 'immigrant thought processes' and would later result in the formation of an *Ethnic Press Federation*. However, before such an organisation inherently espousing 'ethnic particularity' would be formed, a national *assimilationist* organisation was formed, reflecting the aims of a new Department of Citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP BRANCH: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

That the state mobilized society in the Second World War is in some ways unsurprising; what is of note is that this mobilization function became embedded, admittedly at first in a timorous way, in the state's relations with civil society after 1945 (Pal, 1993:64).

Despite the challenges to the division's efficiency, Minister Lafleche felt that the solution was not to close the Branch, but to increase the appropriations to the department from \$18,347 to \$46,367. Therefore, in April of 1944, the Minister brought up the issue in the House of Commons³³. The budget increase was eventually approved while a plan to re-organise the department had been tabled by Robert

³² Memo, "Canadian Foreign Language Press" (ACCCC) Feb 15, 1942 [RG6 Vol.1, file:1-2, pt.1]

England. England, a prominent member of the ACCCC, had been commissioned to advise the Branch. Notable among the first changes in the Department was that Phillips was eased out that year³⁴. Furthermore, the report recommended a revitalised division with an emphasis on first, discrimination as a barrier to integration and second, the importance of developing a Canadian citizenship through which integration could occur instead of the current form of citizenship which consisted simply of naturalisation into a British subject. The report encouraged the continuation of the Division, albeit in new directions, away from the focus on diaspora politics of immigrant groups, and toward 'recognising their contributions' to Canada (Pal, 1993).

The new Citizenship Branch was created with its first home in the Department of National War Services. In 1945 it was moved to the Secretary of State to assume a permanent immigrant integration role beyond the immediate wartime concerns. Canada's first Citizenship Act was passed in January of 1947, outlining the regulations for naturalisation and expectations of citizens. Citizenship policy therefore acquired an institutional presence in Canadian public policy and a re-defined role in 'citizenship education'. In the words of the Department's new Director:

With the end of the war, and the passage of the Canadian Citizenship Act, the functions of the Branch became somewhat wider. Although the various ethnic groups are still the main concern of the Branch, the tendency now is to look at the whole picture of better citizenship in Canada... The Branch has made every effort to establish contact and cordial relations with a wide variety of organizations representing not only the French and English, but every ethnic group in the dominion³⁵.

³³ "Extract from Report on Reorganization of Nationalities Branch, Dept of War Services", Robert England, undated [RG6 1986-87/319, Vol.1, file # 1-2/1: History of Citizenship Branch, SOS]

³⁴ There had been complaints about Phillips' approach to 'ethnic liaison' (Young, 1981) and he finally left the department to work for the United Nations that year.

³⁵ Frank Foulds, The Canadian Citizenship Branch, Submission to the CCC Conference; "From Immigrant to Citizen", Jan. 23-24, 1948, Montreal, Conference Report: p.30.

Frank Foulds was appointed in 1944 and, after one year in the position, reported on some changes he thought the Branch should implement. He noted that there was too much of a generalised vision of creating 'good citizens' without enough specific programs to enable immigrants to *participate* in Canadian society. He said that previous appeals to 'ethnic pride' had only encouraged them to be more segregationist rather than to involve themselves in mainstream associations and institutions. He advised that the Branch must "scrupulously" avoid taking sides in European related matters (and that these were matters for External Affairs) and that the Branch must work closely with other government and non-governmental departments to shape a broader citizenship. The NFB, CBC, educational institutions, voluntary associations, etc. need to co-ordinate efforts in order for an effective citizenship policy to take place and to create a greater general Canadian "consciousness". He concluded:

If our job is to assimilate people into Canadian citizenship, we must do more than tell them to be good Canadians; in fact we must be more conscious of being a Canadian people into which they can be assimilated. We must work as the liaison with those agencies which are contributing to that consciousness³⁶.

It was the spirit of this vision that would characterise the Citizenship Branch until late into the 1960s and inspire the creation of a major non-governmental 'Citizenship' organisation to help implement this vision. The Canadian government would continue to maintain a presence in 'ethnic' intervention initiatives. However, older agendas were not entirely abandoned and were actually blended into the new aims. The exigencies of the Cold War continued well after WWII and the continued *nationalisation* of ethnic organisations during these years reflected these multiple concerns and contradictions.

The Canadian Citizenship Council

The Canadian Citizenship Council was dedicated to creating an appreciation for a generalised Canadian sense of pride and belonging and culture. It espoused the view that it was necessary *to educate immigrants in the functions and duties of citizenship in the land of adoption*³⁷. The Council was not new but rather a continuation of the Council for Education for Citizenship, founded by Tracy Phillips in 1940. Following the War, the issues of the organisation became less of a concern of the Wartime Information Board (which was taken over by External Affairs). Yet the issues of jurisdiction over educational matters were still stopping the Citizenship Branch from participating directly in citizenship education³⁸. Therefore a new council was founded to contribute to the field as an 'independent' organisation, supported by the Branch.³⁹ It began focusing on the integration of immigrants as the main practical objective of the 'citizenship movement':

The war is over, German Nazism and Italian Fascism as threats to our democratic way of life have been overcome. But other "isms" persist, and such subtle enemies as ignorance, apathy and disconcert. The need for the council remains⁴⁰.

The Council published educational materials, funded by the Branch but introduced as independent initiatives. Among the Council's published titles were "The Democratic Way" and "A Pocketful of Canada". The Council also continued previous initiatives in 'personal contact' with national ethnocultural umbrella groups:

³⁶ "Canadian Citizenship Branch", F. Foulds, Nov. 1, 1945, Ottawa [RG6, Box:1, Vol.1-1, pt.1]

³⁷ CCC: "Declaration of Objective and National Purpose and Programme of Action"....

³⁸ Memo, "Developments and Agencies in the Field of Immigrant Education" F. Foulds to SOS, October 31, 1949, Ottawa, RG6 Vol.50, File: 9-15, pt.2

³⁹ letter, Frank Foulds to Hon. Paul Martin (SOS), Ottawa, July 5, 1946. RG6, Vol. 13, file:1-7.

⁴⁰ CCC: "Secretary's Report to Annual Meeting", by John E. Robbins, January 1948 [RG6 Vol.50, file:9-15, pt.1].

Many of the national voluntary organizations whose chief attention had been directed for several years to assisting in prosecution of the war, and in demobilization, began to look 'round for other ways in which to organize or promote good citizenship. There is a need for consultation, and planning and joint action among them such as could be achieved through the medium of this Council'⁴¹.

In 1948 the CCC held the first national conference for immigrant serving organisations called: *From Immigrant to Citizen: a National Conference on the Citizenship Problems of the New Immigrants*. As the first national conference bringing together 'ethnic' organisations (such as for example, the Canadian Jewish Congress, Mennonite Central Committee, Netherlands Ontario Committee, and Canadian Baltic Immigrant Aid Society) as well as 'Canadian' organisations (such as for example the Canadian National Committee on Refugees, the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, and the National Council of Women)⁴², it was a step in the direction of the establishment of an infrastructure for organisational consultation with government. One of the main recommendations made at that conference was for the government to co-ordinate social service policy to immigrants. It was viewed that the Dominion government was the 'gatekeeper' in the first place, so it followed that it should provide for immigrant integration. The problem was that social services were provincial in jurisdiction and as a result, there was unevenness and lack of co-ordination for incoming refugees, family members and independent immigrants.

The conference Report recommended the need for more co-ordination and clarification of the respective roles of government and voluntary agencies at the national level, as well as the appointment of a consultant in the Citizenship Branch to

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "From Immigrant to Citizen: Report of the National conference on the Citizenship Problems of the New Immigrants" CCC (Montreal, January 23-24, 1948.)

“assist and advise” local co-ordinating committees⁴³. In the *Report of Group II* the rapporteur included the following recommendation:

The Canadian ethnic groups themselves should be used to meet the newcomers and to help them to become adjusted. There could be appointed certain leaders among such groups who would act in an advisory capacity to government departments, like the Citizenship Branch, in problems concerning immigrant groups (*Conference Report*, 1948:16)⁴⁴.

Who would do the ‘appointing’, the government or the ethnic groups themselves, was not reported in this forum and neither was the idea addressed systematically at this point in time. But an infrastructure for national representation and dialogue was being formed here, laying groundwork for the future. A few years later, in a 1956 report by the CCC, entitled “Some Suggestions and Services”, the subject of a national federation of ethnic umbrella organisations was broached again. The writer of the report notes that the idea of sponsoring a national conference for ‘the ethnic societies’ did come up over the years and was given an extra push in 1955 when Jack Massey of Australia informed the Council of similar initiatives in that country. Massey described how competition and disagreements between the groups led to difficulties in organisation. The writer suggests that the Council would be the perfect body to organise such an initiative and that, besides securing funding, they would have to make sure to have the co-operation of “certain other “native” Canadian thinking groups”⁴⁵. The only ‘ethnic’ groups that would be invited were those deemed assimilable, ideologically and ‘racially’.

⁴³ “Report of Group I”, E.I.Smith, *From Immigrant to Citizen: A National Conference on the Citizenship Problems of the New Immigrants* Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1948.

⁴⁴ “Report of Group II”, J.C.Falardeau, *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ CCC: “Some Suggestions of Projects and Services”, Sept. 7, 1956 [RG6 Vol. 50, File:9-15, pt.3]

THE CITIZENSHIP BRANCH: 1950-1963

The Canadian Citizenship Branch is essentially a service agency for voluntary organizations whose role in developing good citizenship is fully recognized. In order to assist these organizations with specific projects designed to promote good citizenship, the Branch, as part of its programme, may also grant financial assistance to voluntary organizations having a national character or co-ordinating function among agencies engaged in similar projects.⁴⁶

In 1950 the Branch was moved from the Secretary of State to the Department of Immigration. The aims of the Branch were still to: “develop among all Canadians a greater consciousness of the privileges and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship”⁴⁷. As seen in the quote, the measures of ‘liaison and co-ordinating’ were still pre-eminent as well as the links and monitoring of the ethnic presses.

The Branch’s means of action are: 1) liaison and consultation with individual agencies; 2) organization of coordinating meetings and conferences; 3) distribution of programme suggestions and educational materials and 4) some financial assistance to selected projects in the form of grants⁴⁸.

This vision also encompassed the integration of Native peoples in Canada. The concern was the “Indian-Canadians leaving the reservations and moving into the urban areas”. The Citizenship Branch assisted many organisations with programs to “aid these persons”⁴⁹.

For approximately the next ten years, the three main divisions of responsibility would remain the same: Liaison; Programmes and Materials; and Research. Although

⁴⁶ Report: “The Integration of Immigrants in Canada”, p.5, Canadian Citizenship Branch. January, 1956 [RG6, box 1, file:1-1, pt.1]

⁴⁷ “The CCB of the Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration”, overview, undated [RG6 Box:1 file:1-1, pt.1]

⁴⁸ “Policy and Activities of the Canadian Citizenship Branch”, prepared as background info for Minister, August 15, 1958 [RG6 box:1, file:1-1, pt.1]

⁴⁹ “Operations of the Citizenship Branch” unsigned, undated [RG6 Box 1, file:1-1, pt.1]

each had a separate function, they were highly interrelated. The Programmes and Materials Division was responsible for the preparation of films, pamphlets, educational materials, displays, posters, and information guides explaining the Citizenship Act as well as other public affairs material on Canada. This division also oversaw the Ethnic Press initiatives. It sent bi-monthly bulletins to ethnic presses, usually covering some aspect of Canadian political and social life and also produced a bi-monthly press review that contained excerpts from foreign language press:

Confidentially: The Programmes and Materials Division maintains a foreign language press service. Staff members read Canadian papers in foreign languages and summarize items that reflect attitudes or describe activities of the foreign-language groups in Canada. Items of special interest are forwarded to the Minister and other government officials. A monthly Press digest containing summaries and extracts from the foreign-language press is distributed to a list of government officials."⁵⁰

The Research Division undertook some of its own research and statistical analyses but was also concerned with encouraging universities to plan relevant projects. It acted as a clearinghouse of information on various aspects of ethnic integration, inter-group relations and other aspects of *citizenship*⁵¹.

The Liaison Division worked with the others to provide information and maintain 'personal contact' with as many organisations as possible. One of the purposes was to widen knowledge about the 'Canadian way of life'⁵². Moreover, the officers were also expected to interfere in community organisation:

⁵⁰ "Policy and Activities of the Canadian Citizenship Branch", prepared as background info for Minister, August 15, 1958 [RG6 box:1, file:1-1, pt.1]

⁵¹ "The Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration" undated, unsigned [RG6 box 1, file:1-1 pt.1]

⁵² Memo, to Deputy Minister, Re. Liaison Division: Canadian Citizenship Branch, Ottawa, Oct. 24, 1957, p.5 [RG6 box:1, file:1-1, pt.1.]

It is a continuing policy of the Branch to encourage the co-ordination of local efforts by the establishment of joint committees, local and provincial, to cope with the welfare, housing, and educational and social problems of newcomers, and, in general, to promote civic and national understanding. The liaison division is now working with some forty co-ordinating committees of this type, seventeen of which were formed in 1951-52⁵³.

One of the initiatives undertaken by the Branch in promoting voluntary co-ordination was leadership training and it offered seminars and courses for this purpose. The Division offered expertise and support to co-ordinating umbrella formations, to help them better manage their own voluntary structures. But it was clear that support for associations would be given if they had shown to be effective promoters of Canadian citizenship values and participation. "Representing a broad viewpoint, Liaison Officers help to prevent narrow regional or ethnic preoccupations which might tend to prevail in local programmes"⁵⁴. The report "The role of the Liaison Officer" outlines the work and 'ethos' of the liaison programmes:

The voluntary organizations maintain a close co-operation because they have confidence in the liaison officer to encourage the development of voluntary projects without desire to secure official publicity... Its prominence in a community activity will decrease proportionally to the development of community participation. The voluntary organizations appreciate the official recognition which the co-operation of the liaison officer provides to their projects. On his part this necessitates a comprehensive understanding of community organizations which he gains through his local knowledge and through official communications.

... Unobtrusively, he encourages and inspires local communities to develop themselves through inter-cultural and other citizenship projects⁵⁵.

⁵³ "The Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration" undated, unsigned, [RG6 box 1, file:1-1 pt.1]

⁵⁴ "The Integration of Immigrants in Canada" CCB, January 1956 [RG6, box 1, file: 1-1, pt.2]

⁵⁵ "The Role of the Liaison Officer", by A.E.Thompson, Jan. 1955 [RG6 Box: 1, file:1-1, pt.1]

A new bureaucratic role was being developed and officers trained in terms of permanent liaison relationships with ethnic associations, co-ordination and consultation. This was augmented by a new grants programme.

In 1951-52 the Branch gave its first grants to 4 organisations which were basically education councils. Citizenship Branch Director Frank Foulds did not want to start a broad base grants program because grant selection was always accused of favouritism (Pal, 1993). Also it was the belief of the officials that organisations would arise organically as new groups arrived. By 1953 there were many requests made for grants so an official policy was established in 1954. Philosophical objection to a wide scale grants program maintained that organisations should secure 'overhead' money from private sources but project money was deemed appropriate. The branch would deal directly with the organisations on specific projects rather than handing over large sums of money with no control over its use. Core funding was not realistic because it was felt it would lead to endless demand, which ironically the Branch had created itself:

Far from responding to swelling demand by organizations and groups, the Branch, and the state in the larger sense as forger of the concept of Canadian citizenship, created a "space" - a new terrain of political practice-into which societal and organizational energies could flow (Pal, 1993:89).

As discussed in Chapter Three, as the federal government moved in the post-war period from policies of accumulation to those of legitimation, it entered into areas of social life that had previously been the domain of the provinces, or in the case of 'citizenship' integration, either ignored or suppressed. There were two factors affecting the domain of 'ethnic liaison'. First was the new discourse on citizenship and access for minority groups as equal citizens. A bureaucratic infrastructure grew to

administer the ideal. Second, the social welfare state, by its very nature, led to an expansion of the civil service. "The influence of the bureaucracy rose as ministers turned to their departments for "expert" advice" (Jenson, 1991:213).

The Citizenship Branch grew by 1000% between the years of 1946-56, mainly through the hiring of staff. It grew from 4 staff members in 1941, to 15 in 1945-46, and then to 22 employees by 1950. The Branch expenditures increased from \$58,066 in 1947 to \$201,468 for 1950-51. This was a result of the opening of more offices across the country and increased demands for publications and facilities in 'citizenship instruction'. The success of the Branch was measured by statistics of rates of naturalisation which increased in tandem with their expansion. The number of employees again jumped from 28 in 1953, to 37 in 1954, and 41 in 1954-55. By 1955-56 all aspects of the Branch had grown with an additional 7 new positions and a budget commensurate, at \$725,323⁵⁶. The growth reflected the boom years in Canadian economic expansion and post-war immigration and the promise of a new era of liberal humanism in international declarations, aspects of which were incorporated in Canadian social policy.

In 1956 the Branch reported that it extended its services to the national and local offices of the following "interest groups":

Armenian, Austrian, Chinese, Czechoslovakian and Slovak, Danish, Doukhobor, Estonian, Finnish, German, Greek, Hungarian, Hutterite, Indian (Sikh), Italian, Japanese, Jewish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Mennonite, Negro, Netherland, Norwegian, Polish, Swiss, Ukrainian, Yugoslavian⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ untitled, unsigned, no date, (document details history of changes and expansion of C.B.) [RG6 Box:1, file:1-1, pt.1]

⁵⁷ letter, R. Alex Sim (Director CCB) to Mr. R.J. Nichols, July 18, 1956, Ottawa (re, info on CCB) [RG6 Box:1, File: 1-1, pt.1]

It also had dealings with a variety of non-ethnic citizenship organisations such as churches, service associations, welfare and adult education organisations, among others (around 80 umbrella type organisations are cited such as Salvation Army, Kiwanis Club, Red Cross, Boy Scouts, IODE, etc.). In the late 1950s the rationale behind the integration policy was still that ethnic organisations should be the first points of contact for immigrants in the integration process. But, as stated, those teaching 'responsible citizenship' would be helped with subsidies from the Branch⁵⁸. The Liaison Officers were trained and guided in terms of relations with new organisations. In a memo to liaison officers called *Working with Communist and Fascist Organizations*, they are warned of overtures by extremist organisations: government relations are sought by extremist groups because it is "a public relations move to create the impression that the sponsors and especially the leaders are in good standing with the government"⁵⁹. Officers are advised to consult the handbook prepared by the Branch entitled "Selected Ethnic Organisations and Publications in Canada" to find out the nature of the organisation before any invitations or applications are considered⁶⁰. Moreover, they are told to advise non-Communist organisations not to accept offers of support or co-operation from known Communist bodies, because it is seen as a tactic of infiltration⁶¹.

With regard to the role of the 'voluntary sector' and ethnic associations, they are still expected to play a role in counteracting communist organisations:

⁵⁸ "The Role of the Liaison Officer", by A.E.Thompson, Jan. 1955 [RG6 Box: 1, file:1-1, pt.1]

⁵⁹ "The Role of the Liaison Officer", by A.E.Thompson, Jan. 1955 [RG6 Box: 1, file:1-1, pt.1]

⁶⁰ Memo, Chief of Liaison Division to Liaison Officers, Citizenship Branch, "Communist and Fascist Organizations", July 31, 1961 [RG6 Vol.2, file:1-3-3.]

⁶¹ Letter, G.A. Mendel to M. McCullagh, "Relations with Communist and "Fascist" Organizations, your memo of 29-6-61", July 4, 1961 [RG6 Vol.2, file:1-3-3.]

There are a number of voluntary agencies which also concern themselves with immigrants although only a few are primarily anti-Communist in their purpose. Nevertheless, the others, which have as their object the firm establishment of the immigrant in his new environment, find themselves involved in the question of anti-Communist propaganda from time to time. This department and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration endeavour to keep these organizations supplied with factual information with which to oppose Communist propaganda. External Affairs is particularly interested in seeing that they are able to provide a true picture of present conditions in Iron Curtain countries, from which many of the immigrants have come and thus counteract the picture presented by the Communists⁶².

Thus, in the early 1950s, there is a move back into intervention in NMEUO formation as a measure during the Cold War. Perhaps it never stopped. But it is indeed 'quiet', not part of official policy. Rather, as seen above, it is conveyed in Confidential documents and nuanced communications.

A PROLIFERATION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN NMEUOS:

National liaison officers at headquarters maintain close contact with officers of national organizations, attend their conferences and assist in their programme planning⁶³.

It was already seen during the war years how government officers either 'united' divided communities into NMEUOs or attempted to influence them in that direction. It is suggested here that the initiatives did not disappear but rather, became even more "unobtrusive" as the Department documents themselves specified. Government officials operated in more indirect ways. The provision of funds was one tangible incentive but it is poorly documented because of its confidential nature (see Methodology Section, Appendix B). It is known, however, how the prestige

⁶² Confidential letter, A.J.Andrew (Department of External Affairs) to The Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, France, June 16, 1955 [RG6 Vol.2, file:1-3-2.]

⁶³ "The Role of the Liaison Officer", by A.E.Thompson, Jan. 1955 [RG6 Box: 1, file:1-1, pt.1]

associated with government 'recognition' required certain concessions for government support, financial or in terms of 'public relations'. In the post-war era, a new immigration boom occurred that expanded existing Eastern European communities, thereby making them more formidable populations and invigorating existing divisions and the usual 'integration' problems. As the Cold War progressed, it was opportune for the government to take advantage of the new influx of those displaced by Soviet regimes. These immigrants were fervently anti-Communist.

The Hungarian Canadian Federation (HCF):

The Hungarians in Canada as a community had been organised and politicised since their initial migrations to the country after 1885. The organising was primarily done through churches and Communist organisations or trade unions. The next major wave of migration was in the inter-war period and it was characterised by both Communists and Hungarian nationalists of various religious denominations. The first attempt to form a nation-wide organisation was in 1928 based on the initiatives of associations largely in the west of Canada. According to Patrias (1994), it was apparently sparked by the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and Hungary. The objectives behind the organisation had to do partly with their 'status' within Canada:

Not only concern with the welfare of immigrants but also a desire to enhance the status of the ethnic group informed the body's policies. Its founders wanted to remove the stigma of being "non-preferred" immigrants and believed that the less Hungarian newcomers depended on the host society for employment or social assistance, the more willing Canadian officials would be to re-evaluate group status (Patrias, 1994:186).

This organisation closed after several years due to internal conflicts. The next attempt was in 1936 and was Toronto based. During this same period a nation-wide

Communist Hungarian organisation formed as well, but the former failed to develop as planned (Patrias, 1994). It was in 1952 that the NMEUO was finally achieved.

The post-war immigrants from Hungary were in some ways different from earlier migrants; in so far as they were better educated and displaced from recent Soviet aggressions. But according to Dreisziger et al.'s (1982) historical account of the origins of the Hungarian Canadian Federation in 1952, only a few of these new figures were instrumental in the new formation. The infrastructure for the formation of an umbrella group was found with an existing coalition of conservative organisations that were active in relief work during the war. They had split from the Communist Hungarian organisers who were originally part of the Relief movement. The new organisation also had strong support in central Canada, the new population centre for Hungarians (unlike the umbrella organisation that formed in the twenties). However, the reason the formation came about in that year in particular had everything to do with the circumstances of the Cold War and a key event: a meeting of Hungarian representatives with the Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent in the summer of 1951. They met with him on official business to bring to his attention the Stalinist oppressions in Hungary.

St. Laurent received the delegation with sympathy, but he suggested that such representations might better be made through a nationwide organization that could speak on behalf of all Hungarian Canadians. St. Laurent's advice seems to have been the catalyst that prompted the Hungarian-Canadian community to decisive action (Dreisziger et al., 1982:201).

Shortly after, a Montreal umbrella committee and several organisations in Toronto issued invitations for a founding conference that took place in December of that year in the basement of Toronto's Hungarian Catholic Church. Concessions were made to

be as inclusive as possible with regards to 'old' and 'new' community members (Dreisziger et al., 1982) but ultimately the concessions stopped with Communist organisations. They were not permitted to take part in the activities of the new federation. It was primarily a nationalist organization⁶⁴:

Owing to the Cold War, Hungarian-Canadian society's top organization and the Canadian government were close on the political spectrum, and the HCF's credentials as the ethnic group's official voice were not likely to be questioned (Dreisziger et al., 1982:202).

The Baltic Representative Structures:

Out of the Baltic 'national' immigrant communities, Latvian organisers were the first to form a NMEUO, in 1950, but the circumstances of formation were very similar to those of the Lithuanians and Estonians. All three communities had members in Canada prior to the WWII but it was the Soviet annexation, then German occupation, then subsequent Soviet take over, that led to a new set of political refugees migrating to Canada after the Second World War. Unlike many of their predecessors, they were resolutely against Communist forces and made it their goal to liberate their homelands. In keeping with the Canadian government emphasis on 'democratic citizenship' and *integration*, there were concrete attempts to establish effective counter-Communist organisations in the 'ethnic' communities. The original Latvian NMEUO Constitution of 1950 listed as part of its aims:

- a) to represent the Latvians residing in Canada to the government and organizations of Canada.
- b) to strive for the re-instatement of Latvia's independence in conformity with the principles of the western democracies...
- d) to preserve the Latvian people's... culture.

⁶⁴ Interview with HCF Board member (#42).

e) to promote immigration of Latvians into Canada and to help the new immigrants to become loyal citizens⁶⁵.

The Lithuanian Organisation Constitution echoed these goals and the following additional aim was put forward when members arranged the legal incorporation:

10) Actively to aid the government of Canada, its House of Commons, its Senate, by supplying necessary information for their various committees and commissions; to keep in close contact with local organization especially those opposing Communism⁶⁶.

The Lithuanian organisation was formed legally in 1952. There had been an existing alliance of several organisations since 1940 but, with the influx of refugees following the War, a new organisational structure had been adopted since 1949⁶⁷. Later it was incorporated in the more officially acceptable form, approximating the organisational structures and Constitutions of the other existing umbrella groups, such as that of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress⁶⁸, etc.

The Estonian Council in Canada formed in 1954 as the political off-shoot of the existing Estonian Federation in Canada. The latter was not deemed credible as a national Canadian ethnic representative organisation by the Citizenship Branch or any other government department because it represented all Estonians in Canada, regardless of political affiliation (Awn, 1985). The new Council, however, had as its main function, like the other Baltic organisations, the independence of its homeland from Soviet rule. According to a summary of the Council's work, it also "attempted

⁶⁵ "Statutes of the Latvian National Federation in Canada" [RG6 Vol.79, file:9-212]

⁶⁶ "Regarding: The Lithuanian-Canadian Community" n.d. [RG6 vol.80, file:9-223-1]

⁶⁷ "Lithuanians in Canada and the Lithuanian Days" by J.V.Danys, n.d.; a publication obtained from the Lithuanian-Canadian Community national office.

⁶⁸ Interview with LNCF Board member (#15)

to govern Canadian Estonian's attitudes toward, and relations with, Soviet occupied Estonia" (Awn, 1985:81).

The Baltic origin NMEUOs in Canada had several things in common, not only with each other, but with the other Eastern European organisations. They played a role in countering Communist activities in their respective 'national' foreign communities in Canada, as well a role in proving the *allegiance* of their communities to Canada, and representing their groups as 'non problematic' to the Canadian Christian democratic formation. Furthermore, for all three of these groups, organisational activity of some of its members began in Germany, while fleeing Soviet rule⁶⁹. Some of the affiliations certain members may have had with the Nazi Party were later questioned by some⁷⁰, but this was not considered relevant by Immigration or Citizenship officials at that time. The main point above all, was that they were not Communist (Whitacker, 1987) and could serve a 'unifying' role, as such.

Nationalised Umbrella formations:

The three Baltic NMEUOs became part of a circuit of anti-Communist organisations. The three formed the Baltic Federation in 1949, which exists until today. As a coalition, beyond their 'organic' *nationalised* bodies, they consolidated their aims for government lobbying and mutual plans for a Soviet-free Baltic region.

⁶⁹ Interview with LCC Board member (#16).

⁷⁰ The Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Canada made public a file on a Latvian leader in Canada alleging Nazi connections during the War. A prominent Slovak historian and leader in Canada was also accused by Jewish and Czech organisations during the 1960s, of having participated in the Nazi regime during the war.

According to a Citizenship Branch assessment of the organisation, "membership consists almost entirely of post World-War II refugees from the Baltic states"⁷¹.

The NMEUO members of the Baltic federation belonged to yet another tier of representation: the 'Group of 7' (once the Anti-Bolshevik League⁷²). They joined with the Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian and Czechoslovak National organisations as a stronger lobby against international Communism. In the early 1990s they were re-organised into a larger organisation called the *Council of Central and Eastern European Communities in Canada*. In an interview with a founding member of the Council, its aim was described as: "to continue to fight for those regions who fight against Communism, but no Serbs, Slovaks, Romanians or Russians, until they accept democracy"⁷³.

To counter the entrenched anti-Communists, an umbrella group of national Communist organisations arose called the *Canadian Council of National Groups*. It attempted to secure for itself some kind of political access and participated in Canadian politics from the 'Communist margins'⁷⁴. They would not have received government support or official recognition because, as it was shown in an earlier section, Citizenship Branch liaison officers were instructed not to maintain links with Communist organisations. Officers were told in the "Handbook" (ie. blacklist) on "Selected Ethnic Organisations and Publications in Canada", to verify a group's status before even attending an event, lest they lend prestige to the organisation by appearing

⁷¹ Memo, J.B. Bissett to Director Citizenship Branch, "Visit of delegation of Baltic Nations' Federation- August 5/60", August 4, 1960. [RG6, Vol. 86, file:9-323-1]

⁷² Interview with LCC Board member (#16).

⁷³ Interview with HCF Board member (#42).

⁷⁴ The organisation is mentioned in "Our History" by P. Krawchuk (1996). He writes on the history of the AUUC, which was a member organisation of the CCNG. Several other references were found in government documents over the years. Archivists at the National Archives of Canada related to

to offer government support⁷⁵. *Nationalisation* is still 'preferential', overdetermined by cold-war politics and racialised significations.

More 'Cold Warriors':

'Eastern European' group belonging had political currency in the Canadian political context during the post-war period. That would change in later years. For the moment, organisations were forming to join either the Communist or anti-Communist 'national' lobby circuit. Some formed, and did not last, or were reincarnated in another form in later years, in different political circumstances. As it was seen with most of the organisations that lasted, divisions were not overcome in a new federation or alliance, they were simply incorporated. The reason for the success of certain NMEUO formations then had more to do with external factors than with internal consensus.

The Russian Canadian Cultural Aid Society was formed in 1950, and still operates today as an anti-Communist representative organisation. Inserting the word culture into their title, not only as a reflection of their activities but also to distance themselves from Communist organisations, did not necessarily succeed in giving them access to the 'ethnic circuit' that was developing. The Slovenian National Federation of Canada followed the route not unlike the other Eastern European NMEUOs, and went 'national' in 1952. It was also plagued by inherent internal fighting between generations of migrants, Communists and those detesting the regime from which they

the author that they had heard of the organisation but do not know of collections available that address their history. They are not listed in the recent Organisations Directories of Canada.

⁷⁵ Memo, Chief, Liaison Division to Liaison Officers, Citizenship Branch, July 31, 1961, "Communist and Fascist Organizations" Ottawa [RG6 ƒ3, Vol.2,file:1-3-3.]

fled. The Federation faced many challenges in the Canadian political context, facing opposition from the Yugoslav organisation in the years before independence⁷⁶.

The Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians formed in 1951. It was plagued by internal divisions, lack of interest, and questioned motives by the Citizenship Branch and External Affairs from the beginning⁷⁷. For many years it was frozen by these problems and never fully recovered. In later years (1984) certain member associations regrouped in a new Congress form but even today its institutional presence is ephemeral⁷⁸. Finally, in 1959, the United Macedonians Organisation of Canada formed and provided internal co-ordination for the community in terms of cultural events and social issues. They were affiliated with the Macedonian World Congress and adopted a 'nationalist' Macedonian stance. The stance was not officially recognised by the Canadian government for many years and as the Slovaks experienced before, they were considered an 'ethnic group' represented already by 'national' representational formations, in this case, the Greek Hellenic organised community⁷⁹.

Canadian Ethnic Press Federation:

During the 1950s, the era of 'unhyphenated Canadianism', the discourse and government policy language reflected an 'integrationist' and assimilationist tone and vision. As it was shown in the choice of the word 'citizenship' instead of 'ethnic' in determining the name of the *Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship*, in this period, 'ethnic' particularities in advocacy were seen as antithetical to

⁷⁶ Interview with SNCF Board member (#44).

⁷⁷ "Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians: Background" [RG6, Vol. 3, file:196-1.]

⁷⁸ This was learned in 1996 in trying to set up an interview with a Board member of the organisation.

⁷⁹ Interview with UMOC Board member (#39).

'Canadianisation'. With the growing presence of non-threatening 'mono-ethnic' government allies, a political space for 'ethnic' advocacy was growing. 'Ethnic' presses were probably of the most vital institutions of the earlier immigrant communities in Canada. Given their central role in immigrant communities as potentially 'unifying forces' and sources of information and intentions of given communities, they were naturally the object of much surveillance, as it was already mentioned, by the citizenship Branch, RCMP, and External Affairs. Over time, through the ethnic press analysis service for one, certain major ethnic presses had established a long relationship with government institutions. The relationship had reached a *maturity* in the 1950s when ethnic press associations were encouraged to join in a national umbrella group.

The process of *nationalisation* of this form of 'ethnic' representation began during the early years of the Second World War. The editors and publishers of certain 'weeklies' came together to combine forces for the war effort with the intention of continuing on afterwards *in the goal of building the Canadian nation*⁸⁰. As a result, in 1942, the Canada Press Club of Winnipeg was formed with Judge Lindal as one of its founders (who was later Director of the Nationalities Branch as has been shown). These same motives promoted similar activity in Toronto but it was not until 1951 that the Canadian Ethnic Press Club of Toronto was formed. It was in 1957, through the encouragement of the Hon. J. Pickersgill (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration), that a national ethnic press meeting was held and it was decided that a national federation should be formed. According to the minutes of the 1957 meeting, a grant was offered to form the organisation "not with a view to controlling the

⁸⁰ Pamphlet, "The Role of the Ethnic Press in Canada", 1961 [MG31, H31, CEPF, Vol.3, file:3-10.]

organization", he said, but because it would be performing a national service in disseminating information of the government⁸¹. Furthermore, Pickersgill pointed out:

If a national association was formed and it was felt by those who formed it that they would like some assistance under the sponsorship of the Canadian Citizenship Branch, there was one condition the Branch would impose. Only those newspapers could join the association whose purpose it was to transform newcomers into citizens and to give information to the new citizens⁸².

The Minister made it clear in that meeting that newspapers dealing with "European problems" were exempt from joining. The founding members agreed to those conditions and formed an expressly anti-Communist organisation that would work toward fostering the welfare of the ethnic press in general and developing "good citizenship" among immigrant Canadians. Among the organisations' aims and objectives were:

- 1) to study and interpret the Canadian scene and the integration of ethnic cultures into that scene, thus striving to contribute to a more united and richer Canadianism...
- 3) to study and interpret Canada's role in international affairs and her position in relation to all nations dedicated to uphold the ideals of freedom and democracy⁸³.

The founding of the CEPF is typical of the founding of most of the NMEUOs and perhaps the earliest prototype of the later Canadian Ethnocultural Council (to be founded twenty years later).

⁸¹ Minutes, "Ethnic Editors and Publishers Meeting", Wednesday, April 3, 1957, Winnipeg, p.2 [MG28 V59, Vol.1, file:9.]

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Constitution of CEPF, Ottawa, March 8, 1958 [MG28 V95, Vol.2 file:]

CONCLUSION

From almost every case it is evident that the NMEUOs of this era were overdetermined by Cold War politics and were created and employed to mediate the contradictions of the 'nation-state' by embodying 'national solidarity', a contradiction amplified for many immigrant groups because of the prominence of Communist activity among them within Canada. The earliest organisations outlined at the beginning show that the trend to form NMEUOs had begun before the war but they were different from the later organisations because they were concerned mainly with issues of community welfare and were often unabashedly concerned with 'diaspora' politics, for example. The new organisations that formed through government intervention are marked by the discourse of government assimilation policies. As seen in the Constitutions of the Latvians, Lithuanians and others, they were dedicated to promoting 'Canadianism' among members and democratic citizenship. They are *nationalised* in organisational structure but also in that they embody the discourse of *Canadian democratic citizenship*, an expression used interchangeably with 'national solidarity'. In many cases, representative organisations were co-opted to implement the agenda of the state and mediate the crises of inequality and unemployment domestically.

The new *citizenship regime* that emerged after the Second World War as Jenson and Phillips (1996) pointed out, supported the existence of social groups as 'citizens' groups'. Part of the new citizenship policy to follow after the war was the continuation of "personal contact" with immigrant communities and ongoing 'liaison' with their organised representation. In the case of state-ethnic relations, the 'citizens

groups' were categorised based on prior 'national' significations. In this phase the categorisations were based in ideological position and *Europeanness*. Only European associations were politicised and considered 'ethnic', and they were categorised in terms of the 'nation of origin', not subjective identity or 'ethnicity'. In the Canadian context these significations were configured in centralised bodies for purposes of mediation of national crisis in the form of class and regional pulls.

Many of the organisations that are still considered the 'legitimate' voices of entire 'mono-ethnic' communities today, were formed in these circumstances. They were *made in Ottawa*, and played a very specific role in terms of constructing the immigrant problem and mediating its contradictions as well as those inherent in the immigration recruitment process and the system of surplus labour. It is not clear whether government agents actually created most of organisations since much of the agents' activity was conducted confidentially. However, there is enough evidence to suggest that such a relationship was entrenched. In this era, we see Prime Minister King introducing hidden subsidies for the ethnic press with the 'proper viewpoint', and then later conferences and committees where national organisations are needed. Later, subsidies and 'liaison' would become part of official policy. Aside from the poorly documented funding relationship, it is clear that an infrastructure of dialogue and support was growing for certain organisations. As early as 1948 the *National Conference on the Citizenship Problems of the New Immigrants*, sponsored by the Citizenship Branch and the Canadian Citizenship Council, raised the issue of appointing 'ethnic' leaders to advisory positions, for example. A 'circuit' of legitimate 'ethnic' politics, with legitimate 'ethnic' actors was being constructed.

Regardless of whether government funding and intervention were systematic or not, the institutionalisation of the 'national' occurs through various mechanisms. The evidence of direct intervention challenges 'ethnic mobilisation theories' not because organisations would not have formed without government support, but because the organisations that did emerge clearly reflect the legitimate 'national' discourses of the time, and as the Czechoslovak Association example shows, embody the political sociological 'categorisations' of *inter-national* relations.

The organisations that formed during the Second World War were not the first NMEUOs to form in Canada but they were distinctive because they were affected by a new phase in Canadian policy, of 'ethnic liaison'. It was not a coincidence that so many Eastern European organisations formed at that very time, but rather the process of politicisation was in relation to specific historical circumstances and subsequent changes in government policy. Each of the stories of formation show the complexity of each case but also how their histories of formation are not understood without reference to the intervention or influence of the Canadian state. The role of the 'liaison officer' in NMEUO formation was introduced during this period and would gain in centrality over the next few decades.

CHAPTER 5:
TOWARDS INSTITUTIONALISED MULTICULTURALISM

Most ethnic groups have, since the end of the war, organized national coordinating bodies to promote their cultural and groups aspirations. The Branch has helped in the formation of most of these coordinating bodies. Their leadership personnel still consults with the Branch in the launching of new programs or the solving of emerging problems¹.

(W.H. Agnew, Director, Materials and Research Division, 1966)

INTRODUCTION

In W.H. Agnew's overview of the Branch's work since 1947, he confirms that the Branch assisted in the formation of many NMEUOs. However, contrary to the quote above, the organisations that formed did not represent "most" of the 'ethnic groups' in Canada. By today's standards, many other groups currently defined as 'ethnic' did not at that time have such a co-ordinating body. Typical of this time, his conception of 'ethnic' was based in racialised significations of White *Europeanness*.

In the process of the *nationalisation* of 'ethnic' institutions, there are processes of inclusion and exclusion reflected in articulating significations of difference in the labour importing state. In the last chapter, it was shown how political economic factors played a part in rendering salient what the delineations of 'ethnicity' and *otherness* were; who the state deemed worthy of citizenship, and who was deported and deemed *unassimilable*. Cold War considerations and the constructions of difference in terms of the intersections of class, country of origin and political beliefs, dominated the constructions of 'ethnic group' boundaries in state

categorisations. Basically, European immigrant groups were considered 'ethnic' whereas racialised non-European groups were not. European 'ethnics' had at least secondary class citizenship whereas non-White/non-'ethnic' had what may be argued was a type of 'third class' citizenship. From Agnew's self-evident tone, it seems that the significations imbued in certain categories prevented them from being ethnicised and hence from garnering a state 'presence'.

However, a new political economic conjuncture in the 1960s led to the political mobilisation of new social groups at the national level. Some were 'new' immigration groups and others were old, but only now are they recognised, albeit uneasily, in the 'ethnic' political landscape. Several elements are responsible for the change. For one, as it was discussed in Chapter Three, the post-war period was one where respect for human rights became part of the 'national pride' of Canada and therefore was gradually implemented domestically. Also, international aspects of civil and human rights politics seeped into Canada through social movements and the offices of government officials, as will be shown in the emerging 'social development' discourse. Not least of the reasons for the change in this period was the intensification of Quebecois politics of independence and the new challenges to federal supremacy ushered in by the province's "Quiet Revolution". Public discourse on 'ethnicity' would undergo a revolution of its own in Canada in terms of the new value placed on 'ethnic' difference and 'contributions' in a renewed politics of *multicultural* 'national unity'.

The narrative of 'ethnic liaison' gets more complicated in this phase. As Anthias and Yuval Davis (1992:2) said about the state, "it is not unitary either in its

¹ "The Canadian Citizenship Branch 1947-1966", by W.H. Agnew, August 11, 1966 [RG6 Vol. 1,

practices, projects or its effects". While there are still aspects of the Cold War political considerations informing government practices, there is a lot more going on in Canada's transition from an *assimilationist* to an officially *Multicultural* society. Yet, despite the multiple levels and increased complexity of Canada's politics of 'national unity', *nationalisation* continues, although within new rationales and new exigencies. The social formation is continuously *Canadianized*, in spite of, and because of, regional pulls on the federalism. 'Ethnic' organisations and their spokespersons are increasingly central in mediating these identity politics and the inclusionary and exclusionary processes that the national politics incur. Like the previous NMEUOs, the new ones in this period form in order to gain access to national political elites. They are also strongly encouraged to form by government officials, in new government rationales, and the political opportunities provided in this phase indelibly mark the resulting organisation configurations. These imprints intersect with articulations of *nationalisation* and racialisation among other processes. The broader history and processes in which the next phase of NMEUOs were introduced show aspects of *how they came into being* thereby shedding light on the sociological query of *what they are*.

CITIZENSHIP BRANCH 1960-1969:

When the Liberals won the election in 1963, an evaluation of the Citizenship Branch was undertaken. It was found to be too much of an adult education and community service organisation and had strayed from the original mandate of

'immigrant integration' (Pal, 1993). Its responsibilities were increasingly unclear given the growing jurisdictions of the Immigration and Indian Affairs Branches. Branch officers sought to define its role in terms of *liaison with the voluntary sector* but this was not satisfactory to a government that believed citizens should create their own community institutions. Ideologically, the Liberal government was opposed to intervening in the voluntary sector, but as shown in Chapter Four, it had not stopped them before. Government intervention in 'civil society' mobilisation would be recast in this upcoming era. In the early 1960s, the Citizenship Branch was being geared for a greater role in Canadian identity promotion but its mandate had not yet been clearly defined .

There were two factors that affected a renewed role for the Citizenship Branch by the mid- 1960s. First, there was the new policy affiliation between immigration and labour. Prime Minister Pearson was:

... disturbed by accumulating evidence of the unskilled character of the Canadian labour force and impressed by the then fashionable possibilities of manpower development programs" (Hawkins, 1991:36).

As a result, in 1965, the Citizenship Branch was moved back to the Secretary of State and a Department of Manpower and Immigration was created (instead of the previous Citizenship and Immigration), to "fulfil this re-conceptualisation of the immigration field" (Pal, 1993:97). Looking back on this period as described in Chapter Three, there are several factors that converge which affected the discourses and mechanisms of the state management of 'difference'. First, immigration policy began to liberalise in a new direction, in terms of wider, less restrictive labour recruitment. The traditional sources of 'preferred immigrants' had dried up. The new direct public policy link between immigration and labour market considerations was seen in the introduction in 1962 of

a liberalised immigration policy. Eventually it led to a Points System in 1967 which focused on skills and qualifications rather than source country exclusively (or 'race' or nationality). The labour considerations interacted with a politics of de-colonisation and a new language of 'rights'.

The second factor that shifted the role of the Branch within this conjuncture was the real threats to the future of federalism in Canada made by Quebecois nationalist Separatists. This perennial Constitutional problem led to the introduction of Canadian nation-building initiatives such as the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* and, for example, the Centennial Commission Celebrations, as measures to work against regional and provincial cleavages and to build 'national feeling' in Canada. Therefore, in 1965, the Citizenship Branch was moved from Immigration to the Secretary of State as part of the national unity campaigns in order to "foster a stronger allegiance to pan-Canadian institutions" (Pal, 1993: 98). The Branch sought to define its role with the voluntary sector through this national unity rationale. As its Director W.H. Agnew, argued in the Department's defence:

... the nation can only be a strong and dynamic nation if the weakest links of its social chain are strong. In the past there has been more debate as to whether it is a responsibility of the federal government to become involved in the type of work the Citizenship Branch is doing. In the view of the Branch, to hold a negative view towards that question is tantamount to saying that the federal government should not be interested in the strength of the nation it has been commissioned to lead².

At this time, a number of Canada's *nationalised* cultural agencies, such as the CBC, NFB, Canada Council, etc. were also overseen by the Secretary of State. The Department was to become the national promoter of Canadian culture and pride. As

discussed in Chapter Three, this was Canada's third national policy phase, where nation-building and the construction of national federalist institutions were sought in a number of initiatives. Despite the departmental restructurings, the Citizenship Branch, set up to exemplify Canada's *nationness*, was undergoing an identity crisis of its own. However, there were certain constants such as the central role of 'ethnic liaison' in the stated imperative of promoting national unity, and the 'social sciences' belief in 'integration.

Liaison Program in the 1960s:

Speaking directly to the interventionist role of government officers in 'ethnic' organisational formations, the Chief of the Liaison Division, Citizenship Branch, wrote in 1962:

The work of the Liaison Division has never been properly studied or reported... We can never say for certain if a given activity would not have occurred without our help. Nor would we wish to make this claim. As you will see, words like 'encourage', 'assist', 'participate', occur with great frequency in our annual report. Indeed, the range of such verbs is so limited, the description of this aspect of our work is always so difficult... We have a modest system of grants which is, I think, the most interesting and imaginative thing to do³.

While review boards tried to decide on a role for the Branch, business continued as usual. Officers continued to *promote and develop programs in citizenship understanding, education and action*, in co-operation with the voluntary sector. It expanded its focus in this decade from the original three programs of 'liaison, research, and programs and materials', to a wider social and political remit. It would

² "The Canadian Citizenship Branch 1947-1966", by W.H. Agnew, August 11, 1966 [RG6 Vol. 1, file: 1-1-1 (p.8).]

³ Letter, Alex Sim to Robert England, August 14, 1962 [MG30 C181, vol.2.]

now have programs in: Immigrant Integration, Indian Integration, Multi-Ethnic Relations, Language Instruction, Bilingualism, Travel and Exchange, Human Rights, Youth Services, as well as Citizenship Development⁴.

The Branch's role in 'ethnic liaison' was becoming more bureaucratic and institutionally entrenched. It would provide a consulting service to various departments of government on background information on 'ethnic groups' and leaders in Canada. For example, it became the resident expert on *who's who* in 'ethnic' affairs to the point where it advised the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as to who should be invited to special meetings:

... should the Commission supply a list of the briefs to be heard in any given region, as it is planned, Branch officers will analyze the representation involved and make suggestions concerning groups over-represented or under-represented. This information will help the Commission determine which groups should be invited to special or private meetings⁵.

At the same time, Branch officers continued to intervene in 'ethnic' community affairs. In one report, the work of the Branch is described as 'consultative' and helping groups to "realize their issues and find some more adequate solutions"⁶. Branch officers were trained in the "social sciences" for their consultative and technical advice to organisations⁷.

The Branch was considered unique by its officers in that it was not a "control" agency but rather it was primarily an educational and promotional department, 'unique because of its detached role from the traditional exercises of power':

⁴ "The Canadian Citizenship Branch: 1947-1966", W.H. Agnew, Aug. 11, 1966 [RG6 Vol.1, file:1-1-1.]

⁵ Memo, J.H. Lagasse to the Deputy Minister, October 14, 1964, Ottawa, p.4 [RG6 Vol. 1, file: 1-1-1.]

⁶ "The Canadian Citizenship Branch 1947-1966", by W.H. Agnew, August 11, 1966 [RG6 Vol. 1, file: 1-1-1 (p.4)]

⁷ Letter, A. Lapointe to Mr. Watson, M.P., October 20, 1971, Ottawa [RG6, Vol.1, file:1-1-1.]

A liaison officer's contacts as a field representative of the federal government, are primarily consultative, co-operative, and liaison in nature, rather than authoritative, administrative, or procedural. This implies a strong reliance upon personal contact and discussion. This liaison and communications function includes the following criteria: a) familiarisation with the political, social and economic milieu, b) representation at official and unofficial events; c) direction of the work of the office; d) advice and assistance to individuals and groups on citizenship and immigration matters; e) dissemination of information through liaison with communications media, universities, libraries, cultural groups and other associations and organizations; f) conduct of negotiations; g) improvement of relationships with government and voluntary agencies; h) keeping self and others informed on significant items; i) awareness of department image and policies; etc....."⁸

In its communications and liaison role, the Branch was still very much like the original Nationalities Branch that had spawned it. However 'liaison' work that was previously done "quietly" was now rationalised in a 'social scientific' discourse as necessary for the unification of groups that are internally divided. The assumption seemed to be that 'ethnic' groups were naturally 'whole' when they arrived, and when they became divided in the Canadian context, they required 'social scientific' consultations and negotiations for reunion purposes. In the 1960s this was the more 'scientific' and 'progressive' bureaucratic rationale for intervening in 'ethnic' organisational life at the national level, yet the liaison relationship was still firmly anchored in Cold War considerations.

Vestiges of the Nationalities Branch:

The tacit 'Cold War' relationship between government departments and certain 'ethnic groups' as definitive 'ethnic politics' in Canada continued into the

⁸ "The Role of the Citizenship branch in Hamilton" by E.J.Pennington, Hamilton Area, CCB, Department of Citizenship and Immigration [RG6, vol. 1, file:1-1-1. (p.3)]

1960s. For example, among the “achievements” of the Branch in 1965, it intervened in the organisation of a conference uniting Eastern European organisations:

The 1st National Conference of Canadian Slavs was held at Banff, Alberta in June, 1965, bringing together leadership of the Slavic communities throughout the country. The purpose of the conference as to consider the role of the Slavic groups in promoting national unity and, at the same time, making Canadians generally more aware of the contributions of the Slavic groups to Canadian development and the enrichment of Canadian life. The Branch was active in promoting the aims of the Conference and provided financial assistance towards the travel expenses of delegates.⁹

Between the years 1960-1971, several “Slavic” NMEUOs were erected. They were in many ways similar to the previous generation of Eastern European organisations seeking legitimacy as officially non-Communist national ‘ethnic’ representative bodies. The first example that illustrates the constraining and de-limiting effects of the *nationalisation* process is the *Czechoslovak National Association of Canada* (CNAC).

It was discussed in the last chapter how the CNAC was incorporated legally in 1960 (although established in 1939) following the example of the other incorporated organisations with which it worked (the group of seven for example). When group leaders tried to incorporate the organisation as the ‘Czech and Slovak Association’ in 1958, they met with government resistance. As a former Czechoslovak Association of Canada board member explained in an interview, the Canadian government would only administer the group as a ‘national’ category, respecting the delineation of ‘Czechoslovak’ as a group identity only for those originating from that region, so named at the time and would not recognise the ‘ethnicities’ of the immigrants for

⁹ “Achievements of Citizenship Branch since 12 February, 1965” undated, unsigned, RG6 [Vol.1, file:1-1-1.]

official representation purposes¹⁰. This situation had affected the statistical and political recognition of Slovaks in Canada as a distinct 'ethnic' and political community¹¹. This was lamented by various associations, Czech and Slovak, and seized upon by Czech nationalists:

Although the charter of the Czechoslovak National Association of Canada only gives it the right to represent those former Czechoslovak nationals who wish to be members of the organization, there is a strong tendency in its executive to claim that they speak for ALL Czechs, Slovaks and sub-Carpathian Ruthenians. This is deeply resented by all those who do not wish to be associated with the body¹².

The Canadian Slovak League, as it was discussed in the last chapter, was typically ignored by government officials or "harassed" during the war period (Sutherland, 1984) because, although they were greater in number than the Czechs, they were not as well educated and therefore were considered less "influential" in government circles¹³. By 1953 members felt 'recognised' when an official banquet was held for them in Ottawa and attended by government officials, including Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. The following year, the organisation became legally incorporated as a fraternal benefit society (insurance company) "according to the guidelines of the Canadian government" (Sutherland, 1984: 67). It continued its political activism and social and cultural functions but was replaced as the pre-eminent Slovak national organisation in 1971, when it became a member of a new Canadian Slovak umbrella organisation, the *Slovak Canadian National Council* (SCNC). The organisation was established in the year that it hosted the Slovak World Congress in Toronto, where it was decided to form continental territorial committees. The

¹⁰ Interview with founding board member, CNAC (int. #23)

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Memo, "Background to letter of protest re the Minister presenting charter to CNA in Hamilton", to the Deputy Minister (Citizenship and Immigration) March 23, 1961 [RG6, Vol.87, file:9-334-1.]

organisation was legally incorporated in 1985 because as one board member explained: "It became apparent that if you wanted to have any clout, you had to be incorporated and have some stability"¹⁴. Both the CAC and the SCNC are currently members of the CEC.

The CAC and SCNC stories of formation reflect several of the key points of *nationalisation* in this era. First, there is pressure to form from the government in order to mediate domestic aspects of Cold War politics. Second, this pressure affects the representative configuration in that it reflects what is considered to be 'legitimate' national boundaries rather than the realities of 'ethnic' boundaries. Third, the organisations' stories show that they were not pawns in the events but rather that organisers attempted to reconcile Canadian state parameters of 'legitimacy' with diaspora political affiliations. This was seen in the organisation formation stories in Chapter Four and continues in the 1960s, such as in the example of the Belarusan organisation.

The Belarusan¹⁵ Canadian Coordinating Committee (BCCC) was established in 1966 as an umbrella for internal co-ordinating purposes between the major Byelorussian organisations, and to represent the community to the Canadian government and to co-operate with other Byelorussian umbrella organisations in the "Free World"¹⁶. It co-ordinated activities between the Byelorussian National Association and the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada from which it had split in 1952¹⁷. The Alliance was the oldest Canada-wide Byelorussian organisation formed in 1949,

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Interview with board member, SCNC (#51).

¹⁵ Since Belarusan Independence in 1991, the name switched back from the Soviet 'Byelorussian' to the original term 'Belrusan'.

¹⁶ As written in the Constitution of the Byelorussian-Canadian Coordinating Committee, approved on January 16, 1966 (obtained from head office in Barrie, Ontario)

but the new Coordinating Committee (BCCC) managed successfully to maintain this 'national' balance with this and several other organisations for purposes of internal relief and government lobbying purposes.

The President of the BCCC confirmed in a questionnaire that the organisation has had and continues to have strong ties with American counterparts as well as those in England, and the Council of the Belarusan Democratic Republic in Exile¹⁸. It was formed as a strictly anti-Communist organisation. Typically the organisation was also mainly interested in cultural preservation and was galvanised in the late 1980s from the events of Chernobyl. The BCCC fit the criteria for official 'legitimacy', joining the existing NMEUOs in the 'circuit'. As it was confirmed in an interview with a former government program officer, the organisation has had a continuous funding relationship with the government on an occasional project basis since its earlier years¹⁹.

In terms of funding to anti-Communist 'ethnic' associations at the national level, government support for the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation (CEPF) was sustained through the 1960s. Although it was not constitutionally qualified to represent anybody other than the member press associations, it was treated at times by the Branch as an official spokes-body of 'ethnic' groups in Canada. In his report on *Multi-Ethnic Relations* activities that year, the Director wrote:

The Canadian Ethnic Press Federation has been given support in terms of both grants and technical advice. As the Federation represents the leadership and

¹⁷ Pamphlet, "Belorussian Canadian Alliance: 1948-1968", Toronto, October, 1968.

¹⁸ Interview schedule sent in by R. Zuk-Hryskievic, President BCCC, Barrie, Ontario, February 21, 1995.

¹⁹ Interview with former Senior Program Officer, Multiculturalism (#66)

thought of the major ethnic groups in Canada its influence in the field of intergroup relations is considerable²⁰.

The CEPF remained on the books of the Branch for a long time but this 'privileged' position as a Branch 'darling' would soon be challenged. With changing political tides internationally and within Canada, new organisations were needed or updated based on the exigencies of the times. The CEPF experienced a lot of infighting and personal ambitions often got in the way of advancement and this partly led to a weakening of the organisation²¹ but it was mainly new circumstances in Canadian society that led to the call for new national organisational forms.

NEW ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ERA OF 'CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS':

The 1960s were marked by tremendous nation-building initiatives: the introduction of the maple leaf flag, the new official national anthem and the events of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The *travails* of the inquiry into a bicultural, *bifurcated*, country were touched upon in the last chapter but what is central here is that, as usual, 'ethnic' groups in Canada were expected to mediate the contradictions in the 'national' project. There was renewed interest in the existence of *appropriate* national 'ethnic' organizations to play a role in making Canadian 'unity in diversity' self-evident. As it was discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the 1960s were especially nationalistic times for Canada given fears of encroaching American culture into Canada and internal regional cleavages exacerbated by Quebecois

²⁰ "The Canadian Citizenship Branch 1947-1966", by W.H. Agnew, August 11, 1966. RG6 Vol. 1, file: 1-1-1 (p.4)

²¹ 'Major Conferences Involve Ethnic communities' in "Politics Disguised as Culture", *Ethnic Scene*, January 1965 [RG6 F, Vol.663, file:2-24-3.]

nationalist politics. In response, a new discourse evolved in the 1960s that was introduced in the national unity debates. It was the language of 'contributions' couched in the cause of 'ethnic preservation', enshrined in a new proposal for Multiculturalism, and the organisations participating in the 'circuit' were speaking it.

'Ethnic' groups across the country were describing in detail what they had 'contributed to civilisation' or to Canadian nation-building history. The tone of the time is illustrated, for example, in the work of George Bonavia. He was a civil servant working for Media Relations in the Department of Manpower and Immigration, editing the Journal *Ethnic Kaleidoscope*, an active member of the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation and was also the founding President of the Maltese Canadian Federation²². Bonavia, an advocate and celebrant of the notion of 'ethnic contributions', wrote a book called: *Immigrants We Read About*. In it, he catalogued specific *contributions* that 'ethnic Canadians' have made. For example, he chronicled that the Italians have contributed individuals of excellent talent in stone masonry and opera singing in Canada²³. This defensive 'contributions' language was seen in Paul Yuzyk's famous maiden speech to the Senate on March 3 1964, in which he extolled the importance of a 'multicultural' approach to Canadian constitutional and cultural problems instead of a 'bicultural' one. As part of his argument or background, he talks about the contributions of his own 'ethnic' group:

Ukrainian Canadians have been frequent winners of world and Canadian championships of wheat, oat and vegetables. The best varieties of grain are either of Ukrainian origin or hybrids of Ukrainian grains²⁴.

²² The Maltese Federation obtained its Constitution in 1968 and has since expired at the national level. It is possible that its existence relied heavily on the enthusiasm of its founder.

²³ "Immigrants We Read About", by George Bonavia, Ottawa, 1986, MG31 H31, Vol.5

²⁴ Debates of the Senate, 1963, p.52.

As a policy theme it was 'ethnic-centred' yet was classically 'integrationist' in the Canadian 'tradition'. The discourse resonated that 'ethnic groups' helped *build* Canada thereby qualifying them to be 'Canadians' too. This was captured in Diefenbaker's challenge to "hyphenated Canadianism" and his Bill of Rights campaign as discussed in Chapter Three. What is certain is that the definition of a 'Canadian' was widening but was stopping at the boundaries of folk culture and was still attempting to ignore non-White 'ethnic' social organisation as part of 'ethnic' mobilisation for national unity. With this change in politics, some new organisations arose to replace the outmoded ones. As an example of this change, the Canadian Citizenship Council, given that it preached mainly 'citizenship education', was found to be 'behind the times' in many ways.

The New Canadian Citizenship Federation:

As was described in the last chapter, the Canadian Citizenship Council was formed as an association to address issues of immigrant 'integration' but was ultimately an organisation formed within the particular conjuncture of Cold War politics. In this historical period, the basis of 'threats to national unity' was shifting more toward *internal* threats rather than external ideological "enemies". Quebec Independence politics and social movements of marginalised groups were bringing new political challenges. One memo explains that the Citizenship Branch continued in this kind of 'ideological surveillance' purely for 'integration' objectives (security issues were the concern of the RCMP). In relation to leftist or rightist groups:

We regard them rather as alienated groups difficult to integrate and frequently a source of embarrassment and an issue of discontent when dealing with some

ethnic groups in their totality. We know from experience that any project would be boycotted by most ethnic organizations if a leftist or rightist group, especially the former, should participate in it²⁵.

Security measures were lightening up. For one thing, it was not only the leftist groups that were monitored: in one internal report written in 1960, reference was being made to the fact that a close eye was being kept on anti-Communist groups. Many of them run by former government officials (RCMP, etc.), they were considered so virulently anti-Communist that they required surveillance themselves²⁶.

Regardless of these changes, the original adult education objectives of the Canadian Citizenship Council remained unchanged until the late 1960s and as a result, for several reasons, government support for the Council was waning. As one Citizenship Branch Officer put it, "the social concerns of Canadian society of the 1960s differed to a great degree from those of the 40s"²⁷. The complaints from member councils and government officials was that it was not 'representative' enough of the Canadian 'mosaic' and hence had limited legitimacy as an organisation advocating on behalf of minorities. However, *real* representation had not been a pressing issue for the legitimacy of an organisation in the past. Yet, even as early as 1947, the Branch was imploring the Council to orient its focus in other ways. Frank Foulds, the ubiquitous Citizenship Branch Director, recommended to the Council in that year, that they establish a 'Folk Society':

As a nation-wide organization... The chief purpose of the Canadian Folk society should be the bringing together of all ethnic groups inhabiting Canada,

²⁵ Memo, Stan Zybala to Bernard Ostry, "Extreme Right and Left Ethnic Groups", 10/12/70 [RG6, Vol.2, file:1-3-2.]

²⁶ Unsigned, untitled internal report, June 1960 [RG6 Vol.2, File:1-3-4.]

²⁷ Memo, I. Varjassy to R. Pothier, "The Canadian Citizenship Council", April 27, 1970, Ottawa [RG6 Vol.13, file:1-7.]

and the building up of a common Canadianism, a Canadian "folk", all groups contributing proportionately, all retaining their inheritance²⁸.

His advice was to no avail. The Council had altered its emphasis only somewhat over the years. For example, it developed a young adult project²⁹, reflecting a 'hot' focus in the 1960s. However, the Council was at base made up of associations that were 'non-ethnic', such as the Boy Scouts, IODE, etc. Member associations were interested in 'immigrant integration', but not representative or reflective of 'ethnic' particularity necessarily. The Council was cut off from government program support by the mid-1960s. They were told that 'ethnic' social service organisations integrate their own community members and therefore the need for the Council had passed³⁰. In 1967 a conference was held to re-organise the Council into a federation. The new configuration did not serve to alter its vision in accordance with the discourse of the time and the plug was pulled in terms of government funding:

... after this time, its influence as a national organization steadily declined and the once-privileged position it had held in relation to senior levels of government was lost and never recovered (Hawkins, 1972:314).

The Federation continued its work nonetheless, based as it was on the strength of its member local councils across the country, but a new organisation came into favour that was more directly representative of different 'ethnic' groups (rather than 'citizenship' in general). The organisation would exemplify the new discourse of 'contributions' and was literally 'showcased' as the future of contemporary 'ethnic politics'.

²⁸ "Brief to the CCC re. the Feasibility of Establishing a Canadian Folk Society", Frank Foulds, Dec. 26, 1947, Ottawa [RG6 Vol.50, File:9-15, pt.1.]

²⁹ "Memo to John Mooradian" CCC, April 24, 1962, Ottawa [MG28 I374, Vol.7, file:Constitution.]

The Canadian Folk Arts Council (CFAC):

I welcome the birth of a national council for the Folk Arts,... I am sure this new council will fill a permanent place in our cultural life as an active force for national unity (Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson)³¹.

The Canadian Folk Arts Council (CFAC) was first conceived by Don Somerville, Mayor of Toronto³², but was started and managed by Leon Kossar, a journalist from the Toronto Telegram covering ethnic activities. He and his wife were involved in the Toronto Folk Arts Council and had produced the Folk Arts show "Nationbuilders" in 1963 at Toronto's CNE convention centre. In the years leading up to Canada's Centennial Anniversary, the Centennial Events Commissioner contacted Mr. Kossar and invited him to submit a brief outlining possible folk activities. In 1963, meetings took place among the folk arts communities to consolidate an agenda. Representatives were contacted via the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation.

Based on the brief produced at the meeting, Kossar was given the mandate to establish a national conference in order to establish a national body for the folk arts in 1964 and hence the beginning of the National Council. Senator Maurice Lamontagne, Secretary of State at the time, said: "If you decide to establish the proposed National Council I am sure that we will find ways and means to offer you further assistance because your aims are ours"³³. Member clubs and associations represented different

³⁰ "The Decline and Fall of a National Voluntary Organization", CCC, January 1969 [MG31 H31 Vol.1.]

³¹ The Founding of the Canadian Folk Arts Council" in Troubadour, newsletter of the CFAC, Special Edition for the 20th Anniversary, Montreal.

³² 'Major Conferences Involve Ethnic communities' in "Politics Disguised as Culture", *Ethnic Scene*, January 1965 [RG6 F, Vol.663, file:2-24-3.]

³³ "The Founding of the Canadian Folk Arts Council" in Troubadour, newsletter of the CFAC, Special

'ethnic' groups, by virtue of their folk offerings, the primary currency of 'ethnic' politics at that time. Although primarily a co-ordinating body for 'ethnic' cultural activity, organisations that were known as Communist were not entitled to join this new national organisation³⁴. In honour of the Centennial, the Council organised 100 folk festivals across the country to mark the 100 years of Confederation. It played a co-ordinating role for folk activities in Canada and abroad. Noticeable about this new 'ethnic' representative formation at the national level was that it was designed to advocate for 'ethnocultural issues' but was not politicised in terms of inequality or the new 'rights' discourse.

The Centennial Celebrations and the creation of the CFAC had the effect of spurring 'ethnic' associations to form folk groups in order to participate. In 1963, a Dutch Canadian journalist in the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation formed a Dutch Folkloric dance group in order to *get some attention*. In an interview she said that Dutch folk dance is really only for tourists, but it was the only way to be "recognized"³⁵, or as this thesis contends, to be part of the emergent national 'ethnic circuit'. In 1971, the Finnish Canadian Cultural Federation (FCCF) formed. It had started as a dance and cultural group in the CNE festivities³⁶ and then organised its branches across Canada to eventually form a national co-ordinating body that still operates today as a 'recognized' Finnish Canadian representative organisation.

Another organisational formation with deep roots in Canada but which only officially formed as a representative umbrella group in the 1960s was the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC). It was shown in Chapter Four how government officials

Edition for the 20th Anniversary, Montreal.

³⁴ 'Major Conferences Involve Ethnic communities' in "Politics Disguised as Culture", *Ethnic Scene*, January 1965 [RG6 F, Vol.663, file:2-24-3.]

³⁵ Interview with a founding board member of the NCCA (# 41).

encouraged representatives to establish a national umbrella organisation to speak as a 'unified voice', but it was only in 1963 that they managed to officially succeed in the venture. One historian attributes the "tumult" of the 1960s as part of the circumstances of formation (Regehr,1996:382). Mennonite Canadians were deeply involved in debates on peace, justice and social concerns in the era of the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement in North America. They were highly involved with the American Mennonite organisation but were at this point in time eager to have their own unified representative body for purposes of internal co-ordination of their relief efforts and services, and of communicating to government their own peace position (Regehr, 1996). Other contributing factors were the hiring of an executive secretary in 1962 and a growing spirit of inter-group co-operation (Epp, 1989) among the typically divided factions. Clearly, a number of elements converged for the group at that point. However, the tone of the times, characterised by encouragement of 'ethnic' particularity after years of assimilationist policy, must also have been encouraging to Mennonites and influenced the establishment of a national representative organisation in that year.

Like other minority groups in Canada, they had a history of 'being on the defensive', having to negotiate for alternative service during wartime among other alternative policies. As Howard Palmer commented about the Hutterites, Mennonites and Doukhobors, historically in Canada:

... the three groups were linked in the public's perception by their isolationist tendencies, their "alienness" and their pacifism. The Hutterites and Mennonites had the additional handicap of being primarily German-speaking and thus vaguely associated with the enemy (1982:165).

³⁶ Interview with a founding board member of the FCCF (# 21).

Ethnic heritage was being "celebrated" for the first time in Canadian history, and put on display. In the process, there was an 'outing' of 'ethnicity', as seen with the Finnish and Dutch association mobilisations. Groups that were previously on the defensive like the Mennonites, were possibly feeling less constrained by their 'difference' in this era of 'folk arts' and increasingly, civil rights.

In the mid to late 1960s, the government began tackling for the first time, the issue of marginalised Canadians who did not hail from a European country and who demanded other rights than that of 'cultural preservation'. There were issues of colonialism and historical inequality and state racism raised by new the new social 'categories'. Public policy thinking had changed in relation to 'global liberalisations' and it affected the state's relationships with Canada's marginalised 'others'.

CITIZENSHIP BRANCH ACTIVISM: "SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT"

Many ethnic organizations must realize that they have attained majority and, therefore, must take their place as equals with other voluntary organizations. They must use the power inherent in their organizations to effect whatever changes seem best for Canadian society³⁷.

This statement by a Citizenship Branch programme officer reflects the new discourse of contributions that had taken over 'ethnic liaison' and 'ethnic politics' in Canada. It also reflects how civil rights protests applied pressure in the state for reconsidering relationships with marginalised minority groups. In this new era, there were changes at the bureaucratic level of administration of programs. First, as previously mentioned, the Citizenship Branch was moved in 1965 back to the SOS,

³⁷ "Ethnic Organizations in Canadian Society", by G.P.Allen, Nov.16, 1968 [RG6 Vol.88, file:9-363-1, pt.3.]

from Immigration (where it had been since 1950) and sought to redefine its role. Second, the Branch began to concern itself with issues of inequality, which influenced program planning. The Branch was changing with the times to reflect the prominent social challenges experienced by marginalised groups, as expressed through the social movement politics. The Department, as the only one designed to 'liaise' with 'communities' and the voluntary sector, began to consider social problems as stemming from related issues such as poverty and marginalisation.

During this period of 'soul searching' for the Branch, influential bureaucrats pushed their concerns through and succeeded in introducing a 'social development' component to the work of the Branch. In fact, for two years the Branch changed its name to "Social Development". The change in name was necessary, it was argued, because people were always mixing up the Citizenship Branch with Citizenship Registration, a separate Department entirely³⁸. Therefore it was felt that the Branch should re-name itself according to the role it aspired to fulfil in Canadian society. Lagasse, the Branch's Director, introduced the name change in an article published in *The Citizen*. He stressed that the Branch was still working towards the same goals as before through its programs of Multi-Ethnic Activities, Indian Integration, Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Human Rights, Immigrant Integration, Language Instruction, Youth Services, Travel and Exchange, and Citizenship Development³⁹.

The Branch took on a definite activist tone, which may have reflected Lagasse's own views. As Director of the Branch, he was a key protagonist of social

³⁸ Memo, C.A.Lussier to Assistant Deputy Minister for Citizenship, "Branch Title", May 12, 1966, Ottawa [RG6 Vol.1, file:1-1, pt.2.]

³⁹ "A Rose by any Other Name", by Jean Lagasse, *Citizen*, 1967 [RG6, Vol.1, file:1-1, pt.2.]

development⁴⁰ but this was supported by the staff in general. G.P.Allen, head of the Multi-Ethnic Section, said in a speech to the NMEUO *Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians* that:

If a closer partnership is to be established between ethnic organizations and government, safeguards must be established to ensure that the ethnic organization does not become merely an arm or extension of government. It must always remain free from government domination of either a direct or indirect nature so that it may serve as an ombudsman in our society⁴¹.

A summary was written of the Branch in the late 1960s outlining its function as that of addressing issues of poverty in Canada and addressing the "disinherited"⁴². From the officers' correspondence at the time, it is clear that the Branch was rejecting any role other than sensitive instigators of social change. A.J. Cormier, Chief of Liaison, wrote a (scathing) memo regarding the pressures the Branch would be under if it were to receive certain high profile 'citizenship projects', for example, the Centennial Commission's Caravan Project (a travelling exhibition of ethnic folk arts). It was resisting receiving these kinds of public projects where it could lead to a more intense relationship with the associations responsible for implementing it, thus leading to the need for the Branch to develop a 'public relations machine' that would not truly reflect its aims or work. A.J. Cormier, Chief of Liaison Division, explains this position:

... The Branch cannot, at one and the same time, embark on a self-image building program and discharge its traditional role vis-a-vis its public. In its traditional role, the Branch's identity has been clear but has been restricted to the relatively small segment of the Canadian public who understand and

⁴⁰ Memo, Jean Lagasse to Deputy Minister, Citizenship, Nov. 29, 1965, Ottawa [RG6F Vol.662, file:2-24-1.]

⁴¹ "Ethnic Organizations in Canadian Society" by G.P.Allen, Nov. 16, 1968 [RG6, Vol.88, file:9-363-1, pt.3.]

⁴² "Citizenship Branch, Dept. of the SOS" undated, unsigned [RG6 Vol. 1, file:1-1-1.]

appreciate the social science approach to programming. This body of clients increases and will continue to increase in proportion to the success with which the Branch broadens its contacts and nourishes the leadership potential inherent in the society.

...The tendency is to favour those segments of the population which are docile and status quo oriented and to discredit at all costs those segments which question and criticize.⁴³

Several years later, the Branch would become integrally linked with folk arts and a new type of public affairs (Multiculturalism), beyond Cormier's wildest dreams but, in the meantime, it was considered to be only one aspect of 'ethnic integration'. Program reviews and demands by the Treasury insisted that the Branch justify its budget in terms of the government's latest political concerns: national unity. The Social Development Branch did not have much wider government support and its very existence was tenuous overall. To this end, the Prime Minister's principle secretary wrote to the Under Secretary of State and advised him to refocus the 'raison d'etre' of the Branch to Constitutional imperatives. According to the Constitution the federal government has a responsibility in this area and the Branch administers it. Moreover:

In these days of social, political and economic crisis, it would be hard to find a field that might have greater significance to national unity (and against Separatism for example) than that of citizenship⁴⁴.

Fortunately for the Branch, by 1968 the tide of social activism was gaining in force in the top levels of government. By 1968 the Branch had come back to a position of 'demand' because of the potential role it could play in national unity and in legitimating Pierre Trudeau's objective of a "just society":

⁴³ "Some Thoughts on the the Philosopphy of the Citizenship Branch", by A.J. Cormier, Chief of Liaison, Citizenship Branch, July 26, 1966, Ottawa [RG6 Vol.1, file:1-1-1.]

⁴⁴ Letter, J.S.Hodgson, Principal Secretary, P.M.'s office, to Mr. GGE Steele, Under-Secretary of State, March 19, 1968, Ottawa [RG6 Vol. 1, file:1-1-1.]

The prevailing Canadian tradition of state-civil society relations in respect of the associational system had, until the late 1960s, been grounded in classical liberal principles of the autonomy of the voluntary sector. Faced with a regime crisis in the form of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, as well as emerging, new ideas about the stimulative role of the state vis-à-vis social change, programs were developed that involved a much more direct state presence and, for the first time, a widespread practice of sustaining grants for advocacy organizations (Pal, 1993:104).

From the highest levels of government, support for *social animation*, encouragement of *self-help*, and providing a *voice* for the *disinherited*, was encouraged. From the Prime Minister's office to the programme administrative level, there was support for programs to "assuage feelings of social injustice" (Bernard Ostry, Deputy Minister of Citizenship quoted in Pal, 1993:109). One regional liaison officer expressed his exaltation at the new explicitness of objectives:

Just when we're liable to be changing our focus and even our very existence is tenuous, thanks to Cabinet manoeuvres, we fling away our shy modesty and traditional inhibitions and REVEAL in public what really is under that dusty, out of fashion exterior: the Georgy Girl of the federal bureaucracy is carried away with Trudeaumania!⁴⁵

The liaison work of the Branch continued, yet the role of the liaison officer in the development of NMEUOs was downplayed officially. This was not publicised in the Branch's promotional material. In the same letter of the regional liaison officer above, he objects to the 'whitewashing' of this central interventionist work of the Branch. According to a survey he cites, 22% of the RLO's working time is devoted to "Citizenship Development":

The omission of "Citizenship Development" is a matter of urgent concern to me since its exclusion destroys the justification for well over half of my

⁴⁵ Memo, John Cornish, Regional Liaison Officer (Newfoundland), to Ilona Varjassy, October 1, 1968 [RG6 Vol.1, file:1-1-1.]

involvement here... all field staff have heavy involvement with this "social engineering", consultative role⁴⁶.

Despite the downplaying of the role of the liaison officer officially, the 'ethnic liaison' staff at the Branch were still busy trying to create coordinated representative 'ethnic' bodies. As in the past, their attempts were often frustrated. For example, "Attempts on RLO's part to bring together the apparent leaders in the various publics of the Chinese community have not yet borne fruit"⁴⁷. In this example, the focus was on the Ontario Chinese organisations as a first step but ongoing attempts to unite the Chinese community across Canada were made⁴⁸. While some communities did not respond even to concerted intervention because of deeply engrained divisions and political and social issues, there were others that followed the example of the established NMEUOs and went about setting up their own organisations for concerted action and 'recognition'. *The Canadian Arab Federation (CAF)* is one of those.

The CAF formed in 1967 to represent immigrants from Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Armenia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Palestine. Its primary objective was to: "identify, articulate, defend and otherwise pursue the interests of the Arab Canadian community" (*CAF Annual Report, 1994-95*). Given that the CAF's constituency was as general as 'Arab', there were many established associations representing different Arab nationalities. However, the organisation found consensus in, among other things, fighting discrimination in Canada and lobbying for a Palestinian nation. The umbrella group formed in that year when it was agreed that a

⁴⁶ Memo, John Cornish, Regional Liaison Officer (Newfoundland), to Ilona Varjassy, October 1, 1968 [RG6 Vol.1, file:1-1-1.]

⁴⁷ "R.L.O.'s Monthly Report", R. S. Hall, July and August 1965, Toronto [RG6F Vol.662, file:2-20-1.]

concerted public affairs approach was needed to address issues of the Arab-Israeli Six Day War. The founders felt that they needed to develop a counter point to the efforts of the Canadian Jewish Congress and its influential American counterparts in Middle Eastern politics (Abu Laban, 1980).

In this era, a new political space had opened, not only for 'ethnic song and dance' groups, but for organisations with a particular lobbying perspective. In the context of international peace marches and ethnic 'contributions', another example of an organisation that formed to represent a 'peace interest' (besides the Mennonite Central Committee) was the Council of the Muslim Communities of Canada (CMCC), formed in 1972. Two thirds of Arab Canadians are Christian (Abu Laban, 1980) and therefore an organisation such as CAF was not seen as representative for Muslim communities across Canada who face particular religious challenges in the country of adoption. In an interview with one of the founding members, it was explained that the organisation was influenced by the establishment in 1970 of the World Conference on Religion for Peace. According to the interview subject, it was seen as important to promote and preserve the values of Islam in Canada and participate in political dialogue through an ecumenical perspective. The organisation was "extremely eager"⁴⁹ to take advantage of available government funding, and while unsuccessful in the beginning, did manage to become part of the NMEUO circuit (see CEC membership list, appendix A). The interview subject expressed that he wished that other religion based NMEUOs would participate in the inter-ethnic forums from the

⁴⁸ There was a series of correspondences and memos re. the rival Chinese associations in Canada and their characteristics for example in 1960: "Chinese Organizations" Dr. W.G.Black to Alex Sim (Chief Liaison Division), July 18, 1960 [RG6 Vol.50, file:9-13.]

⁴⁹ Letter, G. Smith to S. Scotti, July 22, 1975, Ottawa [RG6 Vol.27, file:3270-1, vol.4.]

perspective of 'faith' too, because he argued, the focus needs to be taken away from nation- state origins which do not represent people adequately⁵⁰.

These last two examples indicate that the proliferation of NMEUOs to join the expanding circuit in the 1960s was rather piecemeal compared to the almost systemic interventions in organisation formations in the 1950s and yet to come in the 1980s. These 'Arab' and Muslim organisations *nationalised* in terms of configuration and adopted the discourses of Canadian government national unity to some extent, but unlike the earlier European organisations that served to mediate Cold War politics, and other 'cultural' organisations that mediated Canadian identity politics in the politics of contribution, they did not serve to legitimate any of the operating state agendas. Therefore, they represent anomalies in the process of NMEUO proliferation in the last century. The fact that they were 'multi-ethnic' in representation reflected the politics of demographics as well as racialisation (numbers are important in representation politics). Also, categorisations of non-White minority social groups in Canada for representational purposes was relatively new and reflected the articulating significations of racialised *otherness* of that period. The state understood Arabness as a 'race' and 'ethnicity'. The next two groups to be discussed reflect another major aspect of the turbulent 1960s and the multiple themes in government 'ethnic liaison' during this era. These two next groups were categorised in the state in terms of 'racial' significations and were the two groups targeted specifically for social control purposes during this era.

THE NEW LANGUAGE OF 'RACE PROBLEM':

⁵⁰ Interview with founding board member of the CMCC (#43).

Civil rights protests occurring around the world and influences from the US were felt in Canada (Bibby, 1990). This was another type of challenge to Canadian national unity, and it took the form of 'struggles against racism and sexism'. The late 1960s were active years for Black Power protest in Canada. Several significant events occurred that alerted the attention of the national government to this increasing politicisation. For one, Martin Luther King Jr. was invited for a series of inspirational CBC radio Broadcasts called "Conscience for Change". Four months later he was shot dead, on the same day Trudeau was elected to replace Lester B. Pearson as Leader of the Liberals, and of the country. On this occasion, Trudeau pledged to create a "just society for all Canadians". Another significant event occurred in 1968. Stokely Carmichael and members of the Black Panther Party visited various cities in Canada and helped instigate the formation of the Black United Front in Nova Scotia (which will be discussed further in the next section). Then, in 1969, Black protests in Canada culminated in Montreal in the Concordia Computer Crisis. The incident involved accusations of racism against a biology professor at Concordia University. Unresolved, the tension escalated with the involvement of the police and what ensued included the destruction of University computer property by Black student militants, costing \$1.5 million in damage⁵¹.

In W.H. Agnew's overview of the Branch for the SOS in 1966, he relates its origins in the Nationalities Branch to its present function in social development:

It was recognized that national unity would continue to depend upon the development and retention of favourable attitudes between peoples and

⁵¹ This account of the significant events was drawn partly from Las Newman's History 436 Paper, written in 1978 "Profile of a Black Canadian Organisation: The NBCC" as well as from an interview with a former President of the NBCC (int.# 47).

groups. It was recognized that large numbers of immigrants would undoubtedly be admitted to Canada from all parts of the globe; that the substantial increase in the size of ethnic communities within the country would increase social pressures, many tending to be disruptive⁵².

The role of the Branch in the integration of immigrants is therefore necessary to curb potential disruption in the interests of 'national unity'. In this period a new discourse of 'fear' arose, entwined with the 'social development' goals of the officers which served to politicise certain marginalised communities in Canada. In the case of Black communities and the Native Peoples in Canada, officers began to help them organise in order to cultivate dialogue and spokes-bodies. The rationale behind the interventionist activity was based in the social development principles, but from the discourse of the time it is clear that new challenges to the 'nation' were perceived. Whereas Communism entailed a battle against an external 'evil' force that was infiltrating certain Canadian minds, the social movement activities of Black in Canada and Native populations represented political challenges to the very tenets of the Canadian *nationalised* state, and the basis of its unevenly served 'equality'.

'BLACK' ORGANIZING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL:

The 'recognition' of Black associations and an ongoing government relationship until today began in 1969. The basis of the 'category's' relative signification in the configuration of organised interest was 'Blackness'. Black associations were not part of the 'ethnic circuit' and it was questioned whether 'Black people' could be considered as an 'ethnic group' in the same way as the other

⁵² "The Canadian Citizenship Branch 1947-1966", by W.H. Agnew, August 11, 1966 [RG6 Vol. 1,

organised 'ethnic' communities. Government officials corresponded on the question of whether or not they were a "minority group", because otherwise they might not be legitimately entitled to Citizenship Branch *ethnic* organisation money⁵³. This was a new 'liaison' direction for the Citizenship Branch.

Part of the reason for supporting a new initiative in Black community development was fear of disruptions. One of the first endeavours in this field was the funding of the Black United Front of Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia had a concentration of Black people living in one of the greatest areas of poverty in the country. The province offered zero funds. In a memo by a special assistant in the SOS, it is revealed that Lagasse, the Branch Director, pushed a proposal of the BUF directly through to (or "trumped up" as a fellow officer accused) the Secretary of State which was then leaked to the press⁵⁴. It became public knowledge that the BUF was expecting "seed money" from the Citizenship Branch to start up their organisation to undertake social development. Some officers of the Department felt cornered but intrigued by this new direction in 'social development' and conscious of the potential for 'conflict' if the group was not somehow addressed (or appeased). As this confidential memo reveals:

As a general rule, I do not believe that the federal government should be undertaking these types of programs. This is a personal view. It should be noted however, that we do undertake these programs with minority communities under the Citizenship Directorate. Furthermore, it should be noted that the province is not interested in this form of action. On the contrary, they are opposed to any action of this nature. Therefore, if the federal government does not play a role in this area, nobody will and the

file: 1-1-1]

⁵³ Memo (Confidential), "Meetings in Halifax re. Black United Front", Robert Rabinovitch to The Honourable Gerard Pelletier, June 9, 1969 [RG6, vol.94, File:323-190/B2]: "If we consider this a minority group, then there is a legitimate role for the federal government to play. (p.3)"

⁵⁴ Memo, "Meeting between Mr. Pelletier and Mr. Munroe", R. Rabinovitch to J.A. Ouellette (executive assistant), June 2, 1969 [RG6 vol.94, file:323-190/B2.]

results will be the maintenance of the conditions that are appalling and eventual conflict⁵⁵.

The BUF received the three-year start up grants in association with a grant from the Department of National Health and Welfare⁵⁶. In the mid 1960s the only two organisations receiving sustaining grants (as opposed to project money) from the Citizenship Branch were the Canadian Citizenship Council and the Indian-Eskimo Association⁵⁷. One of the most significant aspects of Black organising in the late 1960s was that it joined these two in receiving sustaining funds. *Avoiding conflict* was one goal in the new history of 'liaison' between the Citizenship Branch and Blacks in Canada.

National Black Coalition in Canada (NBCC):

The National Black Coalition of Canada (NBCC) had a relatively short lived history but is an important part of the history of government' ethnic liaison' in Canada and was the precursor to today's national Afro-Caribbean representative organisations. The organisation's development clearly interacted with the discourse and programs of the social development branch. It was thoroughly a product of its time as the later ones would be too (discussed in Chapter Six).

As Agnes Calliste recounts (1996a), the Afro-Caribbean population in Canada has its roots during the 18th century when Jamaicans (Maroons) were forcibly deported to Halifax by British colonial rulers. A group of them remained and formed the nucleus of Nova Scotia's Black community today. Afro-Caribbean migrants began

⁵⁵ Memo (Confidential), "Meetings in Halifax re. Black United Front", Robert Rabinovitch to The Honourable Gerard Pelletier, June 9, 1969 [RG6, vol.94, File:323-190/B2.]

⁵⁶ "Grant to the Black United Front", SOS to the Treasury Board, 1969 [RG6 Vol.1, file:1-1-1.]

coming to Canada more consistently after the First World War when sailors from Commonwealth West Indies were looking for work but were cut off from Britain because of the war. Many lived and worked in the Maritimes in the coal mines and steel mills. Some moved to Montreal and Toronto in later years and founded churches and associations there. The population was low despite demand to come to Canada because of the *National Preference System* that discriminated against Black applicants. Therefore there was a slow stream of West Indians entering the country, composed mainly of students and contract domestic workers (as discussed in Chapter Three).

When the Federal Immigration policy abolished the *National Preference* in 1962 and then established a Points System in 1967, the greatest wave of Afro-Caribbean migrants entered Canada. Initially, the Independent category was used by highly educated Afro-Caribbeans in the period of 1962-67. This form of migration, and the family members coming to join them, swelled the community populations. Domestic workers were able to sponsor family members and eventually, family reunification overall became a primary way Afro-Caribbeans entered Canada (Simmons and Turner, 1991). In looking at the mobilisation of Afro-Caribbean organisations in Canada, it is important to note then that although West Indians began arriving in the 1950s they are not considered an 'old immigrant' group because the 'critical mass' arrived in the 1970s. In this case, more important than the size of the group was the politics of 'race' gaining centrality in the United States and through decolonisation movements around the world.

⁵⁷ "Statement of Grants for Citizenship Promotion as of March 15, 1966", J.S. Lacelle [RG6,F,vol. 661, file:2-4-8, vol.1]

Black power politics in the United States and around the world were characterised by the centralising ideology of Pan-Africanism. It discouraged separate island and national divisions among Blacks and encouraged recognition of common African heritage. This also reflected racialisation processes in Canada and state categorisations of White 'ethnics' vs. a Black 'race'. Thus politicisation took place in the 1960s on a 'racial'- *continental* basis. West Indian Students were organised on the Canadian University campuses and had espoused various radical perspectives associated with Pan-Africanism (Winks, 1997). These were discussed at yearly Conference Committees, led by writers, activists, and professionals⁵⁸. The NBCC grew out of the Canadian Conference Committee that was originally the West Indian Conference Committee (an organisation made up of student Island Associations). Aspects of the Conference Committees were concerned mainly with Caribbean politics and affairs such as Caribbean Island Federation (ie. unification). Moreover, the groups and participants were divided along intellectual-political lines. Some were Maoist, others radicalised by figures such as Stokely Carmichael and the writing of Fanon.

The organisation was divided between Black Canadians, born and raised in Canada, and new Caribbean immigrants, island divisions, and those espousing radical views vs. the more moderate⁵⁹. Some leaders felt it should be 'non-political' while others felt that the non-political stance made it 'non-viable' (Mclain, 1979). It seems that those who were more moderate ultimately won out over the more radicalised elements in the formation of the new National Black Organisation. The leadership was comprised mainly of West Indian professionals and influential Black Canadians who espoused the view that it was necessary to focus on Canadian advocacy and social

⁵⁸ Interview with founding board member of the NBCC “(# 47).

relations in the adopted country, rather than focusing on diaspora issues. There were no official diaspora ties or relations with ambassadors, although they were informed of events and support was sought. They brought in American speakers but did not adopt the more radical American 'Black Power' slogan⁶⁰. This Canadian organisation focused on policy issues of discrimination and economic development. From a look at its "Aims and Objectives" it is clear that the organisers attempted to satisfy government liaison expectations and to appear as a non-radical, *legitimate* group. The Coalition promoted the following framework of principles (from: "A Key to Canada" NBCC, 1975):

- A. To foster, promote, support and initiate programmes to effect the maximum participation of black peoples of Canada in all aspects of the development of a Canadian society in which all of its peoples are afforded the greatest opportunity to develop their full human potential.
- B. To ensure that the unique cultural heritage and contributions of black peoples of Canada become a functional part of the emerging mosaic.
- C. To foster through the Black experience and culture a spirit of racial pride, identity and community.
- D. To eradicate all forms of racism and discrimination in Canadian society.

Radical language of 'Black Power' is absent from the public affairs documents of this organisation. In its place, the language of Canadian "cultural heritage", "mosaics" and "contributions" is offered.

Typical of the 'social development' beliefs of program officers, the organisation received a large grant to be able to send a delegation of Canadians to Nigeria for the World Black Arts Festival in 1977. A major mismanagement of funds was reported and, following from the scandal, terminal internal divisions set in. In

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

defence of the government decision to devote \$80,000 to the project, Orest Kruhlak wrote:

...the central objective behind the Department's support to the community through the NBCC, was developmental. It was our expectation that the work required to prepare for the Festival would provide a catalyst for the strengthening of a viable representative organization to act on behalf of Canadians of African descent⁶¹.

The organisation would eventually crumble under the weight of lack of clarity of political vision and unity. The NBCC was part of a process of politicisation and professionalisation in a national form that was also encouraged of the Aboriginal leadership across Canada in those 'dangerous times'. From the "dangerous foreigners" controlled and regulated by government in the war years, there were new "dangerous elements" to be regulated in a 'liaison' relationship. The adoption of the national unity language in a moderate form by the NBCC illustrates the effects of *nationalisation* as a 'tempering', implicit control process, one that contracts out the national vision and the contradictions it contains to organisations in exchange for legitimacy. Communities participated in pursuing its promises.

ABORIGINAL ORGANISING IN A NEW STATE RELATIONSHIP:

The history of Aboriginal politicisation and *nationalisation* is fundamentally different from that of the ethno-immigrant groups who were brought into Canadian society via immigration (labour recruitment and nation-building) policy. For one, their relationship with the government differs significantly in that Native peoples

⁶⁰ Ibid.

advocate sovereignty and control over resources, a direct challenge to Canadian domination, unlike ethno-immigrant groups who seek cultural rights, individual rights, or group rights to lesser extent, all *within* the polity. However, despite their constitutively different experiences of 'incorporation' within the state, and movement aims, their histories of politicisation in terms of government intervention show parallels.

Native organisers also felt compelled to *nationalise* representation for access to political participation at the federal level, and finally succeeded in 1961 in the form of the National Indian Council. While the history of politicisation was long and changes continuous, the process of the institutionalisation of Native representation at the national level has reflected government discourses and program rationales. The following is a brief overview of some of the major turning points in Native politicisation in Canada in order to show the gradual *nationalisation* of Native representative institutions and the effects it had on the subsequent boundaries of identity and representation in the state.

The Early Days:

Aboriginal organising started in Canada as early as 1906, mainly by the British Columbia Natives, over issues of land claims. They were led mainly by Indian members of the Clergy (Miller, 1991), products of the residential schools. The BC activists had been joined by Native groups across the country in other projects, most notably the Congress of a League of Indians of Canada in 1919. The League applied specific pressure on the government with regard to, for example, land and social

⁶¹ Letter, O.Kruhlik to M.O'Brien, Nov.30, 1977 [RG6 vol.38, file:3200-180/6, pt.2]

programs, opposition to the Pass System, and banning of the Sun Dance. They failed in their cause, but historians conclude that their efforts were sufficiently aggressive to merit a defensive response by the government resulting in a change to the Indian Act: In 1927 the Act “was amended to make ‘raising a fund or providing money for the prosecution of any claim’ without the permission of Indian Affairs, a crime” (Miller, 1991:217). Hence First Nation leaders were frequently jailed by the RCMP for trying to organise political groups. “This apartheid law prohibited traditional First Nation government systems from existing in the native communities and in its place established the present day “band council” system” (AFN Resource Centre, 1995), a form of government still not recognised by many Aboriginal communities because of its external imposition and Canadian ‘hegemonic’ origins.

In 1936, Andrew Paull led the formation of a North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB) which was meant to be Canada’s first Aboriginal national organisation. He did not succeed in getting broad enough support (due to a very divided population in terms of ‘nation’, language and region) but he did appear before the parliamentary committee that sat between 1946 to 1948 that was considering changes to the Indian Act. The changes that resulted eliminated some of the most oppressive aspects of the Act but at base, continued in its policy of simultaneous assimilation and subordination. The provision banning political organising was removed in 1951.

There were new political factors that affected Native national organising from the 1950s onward. First, the effects of the proliferation of human rights discourse and policy in western industrialised countries created new political spaces (albeit still very narrow ones) for colonised peoples. This interacted with the sociological beliefs

of the Department of Citizenship in voluntary sector development which led to an increase in program funding for native associations on various local levels (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980). In 1965, Indian Affairs moved from the Secretary of State to a new ministry but responsibilities and funding continued from the Citizenship Branch. In the beginning, the Branch funded Native Friendship Centers and conferences in order to encourage 'self-organizing'⁶². As stated in the Citizenship Development policy directives it was felt to be in the interest of the government to encourage Native self-organisation for social development purposes.

Another key factor that affected Aboriginal-state relations from the 1950s onward was the discovery of primary resources and their exploitation in the northern regions:

During the resource-based boom that fuelled much of the prosperity that Canada enjoyed until the recession of 1957, Euro-Canadian enterprises began to penetrate Indian country in a way that they had not seen since the expansion of agricultural settlement in the late nineteenth century (Miller, 1991:222).

With economic interest in Native lands growing, it is significant to note that the programs funded for Native communities had as their goal 'Indian participation' in Canadian society. Native peoples were encouraged to learn their cultures while *integrating* as other ethnic groups did. They were not encouraged to guard their special interests or lands but rather, to view themselves as 'Canadians'.

*When Grandmother Meets Mother*⁶³:

⁶² "A Statement on the Division of Responsibility Between the Indian Affairs Branch and the Canadian Citizenship Branch", December 17, 1964 [RG6f, Vol. 662, file:2-13-5.]

⁶³ An old Native prophecy foretold that when grandmother (the moon) would meet mother (the earth), Native peoples would take their place in Canadian society (as explained by Linda Bull in Long,

In 1961 the National Indian Council (NIC) formed and was the 'first real national representative body'. It grew out of a series of government-sponsored annual meetings of Manitoba Indians in the late 1950s (McFarlane, 1993). It tended to focus on cultural issues and its highpoint was the organisation of the Expo Pavillion in 1967 (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980). This pattern of Native government relations and public affairs was typical of ethno-immigrant government relations during the Centennial years. However, more radical Native political organising increased through the 1960s, invigorated by parallel movements in civil rights movements by Black Americans, and the 'Red Power' movement in the U.S. During these years, leaders of Native organisations in Canada travelled to the U.S. and further abroad to study other anti-colonial struggles in the world:

In those turbulent times, the idea of an Indian uprising was beginning to get serious attention across Canada. Ross Thatcher, the premier of Saskatchewan, was warning that a time bomb was ticking among the Indians of his province and Don Mazankowski warned the government in the House Of Commons about a plot to train Canadian Indians in "riot rechniques" (McFarlane, 1993:97).

Voices from these movements were dissatisfied with the limited goals of the NIC and as a result there were attempts to form a stronger politically active arm for Native peoples. These grassroots efforts to strengthen the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) in particular as the new political co-ordinating body, coincided with government funding increases to local and regional associations both through federal and provincial funding.

1993:120). The year 1969 marked the introduction of the White Paper and its mass rejection by Native organizations as well humankind's first walk on the moon.

representatives of Native associations across the country. George Manuel, among other prominent leaders saw this as a government funded opportunity for the Native representatives to get together outside the meetings, and furthermore, to extract money for travel to consult with regional and local groups on the organisation of a national representative body (McFarlane, 1993). Thus, both the efforts of Native leaders and the funding opportunities provided by the government through different Departments led to the formation of the first recognised national representative body for status Indians in Canada.

In viewing the resulting product, the organisation is resolutely stamped by state influences in that the NIB represented a national voice for status Indians only. Native national representation became divided officially in 1968 into two groups, those Indians on a land base and those without status (ie. the NIB for status Indians and the Canadian Metis Society, later, Native Council of Canada, for non-status). This is due to the legal categories created by the Canadian government and entrenched constitutionally, in terms of status Indian, non-status Indian, Metis and Inuit (Clancy, 1990). Later changes and restructuring in Aboriginal politics continued to reflect this bifurcated configuration.

The NIB was not recognised officially at the outset but soon came to be politically entrenched in Ottawa when status Indian peoples in Canada faced one of the greatest challenges to their constitutional status. In 1969, Prime Minister Trudeau introduced the "White Paper" policy that proposed to eliminate special status for Indians in Canada. Concrete forms of organising of Status Indians through the NIB in particular resulted after the White Paper proposals. According to Comeau and Santin (1995), government documents show that native organisations were expected to act

as the “conduits” of the White Paper’s proposals. “Ottawa had a new policy to sell, and bureaucrats and politicians decided they needed strong provincial and national native groups to carry out the plan” (Comeau and Santin, 1995:182). Contrary to government expectations, Native groups by and large refused to support the policy and in their outrage, formulated a counter policy, the “Red Paper”.

At this point the NIB was being “frozen out” in that the government was rewarding more funding to non-Native Indian and Eskimo Associations and negotiated instead with the leader of the National Committee on Indian Rights and Treaties (a sub-group of the NIB) instead of with the leadership of the NIB (McFarlane, 1993:114). The NIB’s dissent did not budge but eventually they did harness much greater government funding. A confidential Cabinet memo urged funding programs to be authorised in June of 1970 because, for example, in terms of the public relations considerations:

The funding of native associations is interpreted by them as a test case to gage the intentions of the government”.... and “Native organizations are planning an extensive appeal to international relief agencies for funds if it proves necessary⁶⁴.

Policy regarding Canada’s First peoples was in many ways a public affairs exercise, to avoid embarrassment and potential conflict as politicians stumbled on inadequate policies.

The separate national Native organisations from that point onwards became institutionally entrenched in Ottawa life and constitutional politics in Canada thereafter:

⁶⁴ Memo to the Cabinet, by Robert Stanbury, Minister without Portfolio responsible for Citizenship, re. “Financial Assistance to Native Associations” June 24, 1970 [RG6, Vol.91, file:9-390, pt.2]

By the mid-1970s the idealistic radicalism that had blossomed in the 1960s and early 1970s had begun to wane. In its stead was an emerging "bureaucratic revolution", out of which developed more "socially and politically astute" social change tactics and strategies that took seriously the practices and interests of those being lobbied. From the perspective of Indian Affairs bureaucrats, changes in Indian organizations from an issue-oriented to a more bureaucratic, institutionally based organizational structure provided these organizations with a degree of bureaucratic credibility (Frideres, 1988:282).

In many ways, the treatment of the Native organisations was very similar to that of the ethno-immigrant organisations. It was typical of ethno-immigrant government relations in that program officers practised their typical 'liaison' work with the Native groups in the goal of self-help and integration, through adult education and fostering communications among them. The process was both top-down and bottom-up but shaped through the contradictory determinations of the state.

The example of Native politicisation exemplifies various levels of the *nationalisation* thesis. First, it was implicitly understood that, to be heard, it was necessary to organise as widely across Canada as possible; the national Aboriginal organisational form then legitimates Canadian national parameters. Second, through legal administrative categories, the national configuration of representation does not reflect the existing boundaries of group membership necessarily but rather official constitutional categories related to 'status', of the paternalistic Indian Act, institutionalised until today⁶⁵.

"TOWARDS A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY":

⁶⁵ In 1971, the Inuit Tapirisat formed as well as the Native Council of Canada, the precursor to the contemporary Congress of Aboriginal Peoples formed in 1983 (an organisation representing Metis and non-status Indians off a land base). The Metis National Council formed in 1983 to represent the interests, borne out of a different historical experience, of the western Plains Metis. The NIB became the Assembly of First Nations in 1982, altering its internal structure and changing its name to reflect its self-named status as negotiating 'nation'.

In 1971, the policy of Multiculturalism was introduced to Canadians as a result of political deliberations regarding how to respond to the recommendations of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. As was explained in Chapter Three, the Commission was introduced as a nation-building device and was expected to propose some sort of satisfactory constitutional arrangement in relation to Canada's 'duality': its bicultural and bilingual 'fact'. It finally reported its findings in 1968 and, among other recommendations, proposed to define Canada in terms of a multicultural country in a bilingual frame. Unlike most Royal Commission undertakings, the Report recommendations were actually being followed through shortly after their articulation. The policy of Multiculturalism was framed this way, as an answer to the complaints of the 'third force'.

The introduction of this 'solution' was not a direct result of Commission action but had travelled through the deliberations of Cabinet, via several political constituencies along the way. It was felt to be the perfect Liberal solution to the 'nation's' *duality problem* because it could suppress bifurcating bi-national tendencies stemming from Quebec (McRoberts, 1997) in the name of *multi-culture*, itself a Canadian reality. The federal government circumvented Quebecois 'multi-nationalist' demands with this highly symbolic policy initiative. The policy was established under the Government Organization Act. It was therefore not bestowed with official Ministry status and could be shut down by the government of the day without recourse to Parliament. It was introduced in this way, very gingerly, as the ultimate in Liberal canonisation of individual rights, although it came to be interpreted as a policy of collective rights. The effect of the Commission and its favourable report to ethnic

cultural preservation was an encouraging sign for ethnic organisations and spurred them to participate politically and take pride in the policy. The politicians that introduced it were confident that it would have the right effect on the 'right people'⁶⁶. That is, the policy did receive favourable reactions from a large segment of potential 'ethnic' voters.

At the program level, not much changed from the work of the Citizenship Branch initiatives, but it was framed in terms of 'ethnic cultural preservation' rather than the more *assimilationist* 'citizenship'. The small Department was given a three million dollar budget, of which over half was allocated to the already existing folk arts initiatives of Canadian Folk Arts Council and related projects⁶⁷. The effect of the new policy then was to continue existing work of 'ethnic liaison' as well as new funding programs in ethnic research and publications, under a symbolic policy 'unity in diversity'.

Quebecois leaders opposed the plans because it was a way to ignore their constitutional claims, which it did. In 1973 the *Parti Quebecois* had an unimpressive show of support from Quebec voters and its new provincial Liberal government was outrightly federalist. The national unity challenge had been eased for the moment. However, the 1972 election results for the federal Liberals were unimpressive. After all their new policy offerings, the voters were "ungrateful" (Pal, 1993). They lost ground in popular support and they lost a considerable number of seats in Parliament. This led the party to be sharper in terms of vote grabbing for the future and therefore tried to promote Multiculturalism as a partisan policy. Strategists "urged more aggressive use of the policy to garner ethnic support" (Pal,1993:119). With less of an

⁶⁶ Interview with former Senior Programme officer (#.66).

imperative on 'saving the nation' from Quebec and more need to buy Liberal votes, the new 'ethnic' political elites were wooed increasingly by the parties.

The policy of, and indeed 'new era' of, Multiculturalism introduced a whole set of accompanying policies and bodies, including a 'circuit' to undertake its mandate. With the increasing bureaucratisation of the relations between ethnic groups and the state, the bureaucratisation of 'ethnic' representation was sought as well. Yet, what is distinctive about this period and the introduction of this highly touted policy was not necessarily the content of the policy itself, or the Programs it introduced, because these were actually continuations of existing programs. What was new about this period was the realisation of the role of the 'ethnic vote' and its centrality for 'national unity' politics. In this way, 'ethnic' organisations were co-opted from supporting minority politics of the Quebecois. In terms of the more practical government 'ethnic liaison' initiatives, 'ethnic' leadership and representation was desirable for the role it played in *delivering* votes. In return, leaders could expect rewards of participation: status, prestigious appointments and, it was hoped, greater access to political elites for lobbying purposes. This situation represented a new direction in the *nationalisation* of 'ethnic group' representation. Canada's ethno-minorities rights and political participation made Quebecois demands seem unconstitutional, and Canada's national 'multicultural' federalism appear *natural*.

New Imperative for 'Ethnic' Channels of Communication:

Multiculturalism is here to stay. It is here to stay because it is an essential element in the government's determination to promote national unity and protect national identity⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ "Towards a Multicultural Society", S.Haidasz, Multiculturalism Minister of State, October 15, 1973, Ottawa, at the First Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism.

The proof that Minister of State Haidasz gave for this was the expanded budget, from 4 to 10 million for 1973-74, and the fact that the government had appointed a 102 member Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM). He emphasised in his speech that consultation was a permanent feature of Multiculturalism and that the Council would go a long way in achieving its aims. The official forms of 'ethnic consultative bodies' in the Multiculturalism era began in 1973 with the creation of this Consultative Council. It was formed as an advisory body to the Minister of State for Multiculturalism to "serve as an important source of information to the Minister responsible for multiculturalism on opinions in Canada's diverse cultural communities"⁶⁹. The members were chosen "solely on the basis of their achievements and abilities". This 'appointment' criteria was a change from earlier statements when the Council was supposed to be representative of as many ethnic groups and regions in Canada as possible, according to Minister for Multiculturalism⁷⁰.

In making the selection, community stalwarts were overlooked in the overt patronage appointments⁷¹. During the deliberation process on the formation of the Council, the "Meeting of Presidents" wrote to the Secretary of State, objecting that they were not being consulted. The "presidents" represented some of the major NMEUOs existing in Canada at that time: Estonian, Hungarian, German, Latvian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Slovak, Polish, and emerging Italian and Greek organisations⁷².

⁶⁹ Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada", Ottawa, 1978.

⁷⁰ Haidasz, excerpt from Conference "Man the Cultural Entity", Canadian Citizenship Federation Seminar, 1972 [MG28 I374, Vol.4, file:2.]

⁷¹ Interview with former Senior Programme Officer (# 68).

⁷² Letter, N.A. Derzko, Coordinator, to Hon. J.H. Faulkner, April 7, 1973 [RG6 Vol. 19, File:3255-2, pt.1]

They wanted to choose their own representatives, but this plan was denied. Members were appointed by the Minister. According to Freda Hawkins, in a conversation with the Assistant Deputy Minister, consultation was not really the purpose:

What a 100-man council would do, he said, would be to provide the government with 100 channels of communication out to the ethnic communities on government policies and programs, as well as 100 ways of getting feedback. With these objectives, it is not surprising that more than a few dedicated Liberal Party workers-of diverse ethnic origins of course- found themselves members of the new Consultative Council appointed in May 1973 (Hawkins, 1991: 223).

The Council was reduced to a more manageable size in 1983 under Minister David Collenette and was later reorganised into a smaller council. The significant point is that it is an example whereby the government sought to create channels of communication with 'ethnic' communities through either representative or 'important' ethnic *individuals*. The Council held conferences biannually, which gathered opinions and policy suggestions from participants, but it was not a representative sample of 'ethnic' interests nor did it enable the formation of common positions. In the meantime, throughout the 70's, opinion was growing in government that it was necessary to promote the formation of 'ethnic' umbrella representative organisations to serve as bridges to 'ethnic' *communities*. In a Cabinet decision dated Dec 21, 1974, policy was requested to "improve standards of communications between the Federal Government and Canada's multi-cultural communities" because, amongst other things, "there is a need to advise Canada's multicultural communities more completely

of the specific policies that have been established for their encouragement and support.⁷³

ETHNIC POLITICS: NEW PROMINENCE, NEW ACTORS

The first NMEUOs to form in the 'Multiculturalism years' were the *National Congress of Italian Canadians* (NCIC) and the *National Association of Canadians of origin in India* (NACOI). Most typical of the new generation of organisations in the seventies and early 1980s was a highly politicised 'lobby' type of organisation that advocated in relation to 'home politics' while stressing in their Constitutions respect for Canada's multicultural reality. The organisations that would form in the next phase of ethnic-government relations, had very different founding stories but reflected the development of a new batch of 'ethnic' organisations gearing to take advantage of the new 'ethnic circuit' that was developing through government initiatives.

National Congress of Italian Canadians

The establishment of the Congress will be a significant step in the history of the contributions of Italians to Canada's growth and development⁷⁴.

The Italian Canadian associations were always known to be a rather independent, having strong ties to the 'home country' and heavy involvement in its politics. The community was divided yet had an extensive institutional development by the 1970s. They were also politically entrenched in terms of political party

⁷³ "Communications with Multicultural Groups", Cabinet Decision, Dec 21, 1974 [RG6 89-90/319, vol5, file:3250-1 pt.4]

representation (Stasiulis and Abu Laban, 1991). In the past, many felt that they had the political leverage they needed and did not therefore grab the opportunities offered by the Citizenship Branch in terms of organisational development. Numerous attempts were made over the years on behalf of government agencies to assist the Italian community to form a national umbrella group. There were a few false starts.

Memos dating back to the early 1960s express concern over the *Italian problem* and the lack of co-ordinated organisational activity. At one point the Dante Society was given funding for 'expansion purposes'⁷⁵ but was limited by the classic community divisions and '*famiglias*'. The organisations were democratic but not the kind of 'comprehensive' formations that the Branch wanted to see develop. The Federation of Italian Clubs and Associations in Toronto formed in 1969 and was seeking to expand to an Ontario Federation and then to the national level. A liaison officer noted: "It appears to me that this federation is being beset with the usual problems that seem to dog the footsteps of any attempts to form a roof organisation"⁷⁶. These problems included the inter-generational conflicts between the Native born and Canadian born Italians, the political differences and the personal ambitions of various leaders⁷⁷. Nonetheless, in the early 1970s it was becoming all too clear that a new 'ecology of rewards' was emerging for 'ethnic' leaders. As one

⁷⁴ Speech, Hon. S. Haidasz, to the Founding Conference of the National Congress of Italian Canadians, Feb. 23, 1974 [MG28 V39 Vol. File:1]

⁷⁵ Letter, E.G.Costa to S. Zybala, June 23, 1971 [RG6 Vol.8 86, file:9-326.]

⁷⁶ Memo, F.J.Belle to S. Zybala, December 19, 1969, Ottawa [RG6, Vol. 86, file:9-326.]

⁷⁷ In a memo dated Oct. 30, 1964, from Stan Zybala to the Regional Liaison Officer in Sudbury, he writes for example that one of the figures behind the organisation is an Italian consular official and is involved in the travel business and therefore "is anxious to keep Italians from integrating as much as he can". Furthermore, the federation defined itself in terms of social development issues, specifically education issues, but Zybala believed that it would become an Italian lobby instead "with regard to immigration from Italy, appointment of Italian Senators and other matters". [RG6 Vol. 86, file:9-326]

Multiculturalism Program Officer put it, *they understood that they had to be there right at the beginning*⁷⁸.

Some of the 'brokering' for the new Congress occurred during the 1973 Biennial Multiculturalism Conference when many of the key players were present amongst representatives from other NMEUOs. In 1974, the Italian Canadian Congress was officially launched with a conference funded by the Department of Multiculturalism to elect the new executive. It was difficult to represent the various factions among the 800,000 population, such as the business professionals and the leftist leaning groups representing the interest of workers, the community's largest constituency. The 'Italian community in Canada' did not necessarily resolve its internal differences, but as was the case for most of the NMEUOs that formed, nonetheless it set up a Constitution and organisational structure across Canada. The new body joined the Federation of Italian Canadian Associations and Clubs, with other groups across Canada.

Issues that could unite them included defence against mafia stereotypes in the media, and educational development for youth, but many feared that the organisation was primarily being set up as a "lobby group". While this was typically the case with NMEUOs, the term was regarded as negative and self-serving and was criticised as misleading because no one voice could be "distilled and expressed to federal and provincial governments"⁷⁹. With regards to the "lobby accusation":

Charles Caccia, the Liberal MP for Toronto-Davenport, a key figure in the wings of the Liberal grouping and one of the behind the scenes architects of the Congress, sent a letter to delegates hoping that this could be avoided in

⁷⁸ Interview with a former Senior Programme Officer (#68).

⁷⁹ "National Voice for Italo-Canadians, but many wonder what it will say", *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 26, 1974 [MG28 V39, Vol.1., file#:1]

favour of an organization which helps Italo-Canadians identify with Canada while preserving their culture heritage⁸⁰.

In the speech by the Hon. Stanley Haidasz to the founding conference of Italian Canadians, the role played by 'ethnic' organisations in sanctifying Multiculturalism is clear:

National spokesmen for ethno-cultural groups, such as the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Canadian Polish Congress, the Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee have been the backbone to the development of a multicultural policy. These spokesmen have met with much success, articulating the need for a climate propitious to the maintenance of a group's own culture.... I believe your role will be similar to other national organizations as spokesmen for ethno-cultural groups⁸¹.

Furthermore:

A truly nationally representative body for an ethno-cultural community would, it seems to me, make sure that the most remote local organization, wherever in Canada, is given the opportunity to voice its opinion. This as you know, is the basis for any democratic process⁸².

The founding of the Italian Congress was typical of a new generation of organisations that were expected to mobilise the furthest reaches of the community in a common cause of 'national unity' in diversity, in a democratic process of course.

National Association of Canadians of Origin in India"

The last NMEUO to form before major changes would occur in the Multiculturalism Directorate was the *National Association of Canadians of Origin in India* (NACOI). It was typical of the new generation of organisations to come. Like the Italians, the founding conference as well as subsequent conferences, were funded

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Speech, Hon. S.Haidasz to the Founding Conference of the National Congress of Italian Canadians, Feb. 23, 1974, Ottawa (MG28 V39 Vol. 1, file#1]

by the Department of Multiculturalism⁸³. The aims and objectives of the Association, as stated in its Constitution and Annual Reports, include the usual NMEUO principles, namely: the encouragement of members to participate fully in society, to provide a *national voice* for the group, and to seek to protect the rights of group members. Because of the far reaching representational boundaries, with vague issues articulated in common, there were many strains on the Association and eventually, certain constituent members left to form a new organisation which will be discussed in Chapter Six. The seemingly 'racially based' constituency of this particular organisation, although not necessarily politicised as such, led to widespread questioning of its substantive goals. To answer that question, it produced a document *Why NACOI*, in which it answered:

People who have something in common tend to band or join together. Why is it such a surprise if people of Danish, Germanic, Chinese, or India origins do so?... The government of Canada, for understandable reasons, would not want to deal with many organizations, each of which represents different segments of the Indian population of Canada... If there was no Indian organization of importance on the scene, other groups would have the ear of government through their associations. In a democracy, a national Indian organization must be formed if for no other reason than for the existence of other ethnic and cultural organizations⁸⁴.

In this statement, implicit aspects of the nationalisation process are articulated by the organisation itself. It is necessary to become nationally based in order to have access to the emerging 'ethnic' circuit and the political access it is supposed to afford. The organisation also relates its boundaries to those of the national origins of other

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ For example, the 1978 Conference was funded and the Minister was scheduled to speak at the dinner. Letter, S. Scotti to Navin Parekh, Feb. 9, 1978, Ottawa [RG6, Vol. 27, file:3370-1, pt.6]

⁸⁴ Page from general public affairs material found at the national executive office of NACOI in Ottawa.

groups. Despite the vast divergences in identities in the Indian context (as well as the Chinese case used in example) the most salient marker of representation is defined by former 'national boundaries'. NACOI's founding represented an interesting trend of 'ethnic' categorisation in terms of both its 'national belonging' and auto-racialised delineations. It claims or seeks to represent:

All persons, who, by birth, marriage or ancestry, have their origins in India regardless of the country from which they migrated to Canada. Accordingly, ... those, who came to Canada from India as well as from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Tibet, Uganda, South Africa, the West Indies and other parts of the world, whose origins can be traced to India through birth, marriage or ancestry⁸⁵.

CONCLUSION

Whereas the role and rationale of 'ethnic' organising was rather straightforward in the era following from the war, matters changed dramatically in the 1960s. Epochal political events both around the world and in Canada affected the demands groups were making, and the political mediating role they were to play in the future of Canadian politics. The changing conjunctural context affected a new play of 'ethnic' politics in Canada, and its varied expressions and modalities. This Chapter set out, as the other two data chapters attempt to do, to gain some insight into the substance of NMEUOs that formed in this period. It did so by analysing the circumstances and discourses that structured the formative experiences and influenced their meanings in the context of state *nationalisation*.

⁸⁵ "About NACOI", 5th National Conference Report, 1980., Montreal.

In terms of 'ethnic' institutionalisation, the *nationalisation* process intersected with a politics of contributions at the same time as instances of social control in the Aboriginal and Black cases were being orchestrated. Although the threats these 'movements' posed to the 'national status quo' were quantifiably different from the Euro-ethno-immigrant groups, nonetheless they underwent the same processes of organisation rationalisation and *nationalisation* as the latter. This points to a state level articulation of crisis legitimation and 'ethnic' boundary construction. The process was not limited to partisan party influences. In both Conservative and Liberal regimes, the process persisted in the state.

Toward the end of the decade, and then in the beginning of the 1970s, challenges to the state led to new legitimisation strategies. A policy of Multiculturalism was introduced to this end. It led to the intensification of the *nationalisation* of 'ethnic' representative organisations as part of a mediation of the contradictions embedded in the policy of Multiculturalism. The developing 'ethnic' political landscape and 'circuit' was encouraged and utilised to offset Quebecois political pulls. The organisations that formed to represent 'mono- ethnic groups' in Canada justified and made self-evident a policy of Multiculturalism, which was clearly a central strategy of the Liberal government.

The presence and 'problem' of the immigrant and one's 'integration' was used strategically in the national unity campaigns, expressed not in terms of collective rights but rather addressed in terms of folk arts and ethno-cultural *heritage*. For the moment, problems of racism and social inequality were ignored while social development on a community level took place and mobilisation of communities was sought for the mobilisation of votes. In the late 1960s, the NMEUOs were working

together on more occasions and trying to gain government attention. They were not as successful as they would have liked for the moment. For example, the "Meeting of Presidents" opposed the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism's formation criteria. The main reason was because many were afraid they would not be appointed, but furthermore, it is interesting that they were not consulted. While the NMEUOs played an important role in Canadian politics several years later, as yet, only certain ethnic leaders were seen as 'strategically' important (ie. those who could deliver votes). The rewards were: patronage positions, status and access to high levels of government. This led to a new drive for organisation formation and leadership, to take part in the new 'ecology of rewards'.

Groups were organised along 'nation of origin' boundaries of belonging. In an international context of global resurgence of national self-determination, prior nationalities of the ethno-immigrants articulate with racialised significations in the creation of 'ethnicised' categories. Processes of national (or *overseas* 'ethnic) boundary construction are always in relation to another national entity. In a world of 'nations', United Nations, there is no *non-nation*, or *non-national*. Even though there is a world full of people without passports or 'homes', it is not processed by the international discourse and bureaucracy of *nationalised* identities. Everyone has a reducible 'ethnic' or 'racial' self. In the case of those from what is construed as *Arab nations*, the boundaries for organisation are 'Arabness'. For many South Asians in Canada, the limits were constructed around 'Indianness'. The boundaries, constructed as they are based on historical and conjunctural contexts, shift over time, but are always in relation in a binary way, to the articulating significations of the 'national'

social formation of Canada. Categories are constructed *a contrario* to the Canadian 'national' formation.

CHAPTER 6:
THE NATIONALISATION PROCESS OF ETHNIC REPRESENTATION
REACHES FRUITION (1978-1990s):

Right across Canada I have met with ethnocultural communities and they are very concerned about national unity. One thing I'd like to say, because of my close relationship with you, is that if you want a unified Canada, first of all unify yourselves. Within almost every ethnocultural community in Canada, you end up with this group and that group not talking to each other. We want to work together; well we must work together at home first. I know all of you can work together in a unified way within your own unicultural group, and then progress to creative encounters like this evening- a significant meeting of forty ethnocultural communities¹.

- Hon. Norman Cafik (Minister of State for Multiculturalism, 1980)

INTRODUCTION

According to Cafik's speech, national unity requires 'ethnocultural communities' to *unify* themselves. To this end, in 1978, the Department of Multiculturalism intervened in 'ethnic' political life by funding the formation and operational support of national mono-ethnic umbrella organisations. Repeating a similar pattern to that of the Citizenship Branch, the Multiculturalism program was mandated to create NMEUOs as permanent institutions, but this time they were attempting to cover *all* 'ethnic' communities, bestowing on them 'legitimacy' and credibility as spokes-bodies in a systematic and all-encompassing *sweep* of 'ethnic groups' in Canada. This was the year that was described as the fork in the road in the introduction chapter. The path that was followed was the intensification of government intervention in 'ethnic' organisational life. In 1978, the historic initiatives in 'ethnic liaison' reached a climax.

¹ "Federalism, Multicultural Groups and Canadian Unity", by Hon. Norman Cafik at the first Multicultural Conference on National Unity, 1980 [RG6 1989-90/319, vol.7, file 3250.1.2 pt.2].

Jenson and Phillips (1996) were cited in Chapter Two for their analysis of the post-war *citizenship regime*. The social contract that emerged following the war supported the expansion of the state in civil society and enabled the formation of intermediary bodies to represent 'citizens groups' in the political process. On the terrain of 'ethnic' politics, the *citizenship regime* culminated in 1978 with the new policy's systematic attempt to galvanise and institutionalise spokes-bodies from every 'ethnic' community. However, as Jenson and Phillips (1996) also point out, the *regime* changed in the early 1980s, and this affected 'ethnic' political opportunities and the 'liaison' relationship from that date onwards. There was a decisive move away from group funding, and, instead a valorisation of individual rights of participation. Policy foci include 'ethnic' organisations as trade partners, and promotion of better 'race relations' rather than representation for representation's sake. The chapter discusses these two major 'eras', while each section is further divided by sub-themes and discourses that interacted with NMEUO formations. Over twenty organisations formed after 1978, approximately two thirds of all existing organisations of this kind. As with all the data chapters, examples are chosen representing a variety of themes and historical experiences within the larger trajectory of organisation *nationalisation*.

'Ethnic' politics moved to a central position in Canadian public debate, a movement that was accompanied by the development of national representative umbrella organisations at an unprecedented level, epitomised in the formation of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council (CEC) in 1980, the *uber* umbrella of 'ethnic' umbrella groups. It is argued that as a product of state intervention itself, it led to the formations of new NMEUOs as prospective members, by contributing to the construction of a revitalised 'ethnic' *circuit*.

OPERATIONAL SUPPORT FOR NMEUOS

The climax of government 'liaison' programs occurred in the 1978 budget proposals that featured a major budgetary boost: "Multiculturalism to receive \$50 million"². It was the first year in which national ethnocultural organisations received core funding and operational support as a matter of policy. To provide some background, there were six programs of Multiculturalism as part of the 1971 policy: multicultural grants, culture development program, ethnic histories, Canadian ethnic studies, teaching official languages, and programs of the federal agencies³. It was the first one, *multicultural grants*, that was the original program which evolved into the creation and support of national 'ethnic' organisations through sustaining funding in 1973. Originally, it was geared at funding the rental of Multicultural Centres only, but that changed to mono-ethnocultural organisations by the late 1970s. The organisations sharing the centres charged that they were 'assimilationist'⁴, a situation somewhat antithetical to the spirit of Multiculturalism of the time.

The policy was adjusted several times over the next few years, such as in 1976 when heritage language schools funding was introduced by the Minister, John Munro.⁵ Then in 1977, he went to Treasury to get more money in order to expand the program and it was in 1978 that, for the first time, operational grants were made available to ethnic representative organisations in particular. In his letter to the Secretary of State, the Minister explained:

² Press Release, "Multi to receive \$50 million", 21 March 1978, Multiculturalism Directorate [RG6, vol. 5, 89-90/319, file 3250-0, vol.2]

³ Such as the National Museum of Man, National Film Board, National Library, and Public Archives.

⁴ Moreover, there were disputes among organisations sharing the centres (Letter, UCC to N. Cafik, August 10, 1978 [RG6 1989-90/316, vol.38, file:3200-180/7]).

⁵ In an interview with a former Multiculturalism Senior Programme Officer (#62) it was learned that he announced it publicly before it got parliamentary approval and it was passed subsequently after.

While the government is moving to meet the aspirations of ethnocultural minorities, it has also become apparent that there is often insufficient dialogue between the government generally and these groups. To further the acceptance of ethnocultural groups and their members as full partners in Canadian society, and to deepen the awareness of the pluralist nature of Canadian society, it is vitally important that the government of Canada and its agencies increase their support to these objectives at all levels and on a day-to-day basis.... Ministerial offices should make frequent efforts to meet with and explain to ethnocultural groups government policies for which they are responsible⁶.

The emphasis on improving communications was reflected in a new emphasis on creating ethnocultural organisations to channel back information and 'represent' ethnic communities in dialogue. To this end, the Prime Minister's office had requested of the Multicultural Directorate in 1976 that they "put together a list of the twenty largest ethnic groups in Canada" and then make "a list of approximately twenty of the most prominent members of each of these communities"⁷. The effort was co-ordinated across Canada through the regional offices. In this effort to ameliorate communications, a centralised national ethnocultural leadership was sought. The objective to create a leadership and representative network was then undertaken concretely through the new program mandate in 1978.

The Multiculturalism Directorate offered a re-vamped set of 8 programs in 1978:

1. Group Development- Projects Program
2. Group Development- Operational Support Program (OSP)
3. Group Development- Cultural Integration Program
4. Cultural Enrichment Program
5. Intercultural communications Program
6. Performing and Visual Arts Program
7. Writing and Publications Program
8. Canadian Ethnic Studies Program

⁶ Letter, John Munro to John Roberts, Re. the Federal Government and Canadian Ethnocultural Communities, April 5, 1977 [RG6 1989-90/316, vol.30,file:3200-0]

The two main programs devoted to uni-ethnocultural sustaining grants were the first two. The first provided project support for mono-ethnocultural organisations for, in part, “the development of activities that assist the ethno-cultural groups to maintain a positive self-image by strengthening their cultural identity” as well as share their culture with other Canadians, thereby enhancing intercultural relations. The OSP offered sustaining money in the form of “strategic assistance⁸” to the organisations.

Eligible applicants had to:

- a) be a national organization representing a newly emerging group of Canadians
- b) show that the organization is not being created to assume or duplicate the functions of any legitimately existing and effective organization⁹.

The stated purpose of the program was to “encourage and support the emergence and growth of ethno-cultural community organisations through which the concerns and aspirations of these communities may be articulated¹⁰”. Funding toward the new organisations meant the end of funding for others. For example, the human rights and civil liberties organisations suffered from the new focus¹¹.

Thus the focus in 1978 was on both uni-ethnocultural organisations and specifically *newly emerging* groups, ie. new immigrant groups, from non-traditional source countries. The second point specified that only one organisation per ‘ethnic group’ could receive funding and it had to be shown to be representative of the community. The implication was that it would force divided community organisations

⁷ Memo, S. Scotti to Mike Andrassy, re. Ethnocultural lists, Nov. 23, 1976. [RG6 1989-90/319. Vol.24, file:3260-2,pt.1]

⁸ This is defined in a Multiculturalism program outline of OSP, as “where the regular program of the applicant subscribes in whole or in part, to the objectives and priorities of the Multiculturalism Policy and the Program, and thus warrants financial assistance in whole or in part as appropriate”.

⁹ From “General Criteria for Multicultural Assistance Programs”, Minister of State, Multiculturalism, 1978.

¹⁰ Ibid.

to come together in overarching umbrella groups, or for one organisation to vanquish over the other in the 'ethnic' political sphere.

The internal documents of the Department in those years describe why the 'ethnic liaison' division was considered to have a crucial role to play in intervening in the 'ethnic' politicisation process. Some of the reasons are revealed in this 1978 program review '*environmental forecast*':

Two recent studies on Human Relations in the Toronto area were released over the past few months (fall 1977). These studies and the reactions they generated indicate a resurgence or reinforcement of frictions along racial and cultural lines in that major urban centre. The Quebec reality reflects another situation where the search for cultural sovereignty has become magnified into a fullscale nationalist movement threatening the unity of the country. Sporadic reports from other parts of the country, although undocumented (mainly news items, etc) indicate varying degrees of unease involving different cultural groups (Native peoples in Manitoba and New Brunswick; Asiatic peoples in British Columbia)¹².

It was stated that the program "demanded a higher degree of responsibility and accountability on the part of the ethnocultural groups"¹³. Furthermore, these organisations were then expected to "respond" to the challenges outlined, and ethnocultural groups need to be enabled to "enter the discussions" on the debate on national unity "so that their points of view will be heard"¹⁴.

Priorities set for program forecasts for 1979-1980 were organisational development "-particularly smaller emerging groups, to build effective voices for community aspirations and concerns" and inter-group understanding- "support

¹¹ Letter, John Roberts (Minister, S.O.S.) to B.C.Civil Liberties Association: "We no longer provide sustaining grants to establish organizations in the field of human rights and civil liberties" August 1978 [RG6 1989-90/316 vol.38,file:3100-180/10]

¹² SOS "Program Review and Forecast 1979-1980: Phase 2- Program Review, Program: Citizenship and Bilingualism Development, Sub-activity: Multiculturalism and Ethnic Liaison [Rg6 Vol.6, file: 3250-1-1, vol.1, acc:89-90/319].

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

activities which offer solutions to, or attempt to deal with problems of cultural/racial and social adjustment..."¹⁵ The 'Ethnic Liaison' division was described as follows:

Among the personnel in this division are five liaison Officers, who through meaningful and close contact develop specialized knowledge about distinct groupings (Asiatic, Afro-Caribbean, Mediterranean, Nordic, Slavic) of ethno-cultural communities. These officers have a two-fold function. On the one hand they serve as resource persons to the communities (groups), making the groups aware of various government programs and making the benefits of applicable ones available to the groups. Some of the services include: compiling information and sharing it with groups on different types of organizational structures and successful projects and activities organized by others; assistance for the training and development of leadership and the attainment of organizational skills...¹⁶

Among the duties of the 'Liaison Division' officers, who oversaw particular 'ethnic' communities and their progress, was the encouragement of conferences and seminars that discussed 'current issues of concern' to a particular group, as well as the encouragement of the formation of organisations. The 'liaison' officers were to have meaningful contact with specific groups in their area of expertise, serving as resource persons in the development of organisational structure and leadership. The officers are described as responding to 'community need' but in light of the first two points in the 'environmental forecast' regarding societal conflicts (ie. *racial friction* and *threats to national unity*) there was an element of urgency, or 'fear', and political necessity to their initiatives. Not only did Officers respond to organisational 'aspirations' but they took the mandate of encouraging organisational emergence and growth very seriously indeed. Officers set out to encourage the formations of national representative organisations if they did not already exist in a form that met the official criteria. The government's objectives in the field of 'ethnic liaison' were brought to fruition with,

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

for one, the establishment of the first national umbrella organisation, for NMEUOs, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council (CEC).

HISTORY AND FORMATION OF THE CEC

In 1978, Laura Ruzzier, the Senior programme officer of the Multiculturalism Community Support Component, contacted 11 ethnocultural leaders in Canada and asked them to have briefs prepared for the *4th Biennial Multiculturalism Conference* to be held that year. The subject was, "Future Directions for Multiculturalism". Briefs were submitted by numerous organisations, but these individuals were invited to a special meeting in Ruzzier's hotel room. Each was considered to be at the head of the most organisationally sophisticated and legitimately representative ethnocultural organisations¹⁷ (or as one interview subject suggested, someone *did the math*, meaning they represented potential vote-delivering constituencies¹⁸). The participants were representatives from the Japanese, Black, Jewish, Italian, Arab, Polish, India origin, Baltic, Native, and Ukrainian, national councils. The discussion focused on the possibility of forming a national multi-ethnic umbrella coalition. The leaders agreed to pursue such a project and held a full day conference 'of the Presidents' to this end in 1979.

The purpose was to establish the aims and objectives of the new organisation and to achieve some consensus on a common vision for an assembly of such different 'ethnic' representation. In February of 1979, Parekh of the *National Association of Canadians of Origin in India* and Leone of the *Italian Canadian Federation*

¹⁷ Interview with Multiculturalism Senior Programme Officer (#62)

¹⁸ Interview with Multiculturalism Senior Programme Officer (#68)

contacted seven other leaders for a meeting to discuss "avenues for co-operation and communication among national bodies", to be funded entirely by the Multiculturalism Directorate¹⁹. In the minutes of the meeting, (attended by NBCC, CPC, NJCCA, NCIC, NACOI, UCC, CJC, ICF, CAF) the representatives agreed on various issues such as the Constitutional entrenchment of Multiculturalism, the need for more positive ethnic programming on television and in school materials, more minority language programs, liberalisation of immigration policy, among other points. It was also decided at that meeting that:

... all the national ethno-cultural organizations in Canada be informed about this meeting and that they be invited to a future Conference. Those communities which do not have national co-ordinating bodies will, in future, also be asked to send representatives. The committee may entertain delegations from different communities and will have the prerogative of assessing whether an organization will be admitted as a member²⁰.

The founding conference of the Council of National Ethnocultural Organizations of Canada (CNEOC) was held in 1980. The aims and objectives were agreed as follows:

1. To provide a forum for communication among different ethnocultural communities.
2. To disseminate to the Canadian public, governments, elected officials, media and other agencies information on ethnocultural communities and their concerns.
3. To make representation on behalf of the Council, and on request of members of ethnocultural groups, to various levels of government and non-governmental bodies.
4. To secure for ethnocultural communities equality of opportunity, rights and dignity by making representations in respect of:
 - a) greater representation of ethnocultural groups on public bodies, agencies, boards, commissions, advisory committees, etc.

¹⁹ Letter, Leone and Parekh to Gertler, Imai, Radchuk, W. Head, Plaut, M. Shurydi, H. Daniels, Feb 20, 1979 [MG28v159, vol.5, file#10]. It was mentioned in the letter that "the Multiculturalism Directorate of the SOS for Multiculturalism has undertaken to reimburse for travel and accommodation expenses".

²⁰ "Minutes of the First Conference of the Presidents of National Ethno-Cultural Organizations" held in Toronto, Friday 23, 1979 [RG6Vol.24, file#3260-3-1].

- b) media programs involving ethnocultural communities;
 - c) improving the quality of the educational system and the preservation of the heritage language and culture;
 - d) protection of human rights in Canada;
 - e) recognition in the Constitution that Canada is a multicultural nation;
5. To strive for the preservation of a united Canada.

Two years later the Council changed its name to *Canadian Ethnocultural Council* (CEC). It became caught up in a series of consultative commissions and meetings early on and saw its first major success in influencing the inclusion of the Multicultural clause in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Determining Membership:

Aside from agreeing on some common aims which was considerably tricky (and in fact never truly resolved), perhaps even more difficult for such an array of 'ethnic' organisations was deciding on membership criteria. It was determined that membership would be "opened to all democratically constituted national ethnocultural umbrella organisations which: a) represent distinct ethnocultural communities, b) support the aims and objectives of the Council, and c) are admitted by the Board of Presidents. In other words, organisations eligible for joining had to be 'national', 'uni-ethnic', and share the politics of the founding organisations. It was decided early on in the formation that the definition of 'national' would be borrowed from the government's definition:

It is understood that the criteria of the government are number of regions in which an organization has its establishment. Three or more regions is the normally accepted criteria except where a community cannot be found in any significant numbers in more than two regions²¹.

In search of members, the definition was expanded to include an “umbrella organisation comprising of at least two national organisations within a community” and “if the community is based in one region, an organisation which enjoys the support of the majority of the particular community in Canada”. Beyond the fluid definition of “national”, an ambiguous definition for “uni-ethnic” was set as well. The criteria for the uni-ethnic qualification were: “national boundaries, sense of community identity, religion, language group, race, region”²². It ended up that probably the most important aspect of the membership by-laws was: *c) decision of the Board of Presidents*. Often organisations were encouraged to join, or discouraged from joining, based on the politics of those already on the Board of Presidents²³.

Government Intervention and the Role of Funding

The formation of the CEC reflected government influence, not only in its application of membership criteria but in other aspects of its mandate and work . The Constitution stated that “the head office shall be in the national capital region” despite protest from founding members that the majority of members and organisational activity operate in Toronto. The organisation was eager to comply with directives, given that it was dependent on government funding, and established the head office with the help of the Multiculturalism Directorate in Ottawa.

Operational support took place in various forms, such as funding, consultations, and program guidelines. In terms of the consultative role, the first

²¹ CNEOC, Conference Organizing Committee and other members of the board *Recommendations*, Feb 28, 1981 [MG28v159,1,file10]

²² Notes from Membership Committee Meeting, March 12, 1987 [MG28v159, Vol 3,file 10]

²³ The already existing members often were able to prevent those whom they viewed as antagonistic to their own interests from receiving membership, such as the Greek obstacle to the Macedonian organisation, or Indian lobbying against Sikh membership. Competition within ethnic communities presented challenges for the Pakistani and Chinese organisations, for example.

conference sponsored by Multiculturalism after the founding conference in 1980 was run by the *Institute for Non-Profit Organisations* focusing on 'How to establish a national organisation', aimed at potential future members of the CEC²⁴.

The ongoing links between the Department and the organisation were both explicit and implicit. For example, Multiculturalism representatives were present at the board meetings for the first few years as *guests* or *observers*. From the minutes of the meeting, it is evident that a senior Program officer advised on what to write in a funding proposal and then agreed to intervene on their behalf to ensure that they received the money²⁵. This was part of the consultation role in the group development component (as outlined earlier in the section on the 'liaison division').

The CEC was so dependent on government support that members worried that if it lost favour it might be refused funding and as a result would be nonviable. In 1981 there was some question as to whether the organisation would receive future funding because it was acting "too dependent on government", and according to the Minister's Office 'not responsive enough to its constituents'²⁶. In a letter from the Director of Multiculturalism Directorate, Kerry Johnston, to L.Leone, CEC executive member, she writes:

Further to our discussion in Susan Scotti's office on December 11, 1981, in order that a comprehensive plan may be developed to ensure the future viability of the Council of National Ethnocultural Organizations, the Multiculturalism Directorate will initiate the following undertaking... No later than January, a consultant to be hired by the Directorate, will develop a status report of the Council. The report... will determine what strategies for future actions, upon implementation, will assist the Council in its organizational and

²⁴ Discussion Paper on *National Collaboration* prepared for representatives of national ethnocultural organizations in Canada, by the Institute for Non-Profit Organizations (April 24, 1980).

²⁵ Minutes of the Board of Directors meeting, attended by Dr. Leone, N. Parekh, G. Imai, T. Kronbergs, Dr. Gertler, Dr. W. Head, Dr. B. Kayfetz, Mr. K. Mouammar, P.PAvlin, Dr. J. Wong. Observers were Laura Ruzzier and Andriy Bandera [RG6 MG28 V159, Vol. 1, file:#9.]

²⁶ Interview with former staff member of the CEC (#56).

operational viability... It will serve as a determining factor for future commitment and expectation between our organizations²⁷.

The consultant would tell the organisation what it needed to do to receive future funding. At the Ministerial level, they had lost favour but election time was coming up. In 1983, under the new Minister, David Collette, funding was resumed. The CEC would go through more rocky times but this incident showed just how dependent it was on the good favour of the government. Of course, government support of the CEC as an 'umbrella group', was integrally linked to the Department's relationships with the member groups of which it was comprised.

The 1980 official formation of the present-day CEC was followed by either the formation or re-organisation of approximately twenty national uni-ethnic 'representative' organisations. The first CEC Conference Report in 1980 showed the attendance of 31 organisations. Only 20 of these fit the mono-ethnocultural criteria of membership in the umbrella group. Given the parameters of membership, there was pressure to organise or re-organise in line with the criteria. By the 1983 annual report, membership was at 26 organisations, three of them later to drop out (see appendix A for a list of membership changes from 1980-1996). By the annual report of 1995-96, 39 organisations were members of the CEC. It is clear that the formation of the CEC spurred on the formations of national mono-ethnocultural organisations, as intended incumbent members. The organisations suddenly had a network and resources available to them due to the changes of the 1978 policy, and the creation of the CEC as a 'roof organisation'.

'Legitimate Politics':

²⁷ Letter, Kerry Johnston, to L.Leone, Dec. 17, 1981, [RG6 MG28 V159vol.5, file 8].

The CEC is a non-profit non-partisan coalition of national organizations, dedicated to working together for the purpose of furthering the multicultural reality of Canada, thus ensuring the equality of all Canadians in one united Canada²⁸.

Support for national unity was a platform found in organisations that formed in the 1960s and 1970s (as seen in the previous chapter) but possibly even more stridently promoted by all newly forming unicultural organisations during the CEC formation years. This was reflected not only in its Constitution (as quoted above), but in the policies and reports it advocated. One of the ways in which the organisers were able to most effectively support this political position was through ardent support of the maintenance of the policy of Multiculturalism. In this phase of Canadian politics, as described in Chapters 3 and 5, support for Multiculturalism was almost synonymous with support for national unity. A sample of the briefs and research reports written and made available by the CEC show the position of their advocacy. For example, in 1983 it made a brief to the Macdonald Royal Commission on Canada's economic, social and political future. In it, it urged that the federal government establish a Multiculturalism Act, to give the policy a firm basis in law²⁹. In 1984, the CEC submitted a brief to the Minister of Employment and Immigration called Employment Equity: The Time for Government Action is Now³⁰.

This political position was felt to be one of their primary claims to 'legitimacy' and government support, and therefore it was underlined by the CEC leaders in their funding appeals to government offices. The chairs (Leone and Parekh) sent a copy of

²⁸ CEC Constitution and By-Law No. 1, Dated at Ottawa, Ontario, the 4th of June, 1989 (re-typed, 1994).

²⁹ Summary, Brief to the Macdonald Royal Commission, CNEOC [MG28 V159, Vol.1, file:12, CEC]

³⁰ Brief, *Employment Equity: The Time for Government Action is Now*, CEC, 1984 (MG28 V159, Vol. 8, file:1)

the minutes of their first Board meeting to Hon. Norman Cafik saying in the cover letter:

Even though the views of some of the national ethnocultural organizations on the issue of a united Canada may have been brought to your attention, we wish to re-iterate that we are strongly in favour of one Canada, a Canada where all ethnocultural groups can live side by side and prosper³¹.

Orest Krulak (Director, Multiculturalism Program) responded in May of that year, when a copy of the minutes were forwarded to him by the Minister's office. He wrote:

Continued effort by the participants at the meeting and equal effort by Presidents of other national ethnocultural organizations would broaden the base of support for your common concerns and would give additional impact in advocating these concerns³².

KruhlaK encouraged them to grow, expand, create new organisations, solidify representation, and go *uber-national*. Thus, in terms of the national unity aims of the organisation, it is implied that they would be more effective in a *broader base* of support. The interests of the state could be better served if membership of the CEC expands. Of course to become a member, the applying organisation must also participate in these 'legitimate' politics.

Three main criteria reflected conformity to the 'legitimate politics'. First, organisations had to be outspoken supporters of national unity, and its corollary, Multiculturalism. As it was shown in Chapter Three, this was a key federal strategic component in trying to stop Quebec nationalist politics from renting the Confederation. Second, with the focus established on Canadian politics, it had to downplay its ties to the 'home' country and not raise 'outside' issues in the CEC context. Third, the organisation usually emulated the CEC organisational structure,

³¹ Letter, Leone and Parekh to Cafik, March 26, 1979 [RG6 Vol.24, file#3260-3-1]

³² Letter, KruhlaK to Leone and Parekh, May 8, 1979 [RG6 vol.24, file#3260-3-1]

which had to reflect the parameters of 'national representation' as outlined earlier in the section on *determining membership* (ie. they had to be 'ethnic' and 'national' according to the criteria). The adherence to these parameters was evident in the formation of new organisations and especially so in the re-orientation and restructuring of those that were already in existence but now seeking to conform to the CEC 'legitimate' *prototype*.

NEW NMEUOS, 1978-1984: CONFORMING FOR THE 'CIRCUIT'

The organisations that formed in this period reflected significantly different immigration experiences to Canada, grassroots objectives, and political ambitions. However, each in their own way, as they formed and joined the CEC, were attempting to share in some of the perceived power that 'ethnic' groups appeared to be gaining from the late 1970s. The 'power' was derived from the fact that they were being courted and 'consulted', as the 1978 policy prescribed. It was believed that *en bloc* they could effect greater change as an 'ethnic lobby': ie. strength in numbers³³. To participate, it was understood that organisations had to fit the criteria.

Groups as dissimilar as the *Federation of Danish Associations in Canada* (FDAC) which formed in 1981, and the *Armenian National Federation of Canada* (ANFC), formed in 1980, reacted to the development of the new 'ethnic' circuit in a similar way. Both groups had extensive networks of associational life in Canada dating back to the beginning of the century (the Armenians being comparatively more politically involved in 'home' country politics, such as relief efforts), but neither

³³ There was certainly idealism at the time expressed by many of the constituent organisations, as stated in many interviews, and in the CEC reports.

responded to 'internal' community drives to create federations on the particular terms that they did in the early 1980s.

With the creation of the CEC, organisations faced a new *nationalised* 'ethnic' terrain that required forming 'official' federations, according to the criteria, in order to participate, and have a voice. For example, the international, diasporic 'Armenian Revolutionary Federation' had been operating as a federation in Canada since 1902, co-ordinated by the 'Armenian National Committee of Canada'³⁴. However, the new rules specified that in order to be a 'legitimate' voice the organisation must be an *umbrella* officially representing the majority of Armenian associations across Canada. For an organisation such as the ANFC, preoccupied with, for example, issues of remembrance of the Armenian genocide, it was necessary to conform in order to be part of the 'circuit' and ensure participation.

The Danish initiative also grew out of the new imperative for mobilising local associations into a federation for purposes of presence and political access. Danish Canadian advocacy initiatives focused on immigration policy changes having to do with quotas regarding refugees coming through Denmark to Canada³⁵. It does not necessarily mean that some kind of national representative organisation would not have existed anyway (in many cases it already did), but in each case of the organisations that formed during these years, it is clear that an organisation is being developed for the purpose of fitting the criteria of the CEC and the Multiculturalism agency for funding and political 'legitimacy'.

Organisations would renounce certain political affiliations (much like in earlier days of the Cold War) as seen in the case of the *Federation of Korean Canadian*

³⁴ "Armenian National Federation of Canada", document received in response to the questionnaire sent.

Associations (FKCA). In 1978, the national federation was formed as an extension of the network of Korean Canadian Associations in Toronto where there is a large a number of trade and cultural associations. The major influx of Koreans to Canada had been post-Points System immigrants, ie. usually educated and middle class (from South Korea). Many had arrived in Canada as a result of conflicts with the Communist government and were staunchly anti-Communist. They made this known to the Department of Multiculturalism, for example in 1977, when 'Korean government agents' had taken over the purchase of a Korean Canadian community building and community leaders were eager to distance themselves from this action. The leaders wrote to Min. John Roberts that they were appalled by this manoeuvre and that they wanted no connections with the Korean government "in order to develop and enjoy ourselves as democratic citizens in a multicultural society"³⁶. There were originally two Korean organisations attending CEC functions in 1980 but soon after it was narrowed down to the present member organisation. In the rationalisation process of singular umbrella formations, the next example illustrates several of the dynamics discussed and conveys how the immigration experience articulated with the emerging *nationalised* 'ethnic' political circuit.

National Council of Canadian Filipino Associations:

The *National Council of Canadian Filipino Associations* (NCCFA) was actually an incarnation of an organisation that had formed in the early 1970s. The earlier formation was not considered suitable for the new phase of 'ethnic' organising. The history of Filipinos in Canada gives insight into the type of community institutions

³⁵ This was explained to me by a senior Multiculturalism program officer (int. #68).

that had formed in the Canadian context, and how they were then altered in the CEC era.

What was particular to the Filipino community was that their first wave of migration was the post-points system movement of professionals and highly educated people to Canada while the second wave was of less educated employed as garment workers and domestic workers in the 1980s. The era of martial law between 1972 and 1985 and increasing poverty in the Philippines led to a wave of out-migration of professionals and less educated migrant labourers. These immigrants then sponsored family members in later years which was a major source of growth for the community. The other major source of growth was the women entering Canada in the Foreign Domestic Movement. Between 1982 and 1991, more than 30,000 Filipinos entered Canada on these contracts³⁷.

According to the organisation's 'historique', "the establishment of a national body for Filipino Canadians was first envisioned by Azucena Dulay, President of the Filipino Association in Canada, of Toronto. She brought together Filipino community leaders from Vancouver, Montreal, and Winnipeg for the purpose of forming a national organisation. The official founding of the United Council of Filipino Associations in Canada (UCFAC) was in 1963. "Philippine Consul General Francisco Oira played a supportive and important role in UCFAC's organization."³⁸ At the 1965 annual conference, topics of discussion focused on how to improve links in the communities across Canada. The 1971 conference announced that "unity and co-operation among Filipino associations and communities can best be achieved through

³⁶ Letter, Council for Democracy in Korea members to John Roberts, November 14, 1977 [RG6 vol.38, file#3200-180/6,pt.2]

³⁷ "Community Profile" NCCFA document, n.d.

³⁸ Annual Report, NCCFA, 1994.

a cohesive and vigorous national association. The theme of the 1973 conference was "The Filipino Identity in our Evolving Multicultural Society"³⁹.

In the early 1980s a distinctively different organisation developed in the place of the original one. Organisation leaders were interested in developing a representative body that reflected Multiculturalism program guides. In 1983, Dr. Rey Pagtakhan (Conservative M.P.) called community leaders from around Canada to his home in Winnipeg where they discussed the possibility of a new formation. Dr. Pagtakhan, a participant in CEC activities, wanted to have the same incorporated structure for Filipinos in Canada as other groups had⁴⁰. The incorporation under a new name did not happen until 1990, but they were set up in an Ottawa office and funded by Multiculturalism by 1985. A major change that the founders instituted, along CEC and Multiculturalism guidelines, was for the new organisation to cease relations with the Consul General as their official adviser⁴¹. The organisation adopted the typical structure of CEC organisations and included in its mission, 'national unity'.

The example of the NCCFA illustrates several ways in which an already active organisation changed its structure, focus and external relations in tandem with the formation of the CEC and changes in the 'ethnic' circuit from the later 1970s. Two other organisations formed between 1978 and 1984 to replace prior existing mono-ethnocultural representative forms and will be outlined in some detail. The Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC), and the Canadian Hellenic Congress (CHC) each illustrate the interaction of the internal political situation of a given 'ethno-national' group with aspects of government intervention that resulted in newly *nationalised* 'ethnic' categories.

³⁹ "Community Historique" NCCFA document, n.d.

⁴⁰ Interview with NCCFA Board member (#19).

Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC):

The history behind the formation of the CCNC is instructive because it is an example of an 'older' immigrant group in Canada that organised on many occasions especially since the beginning of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1923, yet only incorporated a national mono-ethnocultural representative organisation in 1980. The *Chinese Canadian National Council*, which formed in 1980, was not the first national political mobilisation of Chinese Canadians but it was the first *permanent* national body to represent 'Chinese Canadians' in Canada and to be considered 'legitimate' by the Canadian government in this role.

The first Chinese migrants to stay permanently in Canada came in the 1850's for the Fraser River Gold Rush. The main influx began in the 1880's as migrant labour on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. As discussed in Chapter Three, the early head tax impeded immigration and then the Chinese Exclusion Act blocked it completely until 1947. When the Act was repealed, family reunification made up the main form of Chinese immigration to Canada until the 1960s. At that time, the new Immigration Act enabled for the first time Chinese immigrants to enter Canada based on personal merit and thus a new influx of Chinese entered Canada. They were English-speaking and more educated and professional than their predecessors. During the 1960s, events in Hong Kong created a sizeable class of immigrants wanting to emigrate and many made Canada one of the main destinations.

Looking back on the history of Chinese community life in Canada it seems that political divisions, as well as other institutionalised divisions, explain why a national umbrella organisation did not develop earlier. In fact it was not part of the community's aspirations to promote 'unity' but rather to promulgate these divisions as

⁴¹ Ibid.

cultural tradition prescribed. Yet, despite extreme measures to restrict Chinese family reunification and community development through immigration restrictions, it is remarkable that certain forms of organisational activity had increased between 1923 and 1947. They were mainly educational institutions and theatrical groups, a cultural form of political expression in China (Wickberg, 1980).

The primary associations that represented Chinese Canadians to the Canadian government and society were the trade associations and Chinese Benevolent Associations (CBA's). In delegations, they made trips to Ottawa to lobby against the Head Tax and other discriminatory legislation dating back to 1910. Following the 1908 establishment of Chinese Consuls, the CBA's would work with the consuls but there was no national CBA incorporating local CBA's (Wickberg, 1982:174). Even in lobbying against the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese Canadians did not undertake to form a NMEUO. Wickberg (1982) asked why the Toronto based CBA, which was by far the strongest in the country, did not take the lead and mobilise a national effort in lobbying against the Chinese Exclusion Act instead of forming an *ad hoc* group which only marginally used CBA resources. His answer was:

The usual CBA assignment was to negotiate over *specific instances* of discrimination or relatively short-term issues...In both the 1923 and 1947 cases, however, the task was to influence the Canadian legislative process by changing the views of whites toward Canada's Chinese. Such a task required organisations and leaders who by religion, Canadian professional achievement, facility in English and personal links with white Canadians, were as acceptable and as non-threatening as possible. Whether such people were well rooted in Chinatown associations became a secondary consideration (1982:176).

There was little confidence or government encouragement in the Chinese case to form a national umbrella as there was during that time for the Eastern European organisations. Chinese Canadians were not even afforded full citizenship rights, and therefore were not employed in the nation-building project. The older generations saw

professional associations as the primary avenue toward advancement⁴². Discrimination within the community was not addressed as a problem by these elites. To the new Chinese immigrants that came during the 1960s and 70's, isolationism was not a viable alternative and neither was the political accommodation of the older Chinese generation. The new generation was willing to use the system and, if necessary, challenge it (Wickberg, 1981).

There was a recognised need for a national organisation in later years but the deep generational divides constrained the process until the new generation took the initiative along with the help of the Department of Multiculturalism. For example, in 1975, the *First National Conference of Chinese Canadians* was held, sponsored in part by the Secretary of State and attended by program officers from Manpower and Immigration as well as Secretary of State. They gathered to discuss the Green Paper on Immigration as well as the possibility of forming a national federation. Asking the question *Is there a need for a National Federation of Chinese Canadians?*, speaker, M.P. Art Lee (Vancouver East), said:

If we want to better the welfare of the community, we must first resolve our own differences-however difficult and painful that will be-in order to put forward constructive suggestions on any matter. That is the paramount reason for the need of a federation.⁴³

Although resolutions were made regarding the formation of a national organisation, it did not succeed in galvanising the entire Chinese Canadian *community* and government intervention did not succeed. The leadership at this time was mainly based in Vancouver and was challenged and replaced in government favour by a new organisation based in Toronto in 1980.

⁴² Interview with CCNC board member (int. #66)

⁴³ Ibid. p.6

The story of formation of the CCNC is based on the 'W5 Incident'. It was the broadcast of a television documentary called "Campus Giveaway" which implicitly assumed that Chinese students in Canada were overcrowding universities, taking enrolment opportunities from 'real Canadians'. The producers gave the impression that the Chinese students were overseas students. This portrayal of Chinese Canadian citizens as 'foreigners' enraged Chinese Canadians and led to a campaign to get the CTV to offer a public apology. The campaign was run by student groups and various 'new generation' Chinese professionals and they formed a national committee to undertake the legal battle ahead. It was as a result of the momentum of this politicisation across Canada that a new leadership was consolidated and an infrastructure for a national organisation was developed. Two days after the apology was given, representatives from 16 *ad hoc* committees from around Canada came for a national meeting in Toronto and formed the *Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality* (later renamed as the CCNC).

The first president, Joseph Wong, said the need for the organisation was foremost because "What if there is a W6 or W7?"⁴⁴ The W5 incident was crucial to the politicisation of the Chinese Canadian community but conditions of discrimination such as the Chinese Exclusion Act, for one, had not 'caused' a national federation to form in the past. The crucial difference was the government encouragement and support in the 1980s along with funding and avenues for political participation. At this time there was a well established 'ethnic liaison' infrastructure that was no longer ignoring non-White 'ethnic' groups but actually targeting them, as seen in the Multiculturalism policy changes of 1975 and 1978. Joseph Wong, the founding

⁴⁴ "Anger Fuels Hong Kong Immigrant's Social Activism" by Ken Bur, in *Canadian Link*, July 1990.

President was immediately made a member of the CEC⁴⁵. Chinese Canadian leadership no longer believed, as earlier Chinese generations did, and like the Jews and the Japanese also felt in the 1940s, that effective advocacy could only be done through White Christian organisations. *Nationalisation* is also preferential and the new politics of nation-building were making non-White 'ethnic' groups the new preferred categories.

Hellenic Canadian Congress (HCC)

The next example is the Canadian Hellenic Congress (CHC) that incorporated officially in 1987. They were represented on the CEC in a divided form in the early 1980s (see appendix A), longer than any other group, and could not remain that way according to the membership criteria. Like the CCNC, they eventually overcame the divisions in terms of organisational structure, with the help of the Multiculturalism liaison officers.

Greek communities in Canada began forming associations at the turn of the century but it was not until 1987 that an 'official' national representative organisation was established. Previously, there were associations formed to practice cultural and religious rituals and those formed in support of political causes in the home country. The reason for the late formation of a national congress was therefore not a lack of organisation or 'institutional completeness', but rather a problem of division amongst established organisations and communities:

The Greek community has experienced various conflicts based primarily on divergent political leanings, ethnic regionalism, opposing concepts of the role of the church, competition for power positions within the communities, and a rift between young, recent immigrants and their older predecessors (Chimbos, 1980:99).

⁴⁵ Interview with former Senior Program Officer, Multiculturalism (#62).

It may be argued that this was due to the nature of the Greek Canadian community links to the country of origin in terms of religion and politics. One of the primary characteristics of the Greek community has been the role of the Greek Orthodox Church in community life in Canada. Once a community formed, application was made for a parish church. By 1978, 40 Greek Orthodox churches were operating in Canada, under the official control of the *Archdiocese of North and South America*, based in New York (Chimbos, 1980:73). Typically, each community that formed in Canada elected its own administrative council. Their duties were outlined by the Archdiocese in New York.

The church served to develop philanthropic institutions in the community (ex. Philoptochos Society, Greek Orthodox Youth Association, etc.) as well as religious devoutness and cultural preservation. But the role of the Church in community administration has been a source of division between religious leaders and more recent and highly educated immigrants who promoted the secularisation of civic life (Chimbos, 1980).

It was not only the involvement of the church that was antithetical to inter-organisational co-operation but the political and class rifts apparent in the secular organisations as well. For example, AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) was the largest Greek organisation in Canada prior to the formation of the HCC. It was formed in Atlanta, Georgia in 1922, apparently modelled after the American B'nai Brith. Configured along 'diasporic' lines, AHEPA was unable to capture mass appeal among Canadian Greeks because it was criticised as ideologically conservative and unconcerned with employment opportunities and work conditions of Greek immigrants (Chimbos, 1980). Ethnic regionalism as well as

rife partisan politics in the post-war era in Greece affected community relations in Canada.

The establishment of a national organisation had been discussed since the 1970s. The community associations were strong institutionally but did not perceive themselves to be in a position to integrate. The Ontario Federation of Hellenic associations was the starting place for the next jump to the national sphere. In the early 1980s Lorenzo Laureone, one of the founding Presidents of the CEC, contacted the Greek Community of Metro Toronto to participate in the CEC's first national conference until such time that a new national organisation would be formed⁴⁶. For the first few years, both the Greek Community of Montreal and the Hellenic Community of Metro Toronto represented the Hellenic Canadian community in Canada on the CEC until the Hellenic Canadian Congress replaced it. According to a past President there was a problem of leadership⁴⁷. In 1984 Dr. Julius Metrakos, with the help of the Department of Multiculturalism, began to explore the possibilities and details of establishing a national organisation. A senior programme officer had warned the leadership that only one organisation could represent 'Hellenes' in Canada⁴⁸.

The examples of the Chinese and Hellenic organisation formation cases illustrate the difficulty in attaining *unity* in terms of the Canadian assumptions of 'ethnicity'. The new NMEUOs that were forming had one thing in common, the context of the 'ethnic' circuit. Whether they had been trying to form for decades or whether they were a relatively new community in Canada, they were all drawn toward participating in 'legitimate' politics. As an officer from the Canadian Cypriot Federation answered when asked why the organisation formed in 1984: "Everyone

⁴⁶ Interview with a Board member, HCC (#40)

⁴⁷ Interview with Board member of the HCC (#40).

else was doing it so why shouldn't we?"⁴⁹ Probably one of the most blatant cases of 'copy-cattin' (ie. modelling an organisation after an existing one) was the formation of the *Canadian Hispanic Congress*.

Canadian Hispanic Congress (CHC):

Prior to the formation of the *Canadian Hispanic Congress*, there were organisations of Chileans and Cubans in Canada among other 'non-politically mainstream' groups and they were not typically part of the 'legitimate' *ethnic circuit*. A number of Spanish speaking Canadians with Elvira Sanchez at the head, decided to change this situation and establish an organisation that would be recognised by the government and that would de-politicise the 'nation of origin' significations of certain members and re-politicise an 'ethnic' identification such as 'Hispanic'.

'Hispanic' immigration to Canada is varied but is relatively recent compared to other immigrant groups. During the 1950s a group of immigrants from Spain entered Canada followed by various South American groups (eg. Ecuadoreans, Peruvians, Uruguayans, etc.) who gained landed status, many as domestic workers. In the early 1970s, due to political upheaval in Chile, a large community of Chileans from the political left entered as refugees. In the 1980s various Central American immigrants, such as Salvadoreans, also came for similar reasons. 'Hispanics' are made up of some 'post-point system' business class immigrants, but mainly refugees from South American countries.

The group is then highly heterogeneous in terms of political and class background and thus often the volatility of 'home' politics has served to divide

⁴⁸ Interview with Senior Programme Officer, Multiculturalism (#67)

⁴⁹ Interview with Board member of the CCF (#64).

communities from a given country of origin once in Canada, and between members of different 'nationalities' as well. The formation of the *Canadian Hispanic Congress* in 1982 may be attributed in great part to the work of Elvira Sanchez, the founding President. She was an active member of the Hispanic community for years prior, having initiated a Caravan pavillion in 1973 and, in 1979, a multilingual television show on a Toronto public station. In 1981 she attended the *Multiculturalism Act Proclamation* at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa and saw that 'all the other communities had representative organisations'⁵⁰. Henceforth, she committed herself to having the same for 'Hispanics'⁵¹.

She began the task of forming the Congress, modelling it after other Canadian 'ethnic' congresses in existence. Her efforts were reported in a newspaper article that was read by other influential Spanish-speaking Canadians and leaders across Canada⁵² and she received their co-operation and involvement. Her husband, de Malicki, was an officer (later President) of the *Canadian Polish Congress*, and as a lawyer, helped her to incorporate the organisation. The Hispanic Congress Constitution was modelled directly after that of the *Canadian Polish Congress*. Like the Canadian Arab Federation that represents a 'multi-national' membership, in the Canadian context they are considered by the government as spokes-bodies for their 'ethnic' constituents and managed to pass the CEC's 'mono-ethnic' membership criteria and receive government funding as such.

⁵⁰ Interview with Board member of CHC (#45)

⁵¹ It is unclear what the connection was with the American 'Hispanic' representation but it is of great relevance to note the *Latino Encyclopedia's* definition of the term 'Hispanic': "Refers to people of Latin American ancestry in the U.S. The term dates back to the 1960s when it was created by bureaucrats of the U.S. Congress. The U.S. government used the term as a useful catch-all to include all Spanish-speaking people, enabling politicians to appeal to all Latinos at once. The term ignores the great diversity of cultural backgrounds in the Spanish-speaking population and falsely assumes that these groups have a common identity. The term also implies Spanish ancestry, as its literal

NMEUOS AND THE *RACE RELATIONS PROBLEM*:

By 1978, the 'race relations' policy focus, that had first emerged in the 1960s, also scaled new heights with the 1978 revisions. During this period, the Minister, in accordance with Cabinet concerns, enlarged the focus of Multiculturalism program funding to address the particular needs of the 'new groups' in Canada (ie. those having immigrated from the post Points System *non-traditional source countries*), with the aim of 'enabling their absorption and integration into Canadian society'. This decision to support 'new ethnic groups' included making it a dominant funding priority. Unlike the 1960s when government intervention in 'Black' and 'Indian' organisations was done within an explicit intention of control, the new phase was characterised by anti-discrimination initiatives and the battle for post-Points System votes.

The original move toward a 'race relations' and immigrant *integration* focus came in 1975 when the Minister of Multiculturalism, John Munro, announced to the press, prior to Cabinet approval, that the new focus of Multiculturalism should be not so much on cultural preservation, but on anti-discrimination and toward helping the "real minorities"⁵³, which he determined to be the new immigrants from non-traditional source countries. There was widespread opposition to the new focus from representatives of the 'older' European Canadian groups. Conservative M.P. Stanley Haidasz (Toronto-Parkdale) wrote to him:

Although I am deeply concerned about racial tension and discrimination, I believe that any new initiatives of the federal government in this direction should not be done at the expense of the many worthwhile and popular

meaning is 'pertaining to ancient Spain' and does not account for the indigenous and/or African roots present in many Latino cultures" (c1996, p.759).

⁵² Interview with former Board member of CHC (#2)

⁵³ Transcript, "CBC Identities Program", December 1, 1975 [RG6 Vol. 8, File: 3250-6-1, Vol.1]

multiculturalism programs...Needless to say this is a very important matter, indeed political dynamite, which will damage the Liberal support further, both provincially and federally⁵⁴.

Regardless of the outcry by older 'ethnic' organisations, by the late 1970s this policy direction was officially instituted into the programming. Funding was greatly in favour of *new* immigrant organisations. However, the Secretary of State (John Roberts) had not completely forsaken 'European' groups and was still maintaining 'liaison' with them. He assured Senator Haidasz of this in his letter of 1978 when he informed him that that the Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Norman Cafik, was compiling a data bank of all ethnocultural leaders across Canada⁵⁵. However, that year, Cafik defended the new policy in this letter to two 'European' ethnocultural leaders saying:

I am sure you appreciate that over the past seven years there has been a significant change in the composition of Canadian society. As a result, the number size and character of communities which must now receive attention and have their demands considered in policies and programs, differ significantly from those who influenced the policy in 1971.... as late as 1974 and again in 1977, Cabinet directives have reinforced our mandate in this vital area.⁵⁶

In 1979 changes were made that reflected the pressure from the 'older' ethnocultural group representatives. The OSP and the Group Development-Projects Program were amalgamated into the Group Development Program where sustaining funding was opened to European mono-ethnocultural organisations rather than only visible minority organisations. The objective of the OSP remained to support "the emergence, growth and strengthening of viable ethnocultural organisations through which the interests and concerns of individual groups or communities will be

⁵⁴ Letter, Stanley Haidasz to John Munro, Nov.27, 1975, Ottawa [RG6 Vol. 8, File:3250-6-1, Vol..1]

⁵⁵ Letter John Roberts to S. Haidasz, Aug.11, 1978 [Rg6 1989-90/316, vol. 38,file 3200-0]

⁵⁶ Letter, N. Cafik to Radchuk and Yaremovich, Dec.13, 1978, [Rg6 1989-90/316, vol. 38, file 3200-0]

articulated effectively⁵⁷". In the wave of 'visible minority' organisation formations to form in this new phase, South Asian origin community leaders were embroiled in the challenges of representation, 'legitimacy', and community politics.

Breaking away from NACOI:

The 'breadth of representation of the *National Association of Canadians of Origin in India* (as discussed in Chapter Five) finally became too great to contain by the early 1980s. Divisions within the organisation finally gave way to the creation of another organisation. Since government funding to 'visible minority' organisations was relatively widespread, the Sikh communities were supported in their break-away from NACOI. This particular religious and 'national' community was to be recognised politically as separate from 'Indians' by the Canadian government at the national level. Part of this had to do with the politics of the Canadian government with India at the time and the desire to contain Sikh nationalists and fundamentalists⁵⁸.

In 1983, the *National Federation of Sikh Societies* (NFSS) benefited from Multiculturalism support and held a national conference where the new organisation ratified a Constitution. The next two years were very active for the organisation in that, for one, they succeeded in establishing a Chair of Sikh studies at the University of British Columbia. It is believed by some that the government supported this project in order to appease Sikh voters who were upset with the government for signing the extradition treaty with India⁵⁹. In the meantime the community became very divided over what collective goals to pursue. In an interview with a former board member of the NFSS, he said that Multiculturalism funding was a catch-22 for them. He said that

⁵⁷ From "Criteria for Group Development Program", program outline, Multiculturalism, n.d.

⁵⁸ Interview with former Senior Program Officer, Multiculturalism (#67).

if they didn't take it they would not be considered legitimate, but when they did they were degraded: "We thought we would earn credibility"⁶⁰. The reasons behind the loss of government support of the NFSS are quite complex. They are thought to have to do with partisan political differences with the Conservative government⁶¹, suspected links with radical Sikh separatists and in connection to the bombing of the Air India flight (causing tremendous embarrassment to the Secretary of State)⁶². The organisation remained a member of the CEC until 1990, when a new organisation was being developed and received government support.

In 1990, the Department of Multiculturalism funded a consultation process for the development of a new Sikh organisation called the *National Alliance of Canadian Sikhs* (NACS). After the first phase, it was decided by the Chairs of the Committee to pursue the formation of this national organisation to address the domestic social needs of Sikhs in Canada rather than, as the Federation of Sikh Societies did, focus on 'home politics' mainly. With regards to the shortcomings of the CFSS, the *Report on Phase I* contains the opinion that "Concentrating on whom it spoke to rather than whom it spoke for, the Federation lost credibility both within and outside the Sikh community"⁶³. This time the organisation was going to focus on leadership development and democratic organisational structure, as well as a range of social issues identified by participants, to redress the shortcomings of past organisation initiatives. Like many 'ethnic groups' in Canada, there are substantial divisions within the community that seriously challenged attempts at broad representation.

⁵⁹ Interview with Board member of the NFSS (#49).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² These other two reasons were given by a Senior Program Officer at Multiculturalism (#62).

⁶³ "National Consultation of Canadian Sikhs: Report on Phase I", March 1991, Report of the Consultative Team, project consultant: Joseph Stern, p.11.

NACOI, still operating, experienced more upheaval. A Sikh faction of NACOI attempting to have their interests served more effectively, managed to inflate their membership numbers at the organisation's board elections. Certain Hindu members opposed the prominence of Sikhs on the new board and accused them of "being more concerned with solving problems of India and Punjab than solving problems in our country of adoption"⁶⁴. They left NACOI and started a new organisation called the *National Indo-Canadian Council*, establishing a regional base across Canada. At a government funded conference in 1988, they made the decision to form the new organisation to represent "all Indo-Canadians and Indo-Canadian Associations"⁶⁵. In its information pamphlet the organisation outlines its "New Directions" as social issues, business promotion and Canadian national unity. They spoke the language of legitimacy yet for various reasons their funding was cut. NACOI became again the central 'legitimate' representative voice of Indo-Canadians to the federal government. Like in the cases of the Chinese Canadian National Council and the Hellenic Canadian Congress, unification was not 'inherent' nor was it easily achievable.

Canadian Pakistani Unions:

There were similar competition and challenges in the Pakistani communities. The Pakistani community is mainly a 'post-Points System' community in Canada and is comprised in part of professionals and businessmen, some of whom became involved in Pakistani community organisational development. The community is also not without divisions and conflict between members and leaders. The Federation is the second national umbrella to represent Pakistani Canadians. The original Pakistani

⁶⁴ R.N.Kanungo, "Organising for the Future", in *Indo-Canadian National News*, NICC, Vol. 1, no.1, April 1989.

representative organisation (Federation of Pakistani Canadians) campaigned for its formation in 1978 in tandem with Minister Norman Cafik's new 'group development' program. The organisation received support and funding from Multiculturalism and was treated as a new legitimate spokes-body for the community. Prime Minister Trudeau wished them well on their plans for formation: "You are all to be commended on your efforts to improve race relations and to contribute to national unity"⁶⁶. By 1983, the organisation's membership in the CEC was ended due to "non-payment of membership fees for the year 1982" and for having not heard from the Council "on the nature of their status *vis-a-vis* the Council and the Pakistani Canadian community"⁶⁷.

The National Federation of Pakistani Canadians (NFPC), was formed in 1980 and incorporated in 1982. It became a member of the CEC in May of 1983, when it was decided by the CEC board that the application of the NFPC would be accepted (given that the CEC's mandate permits that it have only one representative organisation per ethnic community in Canada). The NFPC has had their office within the CEC's premises since opening.

The case of the Pakistani organisation, as well as other East Indian organisations that formed during the period, reflect the interaction between state agendas and community politics and the drive to politicise and institutionalise 'racial-national' minority organisations. The organisations were determined to seize the opportunity and make use of the 'legitimacy' being offered by the federal government through the funding programs, yet they were at the same time, like organisations in

⁶⁵ C.I. Petros, "The United Voice of Indo-Canadians from Coast to Coast", statement by the President.

⁶⁶ Letter, P.M. Trudeau to "Those working toward the formation of a Federation of Pakistani Canadians", Ottawa, 1978 [RG 6 Vol. (?) file#3250.1.2pt.3].

other communities, firmly rooted in the concerns and competing agendas of their communities. It shows the effects of *nationalisation* as contradictory process: the homogenisation of inherently variegated social groups and hence the construction of new 'categories' in the Canadian context.

'INTEGRATING' THE *REAL MINORITIES*

The 'racial' minority organisations that were set up in the post-1978 period were targeted and supported by the Multiculturalism Department but also benefited from immigrant *integration* policies via 'settlement' funding. At this service program level, the Department of Multiculturalism and the Department of Immigration, long separated in terms of mandate and programming, coincided in the encouragement of national organisation formation, thus exhibiting another way in which the state supported the *nationalisation* of ethnic representation in Canada. This was not a deliberate or overt co-operation between the two Departments, but rather reflected similar Cabinet directives. The Department of Immigration did not explicitly encourage NMEUO formation but indirectly helped support the development of national organisations within recently arrived refugee based communities, such as the Ethiopians, the Afghans, and the Indo-Chinese.

The Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) was developed in the early 1970s to handle the problems of functional settlement and adaptation. Generally, funding is given to multicultural organisations so that it can reach as wide a

⁶⁷ Minutes, Meeting of the Executive Council (CNEOC), May 21, 1983 [MG28 Vol.1, file#22 (CEC)].

population of immigrants as possible in a given area⁶⁸. However, in Toronto, for example, where population densities of single ethnic groups are so high, it is fiscally feasible to have agencies serving one single immigrant community⁶⁹. It is in these single ethnic community based service organisations that national organisations are indirectly funded. It is indirect because it may not be traceable in the budgets of national organisations. It occurs because the head office of a national organisation is shared with a service provider and hence staff and overhead expenses overlap in the respective budgets. It is potentially a significant factor in understanding the reasons why certain refugee based organisations formed as quickly as they did. Based on the 1997 ISAP funding list⁷⁰, approximately 12 of the national organisations on this study's list have benefited from this funding to mono-ethnocultural service providing agencies serving their communities. Therefore certain national organisations experienced indirect core funding as these national organisations were imbued in the role of 'settling' people from their country of origin.

Afghan and Ethiopian Storefronts:

An example of this double state funding is the *Council of Afghan Associations in Canada* (CAAC). An Ontario Association was formed in the early 1980s to handle the immediate task of settling immigrants and helping in the sponsoring of family members. It was founded in association with the United Church of Canada and funded by Citizenship and Immigration. Monty Pittson, Multiculturalism Program officer contacted the Ontario Association about funding a start-up conference for a national

⁶⁸ "Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP): Handbook for Service Provider Organizations", CIC, 1996.

⁶⁹ Interview with Senior Program Officer, Settlement Division, Ontario Region (#57)

⁷⁰ "Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) – Stream A", for 1997/98, ISAP, Ottawa.

federation⁷¹. The same year they held the conference and the following year held the first AGM to ratify the Constitution. The National Council was formed in 1992. Typically it receives funding from ISAP for its settlement and adaptation work and annual funding from Multiculturalism and Citizenship and Immigration.

The *Ethiopian Canadian Federation* (ECF) was started in 1985 and incorporated in 1987. This is also an example of an organisation that received post-1978 Multiculturalism 'Community Support' funding, and ISAP funding. It represents a largely refugee based community centred in Toronto. The federation evolved from a Toronto Ethiopian student based association that was formed in 1981. The students generally stayed in Canada and were joined in 1984 by the surge in refugee immigration⁷².

Its present office is in Toronto, at the 'store front' immigrant service office funded by CEIC (ISAP). Aside from the national co-ordinating role they play, the concerns of the organisation are clearly geared toward advocacy of community/national issues to External Affairs and Citizenship and Immigration. It is not a member of the CEC, but does participate as a spokes-body for Ethiopians in Canada on other boards. Typical of the *nationalised* discourses of NMEUOs, regarding the Federation's *Aims and Objectives*, the Constitution states:

3. to ensure the active participation of Ethiopians in the advancement of multiculturalism, as responsible citizens and beneficiaries of the multicultural reality of Canada.

Indo-Chinese National Representative Organisations:

⁷¹ Interview with Multiculturalism program officer (#46)

⁷² Interview with staff member of the ECF (#36).

Vietnamese Canadians formed the first national umbrella organisation of the Indo-Chinese immigrants in Canada in 1980. The usual lag time of several decades for a national organisation to form was bypassed with the Indo-Chinese because of government intervention. Referring to the Vietnamese organisation, Indra (1987) argued that it had to form in order to receive government funding, and in turn the funding requirements affected the “formal structure and genesis of Indochinese community organisations” (Indra, 1987:154). Not only was the outcome of organisational form affected but it is argued that the substance of the organisation was affected equally. While there are other Indo-Chinese former nationalities represented in the Canadian population, the three organisations that developed are: the *Canadian Federation of Vietnamese Associations* (CFVA), the *Federation of Lao Associations of Canada* (FLAC) and the *Federation of Cambodian Associations in Canada* (FCAC).

The Indo-Chinese Canadians are widely known as the “boat people”, refugees fleeing Communist dictatorships who arrived by the thousands via sea during the years of 1975-80. A minority of them, such as Cambodians for example, largely came to Canada via a ‘land’ route, such as from refugee camps in South-East Asia via a stop-over in Europe. The Canadian government established a special immigration clause to handle this refugee crisis. First, the Special Vietnamese and Cambodian program in 1975-79, with the fall of the Republic of (South) Vietnam to North Vietnam, and then the Indo-Chinese Refugee Program in 1979-80 (Chan, 1988). Later many more immigrated to Canada to join their families via the Immigration Act’s Family Reunification Program.

Therefore, notable about the history of the constituents is their recentness in Canada and their refugee status: “Almost three quarters (71%) of Indo-Chinese

immigrants living in Canada in 1986 had arrived after 1980, and another 21% had immigrated during the 1976-1980 period" (White, 1990:8). There was only one Canadian refugee processing centre in the vicinity of the 'land people' escaping Laos and Cambodia whereas the Canadian government had set up several which were accessible to those leaving Vietnam. The Vietnamese group is therefore larger and also has more educated and organisationally experienced members in Canada. However they had very little in the way of support networks on arrival. There were only some student associations in existence to help with settlement⁷³.

Like other 'ethno-immigrant' groups, they are divided on several levels and unified representation was not straightforward. For example, the Chinese minority group members from Indochinese countries normally stay separate from their majority Indochinese counterparts and organise separately. The thriving *Association des Chinois du Vietnam du Montreal* does not generally cooperate with the Vietnamese organisations nor other Chinese Indochinese groups, like the *Union des Chinois du Cambodge au Canada*. If anything, there are pulls in the communities to integrate into the larger institutionally better established Chinese associations in Canada but the Chinese community's clan and family associations make that difficult (Chan,1988).

It is also the case that there are traditional divisions between and within these national Indo-Chinese 'ethnic' groupings related to language (*bang*) and regional affiliations. Buchignani writes that community networks are based on traditional hierarchies:

Patterns of association are clearly strongly determined by class, gender, politics, age, family and marriage status, generation, religion, regional identity, subcultural variation, and common flight or camp residence. [see Indra 1987] (Buchignani, 1988:24).

⁷³ Interview with staff member of CFVA (#65)

In terms of community resources, the Vietnamese were ahead because many among their larger population had French and English language skills whereas it was not the case among Laotians and Khmer. But the main point which helps to clarify the speedy erection of national umbrella groups was the intervention of government 'settlement and adaptation programs'. To the Vietnamese community in Toronto, the CEIC and SOS devoted energy toward explaining the procedures and requirements for securing non-profit status (Indra, 1987:162):

First, following Indra (1987b), there can be no doubt that the proliferation of such organisations is not simply the result of the institutionalisation of community need, rather, it is at least in part a response to the ecology of reward and expectations, generated by government and social-welfare agencies. Second, the critical internal determinants of such associational development seem to be the local prevalence of either relatively educated, bicultural, motivated individuals (e.g. many Vietnamese community organisations), or else the support of ex-merchant elite (e.g. Montreal Sino-Vietnamese, see Chan 1988) or both. Communities lacking such individuals (typically Lao, Khmer and some smaller Sino-Vietnamese communities) have had less or slower organisational development (Buchignani, 1988:29).

In 1980 the *Canadian Federation of Vietnamese Associations* (CFVA) was established. Among its stated objectives was "to work for...the enrichment of Canadian culture". In the mid-1990s it received 80% of its funding from government sources⁷⁴. The money funded overhead costs from which they were expected to produce reports of activities, annual reports, publications, workshops, etc. Although it is not clearly stated in the aims, one of the primary roles the organisation plays is refugee related settlement and integration of community members⁷⁵. The formation of the Toronto organisation of the Vietnamese community, "was duly noted by the other Indo-Chinese communities, and its initial successes led to a delayed chain reaction of

⁷⁴ Funding amounts and financial break-downs were provided to me in an interview with a staff member of the VCF (#65).

at least nominal community organizations” such as the Vietnamese Chinese, Khmer, and Laotians (Indra, 1987:162).

In summarising the relatively fast mobilisation of Indo-Chinese communities into *nationalised* formations (compared to the other organisational histories discussed so far), it is necessary to consider the role of state intervention. Doreen Indra (1987) writes:

The governmental and non-governmental “realm of political and organisational expectations” ... impacted on Indochinese populations, defining them as communities, generating spokespersons and other types of middlemen, and guiding the genesis of community organisations (Indra, 1987:148).

FUNDING AND ‘ETHNIC LIAISON IN THE *NEW CITIZENSHIP REGIME*

As was described in Chapter Three, substantial moves were made in de-regulation, privatisation, and the ‘rolling back of the social welfare state’ in Canada in the mid-1980s. The post-war social welfare state was undergoing transformations in the nature of the social contract between citizens and government. In this period a new *citizenship regime* was gradually introduced whereby the notion of ‘rights’ was increasingly shifted toward individual rights and away from (thus “de-politicising”) ‘intermediary’ claims-makers. The 1978 Multiculturalism policy change represented an accumulation of social program strategies and ideologies that reflected Cabinet directives since the late 1960s. However, not long after the key changes to 1978 policy, the major political shifts undergone in the state affected ‘ethnic liaison’ and mobilisation possibilities. For one, Cabinet Directives placed new emphasis on ‘race relations’, as has been shown, and this would increase in a new era of individual rights

⁷⁵ This information was drawn from the organisation pamphlet that discusses their work

defined in terms of non-discrimination rather than 'group rights'. In 1981, 'race relations' had been officially introduced as a priority and, in 1982, a Race Relations Unit was established within the Directorate by Minister Jim Fleming. The new Minister continued to defend the position on the 'new immigrant' emphasis. Government Commissions probed issues of inequality at an unprecedented level. In the early 1980s, organisations, whether developed through the Multiculturalism Directorate or not, experienced self-justifying *raison d'être* through the plethora of consultative committees and commissions introduced by government⁷⁶.

This discourse and shifted program agenda articulated with the conservative emphasis on business ties of 'ethnic' organisations, and group development in terms of 'partnerships' with Canada's mainstream institutions. These new themes eventually negatively affected the 'group development' component of Multiculturalism and led to the end of core funding to mono-ethnocultural national organisations. But the change was gradual.

In 1985, the seven grants program of Multiculturalism, containing specific criteria and objectives, was replaced by three funding objectives, thereby opening up Multiculturalism for a much wider array of grants requests with fewer applicable criteria. The three areas were: Societal Adaptation (which later became 'Institutional Change'), Heritage Enhancement, and Integration. In 1987, the Citizenship and Community Participation Program was announced providing sustaining funding to immigrant serving agencies, as well as immigrant women's and general advocacy

⁷⁶ There was the *National Symposium on Race Relations and the Law* in 1982, *the Equality Now* Report that came out in 1984 as a result of the *Special committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society*, the *Equality For All* Report (1985), the results of the Abella Commission on Employment. Consultation processes such as these went hand and hand with the organisational development component of Multiculturalism because they crave simple representation, 'ethnic voices' and 'interests' that may *legitimately* claim to speak for entire communities.

organisations⁷⁷. While the substance of the programs reflected only a slight move away from mono-ethnocultural support, they were also reflecting various dimensions of the emerging *citizenship regime*. As Jenson and Phillips explained:

Individualization of responsibility for life's hardships, from which Canadians had previously been protected by the economic and social rights of citizenship, was the new model. The discourse on access changed similarly, bringing marketization of representation (1996:119).

This new *citizenship regime* affected support for NMEUOs in that they would no longer be eligible for operational support. Furthermore, the new 'legitimacy' demanded promotion of national unity in terms of marketisation and exploitation of *overseas ties*.

Multiculturalism Means Business:

In 1985 Jack Murta announced: "Multiculturalism in Canada is entering a new phase- a phase in which the bonds which unite Canadians will be celebrated rather than the differences which divide us"⁷⁸. In his speech he outlined his priorities:

The economic facets of Multiculturalism have simply not been well explored up to now. We intend to assert the role which ethno-cultural factors play in business and trade."⁷⁹

⁷⁷ The Multiculturalism policy was introduced by the Liberal government and it was feared that a Conservative government would repeal many of the programs. However, given the importance of the 'ethnic vote', complete abandonment was not likely. As M.P. Andrew Witer said: "The PC government has shown the sincerity of its commitment to multiculturalism in two important ways. First, it has consulted with Canada's ethnocultural communities on Bill c-93 and incorporated their concerns into the legislation. Second, it has given the bill teeth by announcing the specifics of its implementation and significantly increasing the multiculturalism budget" from "Multiculturalism: New Policy Directions and More Funding", Andrew Witer, M.P.(position paper) May 30, 1988 [Mg28v159, vol.5, file#1]

⁷⁸ "Notes for an address by the Honourable Jack Murta, Minister of State for Multiculturalism Parliamentary Committee on Communications and Culture, April 23, 1985 [MG28v159, vol.5,file#1]

⁷⁹Ibid.

The mid 1980s saw the entrance of a new discourse in relation to Multiculturalism: "Multiculturalism Means Business". At the Conference of this name, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney addressed the crowd:

The only way we can realize our goals as individuals and as a nation- is to activate our pluralism in the most positive and mutually beneficial ways possible...Linkages made here this weekend will contribute to our ability, as a nation, to compete abroad. Few countries depend on foreign trade as much as we do. And few countries are better placed than Canada to battle for new international markets⁸⁰.

This discourse and related projects would come to dominate government sponsored initiatives well into the 1990s with a gradual shift away from collective cultural rights to individual equity based rights, 'partnerships' and business development.

The CEC picked up the business theme and focused on it increasingly over the years, among other topics. It held, in 1992, a conference, *Forum on Ethnocultural Communities, Prosperity and the Canadian Economy*. Publications prepared largely by the CEC from that time give an indication of the new focus: Untapped Resources (CEC, 1992), Multiculturalism Means Business: A Directory of Business Contacts (Department of Canadian Heritage, 1993), and Asian Canadians: Canada's Hidden Advantage (Asia Pacific Foundation, 1994).

Many of the CEC organisations were arranging workshops on these themes or developing their international networks. Whereas before, diaspora political ties were discouraged in discussions within the 'ethnic' circuit, now ties related to business were applauded. Several national organisations that formed during this period reflected the new themes of the Department of Multiculturalism. From 1984 to 1993,

⁸⁰ Notes for an address by P.M. Brian Mulroney, to the "Multiculturalism Means Business" Conference, Toronto, April 12, 1986 [MG28V159, vol.5, file#21].

fourteen NMEUOs were established. Most of them were speaking the new language of business development for national unity.

Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations (FCTA):

The *Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations* (FCTA) was formed in 1985. An External Affairs Officer (from the desk of Greece, Turkey, Malta and Cyprus) contacted a Turkish Canadian community leader and asked why Turks in Canada were not contacting him⁸¹. During the 80's, several issues impressed upon Turkish Canadians the need to have a representative voice to address the portrayal of Turks in the media. In 1985 they mobilised around the preparation of a report discussing the "The Armenian Issue", which was sent to members of Parliament. These concerns galvanised the organisation, but so did business development. Prior to the national federation there was an organisation established called the Canadian Council for Turkish Trade by a Vice President of Northern Telecom who came back to Canada after being based in Turkey. The Council was reactivated by the new Turkish Federation. The organisation's three main working groups were: political and media relations (a reflection of its community diaspora concerns), family services (a reflection of community needs and Multiculturalism funding priorities), and the Business Council.

The Federation had a hard time getting membership in the CEC. For one, the Hellenic Congress claimed that the Cypriot association in the Turkish Federation was already represented by the Cypriot organisation on the CEC board. Of course the reasons behind the opposition of Greek and Balkan organisations to Turkish federation membership were more complex than that, but 'home' related political

arguments were not permitted in CEC meetings⁸². For the founding members of the FCTA, the primary reasons for wanting to join the CEC were for *networking* (the Federation had relations with the CJC and some Balkan associations) and to get more *credibility* when dealing with government⁸³.

The National Council of Ghanaian Canadians (NCGC):

The formation of the *National Council of Ghanaian Canadians* was initiated in 1987 and incorporated in 1989. The Ghanaian Canadian community had cultural and social associations across Canada made up of primarily post-Points System Ghanaian immigrants. Certain members of the community were interested in taking advantage of opportunities to form a national council as a representative body, and to be involved in the established 'ethnic circuit'. Schooling and employment issues were the areas most needing to be addressed. Besides the many issues such as racism and the desire for cultural retention that they had in common with many other groups, the group's focus reflected the 'business tone' of the time. From its organisational profile, one of the aims and objectives reads: "Contribute positively towards Canada's economic development and ethnocultural mosaic".

Their second national conference was funded jointly by the Department of Multiculturalism as well as six corporate sponsors; the latter reflected a new development of 'partnering' in the late 1980s Multiculturalism initiatives. The majority of the program was spent on issues of trade and business development. For example, in the morning panel discussions, the High Commissioner of Ghana addressed the participants to discuss investment and business opportunities in Ghana. Next, an

⁸¹ Interview with Board member of the FCTA (#14).

⁸² CEC Constitution.

official from External Affairs Canada spoke about Canada's desire to expand trade with Africa. "He saw the role of ethnic associations such as the NCGC as educating Canadian businesses, acting as a catalyst for change and being involved in the entrepreneurial process itself"⁸⁴. More workshops ensued on 'how to set up a small business', 'achieving and maintaining objectives of community organisations', 'Dealing with Discrimination and Racism' and 'Challenges Facing the Ghanaian Canadian Family'. Social issues were represented in the agenda but often in tandem with economic issues. The timing of the formation of the organisation and its discourse and aims are interactive. As a nationalised association, it mediated state discourses in its agenda of attaining access to political participation.

Afro-Caribbean Organisations:

The Ghanaian organisation did not subsume its interests into a 'Black' organisation because in the new discourse of trade and development, 'nations of origin' were the categories that were revered. Furthermore, the *National Black Coalition of Canada* was by then defunct. Groups were increasingly *nationalised* not only through a process of representational rationalisation and centralisation, but through the signification of 'national origins'. This had always been a general tendency in the *nationalising* state, as it was shown with many of the organisations in the last chapters. However, in the mid to late 1980s, even groups that were racialised previously in the social development program practice, were now *re-nationalised* in terms of representational configurations. With the end of the NBCC, Afro-Caribbeans in Canada became re-aligned in terms of 'Island' origin.

⁸³ Interview with FCTA board member (#14).

In 1984, the NBCC officially closed: "everyone agreed to put it to rest."⁸⁵ That year, the Barbados Ottawa Association (established in 1967) held their annual conference and decided to form a national organisation of Barbadian associations. The Prime Minister of Barbados was in attendance at this government funded conference. Ricardo Gill was the founding president and was *strongly encouraged* by the Department of Multiculturalism to incorporate the national organisation⁸⁶ and hence the *National Council of Barbadian Associations in Canada* (NCBAC) was established in 1984.

It was discussed at the Conference whether a West Indian Federation of Canadian associations could be formed but they had problems determining membership; for example, does one have to be Black to be Afro-Caribbean? Afro-Caribbeans in Canada had tried on a number of occasions to unite Island associations in a West Indian federation based on the unification efforts discussed in the countries of origin. It typically failed because, for one, smaller islands argued that the larger ones always dominate. It was reasoned that before a 'West Indian Federation' could form (like the Baltic Association for example), island umbrella associations would have to be consolidated first. This was part of the motivation of the participants to organise national island associations, separately. The thinking for some was that later, once organised separately, they could work together⁸⁷.

At the time, all three island associations held their conferences the same weekend in 1984⁸⁸, receiving government funding and consultation. It was argued later by certain organisers that the government decision to plan all three conferences

⁸⁴ Minutes of the *National Conference and Workshops of Ghanaian Canadians*, March 4-6, 1988, Ottawa.

⁸⁵ Interview with NBCC board member (#47).

⁸⁶ Interview with board member of NCBAC (#24).

⁸⁷ Telephone interview with board member of NCJSOC (#61).

simultaneously was a method of 'divide and rule'⁸⁹. According to a former program officer, it was simply a mistake and, furthermore, since they were held in close proximity, participants visited each other⁹⁰. The NCBAC was originally operating in Ottawa but then moved to Toronto for economic reasons. It has strong ties with Barbados and it maintains ties with American and English overseas organisations. In Canada they co-operate in a "partnership" with the Ghanaian Canadians, the Trinidadians and Jamaicans, and the Vincentians. It is clear from a review of their activities and concerns that, in the last five years, they have been concerned mainly with business development, education and youth issues. They have held workshops on business issues, how to study for exams, employment equity, youth and literacy, and in 1994 established a business council to promote entrepreneurship in the Black Community. Their 1995 national conference was held in Barbados, called: "Building Bridges Across the Ocean" and among other concerns, many were interested in cultivating business links.

The *National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organisations in Canada* (NCJSOC) had a founding conference funded by the Department of Multiculturalism in the same Afro-Caribbean triumvirate weekend. In the aims and objectives of the organisations, part of its mandate is to aid in the development of local organisations and to co-ordinate their activities. Also, primary among their goals is the promotion of the "integration of Jamaican-Canadians into the Canadian mosaic". Reflecting the influence of the government in shaping NMEUOs, the organisation lauds multiculturalism, self-help, and one of its main activities is 'public relations' with the approximately one thousand farm workers who come to Canada on temporary work

⁸⁸ Interview with Harambee staff member (#9).

⁸⁹ Ibid.

contracts. The Organisation Profile states that they try to make them feel comfortable during their stay here, as “working conditions are extremely undesirable and efforts are being made to rectify this dilemma⁹¹”. Aspects of the organisation structure and mandate clearly reflect the program goals of the Department of Multiculturalism, the ‘legitimate politics’ of the CEC, and arguably, legitimization of racist Canadian immigration policy.

The third Afro-Caribbean organisation that formed and still operates today was the *National Council of Trinidad and Tobago Organisations in Canada* (NCTTOC). It was formed in 1989 out of the Ontario Federation of Trinidad and Tobago Organisations. This was another example of an Ontario based organisation reaching maturity and receiving funding for the national expansion. In an interview with a founding executive member it was said that at the time there were many important issues that needed to be dealt with in the community and it was important to use such an organisation as a medium for informing the community. There was the attempted *coup* in Trinidad, and immigration policy and employment equity issues required concerted attention. Also the effects of the recession on community members was a factor in his motivation for working toward this goal of a national organisation⁹². In 1989, the Executive Director of the CEC, Andrew Cardozo, “helped found”⁹³ the Council by offering advice and consultation on constitution-making, and the necessary steps to be taken for the formation of an official national organisation.

The NCTTOC, as well as the other two Afro-Caribbean Island organisations, was influenced by the new importance placed on ‘visible minority integration’ and the

⁹⁰ Interview with Senior programme officer, Multiculturalism Directorate (#68).

⁹¹ Report, NJSOC, n.d.

role of these representative organisations in consultations on 'race relations' policy. They were also very much like other post-points system organisations and elite (middlemen) associations. Leaders and participants supported 'legitimate' political causes and promoted mainstream social programs of youth and employment based foci, as CEC and Multiculturalism programme guides dictated. They each bear the stamp of government intervention, in organisational structure, aims, and representational configuration.

The Bend in the road:

The year 1988 was key in the history of Canadian Multiculturalism because it was the year that it was entrenched in statute. As an Act it established *clear Ministerial responsibilities for the implementation of the policy across federal institutions* as well as a firm legislative basis for the department's programs⁹⁴. Changes in the policy were introduced. A new program was instituted called the Community Support and Participation program made up of two sub-programs: Community Support (CS) (which replaced the Group Development and Intercultural Communications programs) and Citizenship and Community Participation (CCP). In addition, the *Race Relations and Cross Cultural Understanding* Program was introduced which could now provide sustaining funding to 'race relations' coalitions and initiatives to eliminate racism⁹⁵.

⁹² Interview with board member of NCTTO (#29)

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ The Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act: Annual Report 1988/89, Ottawa.

⁹⁵ Responding to recommendations of the *Equality Now*, *Equality For All*, and the Abella Report, the Directorate stated that it included: "... those initiatives which work towards creating an environment conducive to the full realization of the principles of social justice inherent in multiculturalism. It means working with all elements of Canadian society to bring about a greater appreciation of all

Among the department's many objectives that involved working with various institutions in society to integrate the needs of cultural and 'racial' minorities, it also promised to give "support to community groups to address and become advocates on issues related to racial discrimination e.g. stereotyping, hate propaganda" and "to encourage coalitions involving racial and cultural minority groups and other parties committed to promoting attitudinal and institutional change". In 1989, new money was injected into community participation programs under Minister Gerry Wiener, giving mono-ethnocultural organisations hope that funding would continue (but it was largely withdrawn in the period after they won, despite pre-election promises).

The 'equality rights' focus was exemplified by the formation of a new Japanese NMEUO, the *National Association of Japanese Canadians* (NAJC), which undertook the 1988 Redress Settlement. In negotiation with the government, the committee secured individual financial compensation to victims, a public apology, and the establishment of the Race Relations Foundation. The new Japanese NMEUO was considerably more 'professionalised' than its predecessor.

In this era of 'equality rights' (the post-Charter years), the new focus of support of the Conservatives was toward, on the one hand, grassroots visible minority service oriented organisations, and on the other, elitist business oriented 'ethnic' societies. The 'ethnic' *middlemen* organisations, characterising many of the CEC organisations were being effectively squeezed out of support. The writing had begun to appear on the wall since the mid-1980s with the Neilsen Program Review Task

individuals and cultures that make up this society and a greater acceptance of multiculturalism. The term "race relations" is used in acknowledgement of the particular commitment of the government to ameliorate the situation of visible minority groups in Canada" in *National Strategy on Cross Cultural Development and Race Relations*, n.d. [MG28 V159, vol.3, file:19 (1981-83)]).

Force. It wrote that Multiculturalism should be “facilitating integration, helping overcome barriers to full participation and increasing recognition of the contribution of ethnic groups” (1985: 356). This meant the end of operational support:

The granting programs of the Branch which support voluntary organizations are vulnerable to all the problems that affect all programs of this sort—dependency on core funding with the potential for alienation from their constituency; skewing of the organizations’ activities to meet government criteria; encouraging groups to form just by the very existence of funding and not necessarily because there is a need; and the funding of the more articulate and well organized groups and not necessarily those most needing it⁹⁶.

In 1989 the Multiculturalism program was revised reflecting four funding areas:

1. community support branch: community support (ie. ethnic organizational funding and technical support)
2. citizenship and community participation (ie. integration programs, conferences, etc. to immigrant serving agencies, etc)⁹⁷
3. race relations and cross cultural (funding to police brotherhood, etc.)
4. Heritage culture and languages

The move away from operational support began to be made clear to organisations in the early 1990s. The funding cuts were a result not only of the change in ideological focus (of the new *citizenship regime*) but also of public opposition to their funding because of problems of representation and alleged illicit ‘diaspora’ concerns in some cases. Criticisms were especially levelled at the CEC organisations, but the CEC pointed its finger at the government offices that had created it in the first place.

⁹⁶ *Economic Growth: Culture and Communications: A Study Team Report to the Task Force on Program Review Neilsen Task Force*, August, 1985 (p.370).

⁹⁷ *The Guide for Applicants* (September, 1991) has as its objective, “to promote the full participation in Canadian society, of first generation Canadians (Canadians born elsewhere) facing difficulties related to their experience as immigrants”, and to help them acquire skills necessary for integration, help public services to adapt to them, and promote policy changes which address barriers to participation. The fundable activities include those related to participation, family violence, access to services, seniors, youth, and identifying participation needs”.

The CEC's correspondence with the Minister showed concern in 1990 over the introduction of budget cuts to sustaining funding as well as over the issue of patronage and 'elitist' consultations. In 1990, the new 37 member Canadian Multiculturalism Advisory committee (CMAC) was announced. This replaced the older 70 member council but complaints continued that it was an excuse for patronage appointments, and that it did not reflect the spokespersons of 'legitimate' representative organisations. In a letter to Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Gerry Wiener, Lewis Chan, President of the CEC, complained that the Minister's office was unfair in its consulting practices, ignoring the CEC and meeting with its own contacts of established 'ethnic elites':

There is a growing tendency to consult with persons who have been around a long time and who may not be accountable to clear constituencies, whether single or multi-ethnic. This means that democratically elected representative organizations are being overlooked because democratic organizations by their very structure, result in the constant changing of representatives⁹⁸.

Ironically, the CEC began to complain on several occasions that the Minister's Office was intervening too much in 'ethnic' organisational formation and 'politics'. They presented a brief to the Parliamentary Committee on Bill C-63, a bill to establish a Race Relations Directorate, called, In Favour of an Arm's Length Principle: Depoliticization of the Federal Race Relations Policy. The brief focused on what it deemed a worrisome interference on the part of the Minister's office in 'ethnic' political and organisational affairs. In the parliamentary hearing, Lewis Chan, executive Director of the CEC was asked what he meant in his statements by 'government interference on both a political and personal level'. He answered:

⁹⁸ Letter, Lewis Chan to Hon. Gerry Wiener, "re. Concerns regarding Consultation and Funding of Community Organizations" April 20, 1990 [MG28v159, Vol.2,File#2].

...I was trying to suggest an instance of interference from the minister's office in the setting up of other national groups that are not community generated but strictly from the minister's office. It is our view that often this goes beyond partisan politics. It is not even partisan politics; it is personal politics...(5:12, Bill c-63, 16-10-1990, Hansard)

Nevertheless, the funding cuts were gradual and terminal and represented the end of an era. The last national mono-ethnocultural organisation that was successfully 'inspired' by Multiculturalism officers was the *Portuguese Canadian National Congress* (PCNC) and will be discussed in some detail as an example of an 'older' ethnic group encouraged to organise before the money finally ran out.

Portuguese Canadian National Congress (PCNC)

Considered part of the 'old immigrants' to Canada, this group arrived in its largest wave during the 1950s. They left the homeland largely for economic reasons and were originally 'recruited' through Canada's Immigration policy (Anderson and Higgs, 1976). The immigrants were highly differentiated in terms of social class and regional culture. These cleavages have characterised the community in Canada and deterred the formation of a national organisation over the years. Like other immigrant groups of that generation, class divisions characterise the community and so do regionally defined cleavages between such as, the Continentals, Madeirans and the Azoreans. The community leaders in Canada therefore represent many different interests. There are the prosperous businessmen, the small business owners, professionals (all who yield prestige and thus status as leaders), and the younger generation who opposed the dictatorial politics of the Portuguese government and represent more liberal politics in general (Anderson and Higgs, 1976). Therefore a generation gap adds to the problem as well. The close ties with the consulates

throughout the changing political regimes made political issues necessarily central among the Canadian community, and served to promulgate divisiveness:

Differing viewpoints on social and economic developments inside Portugal, on the rapidity of the decolonization process which brought about the flight of many tens of thousands of settlers, and on the question of Azorean and Madeiran autonomy, heightened the divisions within the community (Anderson et al,1976:173).

The first concerted attempt to form a national federation was in 1969. The initiative failed because of the personal and political conflicts of community associations. According to Anderson et al. (1976:162):

The Portuguese tend to look on the clubs not as a vehicle for political or community organisation, but to provide them with recreation. There is widespread suspicion of any attempts to make the clubs serve broader political or social purposes. Professional people who take offices are accused of seeking more clients. Vague insinuations about corruption are often voiced. As a result, the younger and better educated members of the community have in the past often lost interest in the essentially familial and blue collar focus of even the largest clubs.

The 1993 story of formation is that a Multiculturalism program officer contacted the Portuguese Interagency Network (PIN), a Toronto coalition of organisations, and informed them that since no other Portuguese organisation was willing to form a national congress, they should take the initiative⁹⁹. It was indicated that the funds available for organisational development were being cut over the next few years and, if they did not take this opportunity to form a national organisation soon, they would miss the opportunity for funding for a founding conference, temporary overhead money, and other expenses to be forwarded by the government.

The logistics were carried out through the initiative of the PIN. The organisation conception followed the typical pattern of the Multiculturalism

⁹⁹ Interview with PCNC staff member (#10).

'Community Support' Component. PIN applied for funding for a "Planning and Consultation Session" which would unite various individuals and groups across Canada to discuss the feasibility and goals of a national organisation and the conference to establish it. It was decided that an organisation was needed and an interim steering committee was established to organise the conference.

In an interview with a key organiser¹⁰⁰, the motivations to *nationalise* were based in the belief in the importance of developing communications among Portuguese Canadians across Canada, especially in the isolated areas. Also, it was to compile lists of involved citizens, work to preserve their language and cultural heritage, and form a lobby group to advocate on their behalf nationally. Ana Costa, executive director of PIN, said in her forward to the 1993 Conference Report:

We knew that a good number of other ethnic groups (some smaller than ours) already had national organisations in place for a few years. We knew that the CEC, as well as government officials, frequently asked when we (the Portuguese) were going to establish a national organisation. We also knew that our emancipation at the economic, social and political levels would largely depend on a strong organisation, willing to defend the interests and aspirations of Portuguese Canadians, from BC to Nova Scotia (First Conference Report, PCNC, 1993).

At that same conference, Andrew Cardozo, former executive director of the CEC, told the conference members in a speech: "Everyone else is lobbying their heads off and your issues will get left off the table unless you put them forward." The PCNC was the last of the post-1978 NMEUOs to form. Since then, the budget cuts have ended core group support.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

CONCLUSION

'Ethnic' communities that were long established in the country and had tried several times to form a national association, were finally *re-represented to themselves* in a national form after 1978 when funding and active government liaison initiatives were initiated to encourage this type of organisation formation. A *sweep* of 'ethnic groups' was undertaken through new 'ethnic liaison' initiatives, Multiculturalism's community support and development programs. Its aim was to systematically address and renovate the configuration of ethnic organisational representation into *nationalised* forms for national unity. As Cafik was quoted at the beginning, 'to unify the country', 'ethnic' groups had to unify themselves first. This involved tapping into the farthest reaches of 'ethno-national' communities and mobilising participation across the country.

Aside from the development of new umbrella organisational structures, of which only one per 'ethnic' group could claim to represent the *entire* community, organisations were structured around a particular identity or set of boundaries, usually 'nation-based'. So, the Vietnamese, with the help of government funding, organised separately from the Cambodians and the Laotians, not based on common experience but on former *nationality*. The Greeks organised as 'Hellenes' representing an international stance on the Greek citizenship of Macedonians and Cypriots (which did not stop Macedonians and Cypriots from organising separately). Jamaicans organised separately from Barbadians in the aspiration that one day they would form a federation amongst 'West Indian' organisations, but not of 'Black groups' any longer. These organisations operate as official spokes-bodies of their 'ethnic' categories in the

Canadian state, representing a historically based conjuncture of significations and representation of the racialised, ethnicised, and *nationalised other*.

For many communities, whether they had ever considered such an endeavour or not, the 'ecology of rewards' was too great to resist the government interference. A network of 'ethnic' advocates centralised in the CEC, and a *circuit* of politics, was constructed from which communities (most often their leaders) did not want to be left out. The re-configuration came about through the availability of resources, and the forums for communication and consultation introduced. The 'legitimate' politics of the *circuit* addressed 'national unity', and the organisations were expected to mediate these politics. The domestic politics of the day contracted out the vision of 'national unity' to ethnic organisations because of the role they played in making appear tenable and self explanatory a multicultural model of 'unified' citizenship. In the face of Canada's increasing fragmentation, which was a high stakes political game in the years of the Quebec referenda on separation, 'ethnic' organisations *served* the state.

Toward the 1990s, two new extremes of 'ethnic' politics emerged: the elite level of business and trade 'partners', and the grass-roots level of service organisations. The 'middlemen' organisations that epitomised the formation of the CEC have been slowly receding ever since. The logical difficulties of 'real' representation was felt in most groups but, in general, it was the contradictory position they occupied in relation to 'national unity' politics that was both the source of their creation and the sign of their demise. The organisations were bestowed with a mantle of 'legitimacy' within the *nationalising* state, but when the politics of Multiculturalism faded from the public agenda, the organisations were increasingly left with a gap in substance. The real contradictions they mediated of 'difference in unity' were never really addressed, but the role they played during this period lost

significance as the nation-building project changed focus. The government of the day in the era of a *new citizenship regime* planted its federalist hopes in projects such as Free Trade with America and a re-activated economy through globalised trade. 'Ethnic' associations were invited to partake in these new policy directions, thereby involving elite organisations. The organisational development funding also catered to the opposite end of the scale. Associations representing disadvantaged minorities would be funded. The objective of forming organisations for representation's sake was over.

Organisations are starting to look outside of Canada in diaspora ties, rather than inwardly, now that the system of rewards and expectations created through the funding programs rewards it, unlike during the hey-day of the CEC when it was a *faux pas* to cultivate international ties over 'Canadian' ones. Of course the encouragement of diaspora ties in this new 'business' form serves to *nationalise* organisations in a different way. Now they are linked even more to 'country of origin' and are 'ethnic' in terms of 'active enduring links' rather than in terms of the more abstract perspective once promoted in Multiculturalism of 'ethnic pride', as an essential or inherent quality of the *other Canadians*.

CONCLUSION

It is time to reflect on the nomenclature extended by multiculturalism to the "others" of "Canada". Its discourse is concocted through ruling relations and the practical administration of a supposed reconciliation of "difference"... Unlike a rose which by any other name, would smell as sweet, these names are not names in the sense of classification. They are in their inception and coding official categories. They are identifying devices, like a badge, and they identify those who hold no legitimate or possessive relationship to "Canada". Though these are often identity categories produced by the state, the role played by the state in identity politics remains unnoticed, just as the whiteness in the "self" of "Canada's" state and nationhood remains unnamed (H. Bannerji, 1996:119).

This thesis began by arguing that NMEUOs merit our particular attention. Moreover, as forms of 'ethnic' social organisation reflecting implicit processes of boundary construction, one cannot assume 'what they are' without analysing the circumstances of 'how they came into being'. The explanation was that they are not comparable to local associational forms because once the organisation moves from the locally derived substantive identity to the national level, it enters a constitutively different level of political practice and meaning. The organisation comes to represent not only concrete aspirations of its members, but becomes an advocate of a *vision* of 'the group'. So, the national level is not just a higher or wider level of representation than the regional or local. There is an ideological import to being a 'national' mono-ethnocultural umbrella organisation that has not typically been acknowledged in sociological theory.

It would have been possible to study a few organisations in a case study approach, to analyse what made the organisations different at the national level, from the local level, but that would have limited the research to organisation specific dynamics. Conclusions could not have been drawn about larger processes in which they are a part. It is only in comparing the circumstances of formation for all of these

particular formations that one can view patterns, and analyse the effects of larger processes in the state. By stepping back, getting a 'bird's eye view', and viewing the patterns, the subject of this concluding chapter, it is clear that NMEUOs share something in common. They share a 'liaison' relationship with the government, which began as early as the 1940s, and they are all encoded by Canadian *nationalisation*.

In this final chapter the steps are re-traced to consider how this state based process outlined at the beginning may be said to have affected 'ethnic organising' in Canada. The main ways in which *nationalisation* affected NMEUO formation is discussed. The points raised in Noiriél's work (1991; 1996) in Chapter Two are elaborated as well as the effects of the organisational outcomes on 'ethnic' boundary formation, and what this tells us about the relationship between the state and 'ethnic' boundary construction.

This chapter will also offer a re-examination of existing literature on the subject and the various theories that are offered, as described in Chapter One. Finally, statements will be made concerning the alternative theorisation of this type of 'ethnic' organisation formation, what new information was discovered and suggestions for future research. To begin, the summary addresses issues raised by the timeline of organisation formation (appendix C).

QUALITATIVE SUMMARY OF THE TIMELINE

After considering the evidence regarding the circumstances of the formations of NMEUOs in Canada, only now is it possible to say that NMEUO formations were part of larger processes than circumstances in their own communities. The aggregate

aggregate picture of years of formation from the time line, and evidence of the 'liaison relationship' between the organisations and the state, show that NMEUO formations were not the result of 'ethnic' community based politicisation dynamics alone, but rather were part of a larger process stemming from the *nationalising* state. The first evidence of this process is the fact that associations went from regional or local to national, or from national to 're-nationalised' in terms of organisational structure and representative configuration. This form of 'bridging' of communities across Canada reflects the *nationalisation* process in the Canadian state because of the centralisation of political life at the national level and the exigencies it placed on organisations for political access.

The timeline of organisation formation dates (see appendix C) reveals some 'statistical facts'. It shows that the greatest proportion of NMEUO formations occurred between 1978 and 1993 (28 organisations in total formed within 15 years). Prior to that, 17 organisations formed between 1960 to 1977 (17 years) and 15 organisation formed between 1940 to 1959 (19 years). A closer look at these periods reveals that the most dense periods of formation were in the 1950s and the 1980s.

However, it was made clear in the discussions on Methodology and on theory that the important point was not only to investigate the rate of formation but also to analyse the identities and substance of the organisations forming. *Who* formed *when* was central to the thesis for understanding the proliferation periods. Looking at the timeline then from a qualitative point of view, it is immediately obvious that the type and variety of organisations forming reflected aspects of population demographics (in the *preferential* period of immigration and then in the post-points system' period for example), but also a bias toward particular types of 'ethnic' categories during a given

period. It reflects the articulation of *nationalisation* with processes of racialisation and differentiation in the unequal state.

In the first phase, it is entirely Eastern European organisations that form in the emerging legitimate 'circuit'. The government *recognises* these representatives as 'Canadian citizens' and 'nation-builders' in the era of *national preference*. There were other 'ethnic' groups in Canada at the time, with comparable population sizes as some of the smaller Eastern European groups. The Chinese for example, had a sizeable population and organised on their own accord several coalitions to assert their rights against the Chinese Exclusion Act but had little incentive or support from the government to have a national body, such as that of Eastern European groups. During this period, immediately following the war, Aboriginal organisations were still outlawed and certain immigrant groups were still determined as undesirable for Canadian citizenship, such as those from the Southern Hemisphere, southern Europeans, and Jews. They were therefore not invited to take part in nation-building and public dialogue.

In the 1960's, the new politics of international liberalisation, de-colonisation, and human rights influenced the Canadian state in several ways. For one, White 'ethnic' groups were now considered 'contributors' to Canada rather than as only 'privileged' immigrants. This was related to international influences as well as to the domestic exigencies of accommodating 'difference' in the *nationalising* state, as prompted by Quebecois nationalism. Second, the liberal politics led to a 'social development' approach that targeted the civil rights actors of Black and Aboriginal groups, soliciting their participation, albeit in a relatively controlled form, into 'interest group' politics. These two dynamics contributed to the growth of a 'legitimate' circuit of 'ethnic' actors seeking and gaining political access.

By 1978, new social groups were defined as 'ethnic' according to prior nationality, rather than 'race' or religion. Those from India, Pakistan, or Trinidad, for example, each established their own respective representational bodies. They are no longer simply East Asian or 'Coloureds' or 'Black', as earlier censuses declared. Yet, due to demographics and relative lack of political centrality, the 'Hispanics' and 'Arabs' still group together in order to gain wider access to government. Ethnicisation is then tied not to inherent characteristics of the groups but the structural context of minority-dominant relations. The configurations of 'ethnic' representation in the *nationalising* state are therefore dependent on the articulation between racialisation and ethnicisation in the labour importing state, as described in Chapter Two. The next section analyses the relationship between 'ethnic' organisations and the state and how the role of the state is central to understanding 'ethnic' social organisation. First, the existing theories outlined in Chapter One will be revisited.

RE-EXAMINING THE THEORIES

Chapter One provided short outlines and a critique of existing literature on the subject of 'ethnic' political action and organising in Canada. Four main theoretical approaches were outlined as possible explanandums for the origins of NMEUOs and the reasons for their proliferation at various points in time. It was concluded that none of the approaches offered analyses of this specific type of organisational formation. They did not adequately explain 'what they are' and therefore 'how they came into being'. This was partly because of the general lack of research on this type of 'ethnic' association (Amit-Talai, 1996; Berry and Laponce, 1994). Each of the

four approaches to understanding 'ethnic' politics and mobilisation, as outlined in Chapter One, will be briefly re-considered in light of evidence offered in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Social movement?

In referring to organisations such as NMEUOs, some Canadian writers have identified them as part of a *multicultural movement*. While this does not comprise a strict school of thought, most agree that the events of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* served to galvanise the lobbying efforts of existing ethnic political elites and associations to agitate for Multiculturalism and related policies. Before this central position is examined further, based on the evidence offered in earlier chapters, it will be considered whether they exhibit traits of social movement actors.

It was argued in Chapter One, that 'ethnic' organisations have very separate interests and therefore it is not justifiable to view them as 'unified' as other social movements such as the Ecological movement, or the Women's movement for example. Not every 'movement' by definition is completely unified but there is at least an understanding of a common subjectivity, a unifying *identity*, according to the New Social Movement and Political Process Model theories. In the case of the NMEUOs, there are class and regional divisions that defined the groups, and often inhibited the formation of national umbrella organisations until new circumstances arose that made unification worthwhile, albeit still replete with divisions. It was shown in the case of several communities, such as the Greek, Portuguese, Ukrainians, and Chinese, for example, how they had not come together in NMEUOs at earlier points in time because of the divisions that racked these so called former 'national

communities'. The eventual reason for formation was not 'unity' but the availability of a new 'economy of rewards'.

It was shown in each decade how the availability of opportunity led to the formation of organisations. With the establishment of an 'ethnic liaison' infrastructure, opportunities for consultations and communications led to a new political space of dialogue. The most intense period of political opportunity is identified in the literature as the period of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. According to the Political Process model, social movement activity and politicisation intensifies in periods when the state is weakened. It is possible to perceive the state as *weakened* under the exposure of intense dialogue and attention to the national unity crisis during the 1960's. In that climate, it is interpreted by some that opportunities were opened for the demands of 'ethnic' organisations and hence their mobilisations. However, although the state may be viewed as weakened at this particular moment of time, it does not mean that the organisations that formed did so to exploit that position, or in reaction to it.

For one, a look at the timeline shows that the 1960's was a relatively slow period for organisation formation compared to the 1950s and the 1980s. Second, while there were conjunctural shifts in the state, the 'ethnic' organisations studied in this thesis that were active in that time *mediated* contradictions in the state rather than resisted them. NMEUOs were largely institutionalised as middle class organisations, not radical ones. For example, the Eastern European organisations that represented communities traditionally rooted in Communist histories were dominated by anti-Communists. From the Ukrainians, to the Polish to the Lithuanian organisations, all made reference to aspects of Canadian 'national solidarity' in their Constitutions and presentations. For the *National Black of Coalition of Canada*, surging from roots of

radicalism in Eastern Canada and central Canadian urban centres, the mandate was to preserve the 'multicultural mosaic'.

Understanding the introduction of the policy of Multiculturalism depends on many government strategic considerations of the day. The government ethnic liaison initiatives and folk arts programs in Canada had been going on since the Second World War, albeit in a *quieter* way. The policy and its programs represented a shift in an already existing policy framework, from a more quiet strategic government policy of *social scientific* integration and communications control to a highly public exercise in national unity and 'integration' through the veneration of 'folk arts'. Therefore, the proliferation of organisations after then was not dependent on, or a result of, the policy of Multiculturalism or the politics of the Royal Commission that preceded it. The factors that led to the policy of Multiculturalism and to the government's expanded 'liaison' relationship with 'ethnic' organisations were both tied in a larger scheme to the pervasive 'national unity' agenda. Both were forms of nation-building that occurred simultaneously. One did not cause the other. The 'ethnic' organisations did not originally push for constitutional renewal in the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, or the policy of Multiculturalism that resulted, nor did these events by themselves cause the formation of the organisations. Both trajectories occurred simultaneously in the development of the *nationalising post-war citizenship regime*. The organisations that were active during that time had arisen earlier in relation to different historical circumstances, such as the Cold War, in a Canadianisation process. They had been 'contracted' the national vision and were serving to mediate it during this internal national unity crisis owing to pulls from Quebec.

If not a result of a multicultural movement, because of the evidence of the rather *ad hoc* way in which only some banded together at the time, and the fact that they formed before those conditions arose, could the NMEUOs that participated in the much larger and bureaucratised CEC be considered a social movement? Because of the same criticisms offered earlier, the groups were too unrelated and often oppositional. It is not just the form of a group that denotes a social movement, but its cause. As Wieviorka (1994) pointed out, normally 'ethnic' groups are too diversified to unite in a universal vision. This was the case for the CEC groups. While they did successfully lobby on several occasions and win policy gains (eg. The Multiculturalism clause in the Charter of Rights and Freedom), ultimately they were riven by the very different needs of visible minority Canadians vs. the old European groups, among other divisions. Furthermore, like the earlier organisations, these 'lobbyists' are products of the 'national' project. They have eschewed challenges to the state by and large, and have instead mediated its contradictions. The organisations have co-operated implicitly in the depoliticised forms of dialogue of the modern liberal democratic nation state, supporting for example an individual rights approach to citizenship rather than a radical collective rights approach. Their support for Multiculturalism was as federalist allies, in opposition to Quebec separation demands. They may perhaps be described more accurately as 'interest groups' participating in occasional social movement activity (depending on the definition of a social movement), not necessarily comprising a movement in itself.

As interest groups then?

Theorists of this area proposed that interest groups are often formed by the state for the purpose of improving lines of communications to a group of citizens

representing a certain social or commercial interest. There is a lot of evidence in the chapters that shows that, from the period following the Second World War to the 1978 policy proposal, government offices placed a high priority on opening lines of communication with 'ethnic' groups and hence encouraged organisations to form to enable this process.

This shows that the government treated 'ethnic' organisations as interest groups but it does not mean that theoretically this explanation applies. As discussed in Chapter One, although groups may have had a captive membership, 'ethnic' communities across Canada are far too variegated to have any one interest in common. The actual interests might change, based on the generation or context, but what was believed to be constant was the need to represent usually a 'nationality' defined demographic category. So the group is not based on the interest but on *demography* and its administration in the state. The organisation is designed to be permanent in its role of trying to build consensus and filter community aspirations for broader communications with government and its 'interest' is constructed along the assumed boundaries of the 'group'.

It is not discounted that, on certain levels, group members have common interests in terms of immigration policy and language teaching, as for example, Pal's (1993) research shows. In the case of the NMEUOs, there are cases where the member associations were relatively in agreement around particular topics such as liberalising immigration and refugee policy (as in the case of the Vietnamese, Afghan, and Jewish groups in Canada), or addressing media propaganda (as in the case of the Arab Federation). However, most social groups can claim issues in common and this would normally result in coalition-building. Ascribing an interest group status to 'ethnic' organisations essentialises group membership.

Another problem in using the 'interest group' theoretical model with these organisations is that, from this research, it is clear that NMEUOs were in part created through government influences of consulting and funding, among other 'stimulants'. The role of state intervention does not abrogate their possible status as 'interest groups' or 'reverse pressure groups' but the dimension of intervention must be more fully explained. Furthermore, it is this layered 'total' effect on 'ethnic' category construction that makes the state's implication in 'ethnic' interest groups much more complex than the relationship it has with other forms of interest groups. Unlike other social groups in society, the 'ethnic' *other* has historically mediated the boundaries and contradictions of the 'national state', which is very different from the relationship that say, an ecological movement has with the state. It is perhaps why political scientists have tended to leave the topic of 'ethnic' politicisation for the sociologists of 'ethnic relations' to explain.

Ethnic mobilisation:

The 'ethnic mobilisation' approach was summarised in Chapter One in relation to various theories. They converged on the assumption that 'ethnic' social groups, faced with the challenges of a new society, react to their circumstances by developing institutions for mutual help and group advocacy. Burnet and Palmer (1988) suggested that NMEUOs, among other organisational forms, result from immigrant first-generation organisations. This thesis shows evidence to the contrary of it being an immigrant phenomenon. It would explain for example, the Ukrainian, Jewish, Slovak, and Icelandic NMEUOs among others, but would not explain the lengthy delay of the Chinese, Portuguese, or Greek NMEUO formations. Furthermore, many of the Eastern European organisations had extensive grassroots

beginnings but these were not necessarily the associations that banded together to form the NMEUOs. It was often members of the second and third generations of these highly active communities that took the measures to form an umbrella group in the style of the 'legitimate' model. This was the case for the Hungarian Federation, for example, that formed during the 1950s through the work of the second wave of anti-Communist immigrants to Canada.

Others (Fleras and Elliott, 1992b; Breton, 1991) argued that the formations of advanced representational forms result from groups that were once marginalised but develop institutions over time and form associations as a way of asserting their newly gained position of strength. Therefore, the longer 'the group' is in the country, the more resources it will accumulate and the more institutionally advanced it eventually becomes. Certainly, it is easier to form when more resources are available and this model could apply to the cases of the Hellenic Canadian Congress and Sikh Federation, both of which are organisations that formed after several generations in Canada. The case of the Canadian Jewish Congress is a typical example of an organisation that started off its NMEUO at a very early date but because of the lack of resources and apathy, shut down for a while until a new set of circumstances in the 1930s led to its re-opening. A more resource rich community sustained it while it grew stronger over time. Then there were those that had extensive local representation and community institutions but preferred not to take it to a wider level of representation, such as Italian or Portuguese associations. The 'older' communities of the Southern European countries that formed NMEUOs in the second or third generations, had extensive networks, yet were created to participate in the post-Multiculturalism 'ethnic circuit' and the rewards it offers. As Southern European groups, they did share some of the political concerns of the Eastern European groups

that had formed during the 1940s and 1950s but were not encouraged by the state to politicise until later on.

However the existence of 'institutional completeness' is not necessary for NMEUO formation. Many examples given in this thesis show that the formation of an NMEUO, which is typically thought to be the result of a long period of internal organising, did not depend on the time in the country nor on the institutional development of the community. For example, the Vietnamese 'critical mass' was in the country less than five years when they formed a NMEUO while it took the Chinese over one hundred years to establish a national organisation. Italian Canadians formed an organisation only in 1976 and the Greek Canadians in 1987. They each had extensive networks of local associations from several generations of immigrants but at the national level, the co-ordination did not crystallise until much later. It was clear from their historical 'composites' that the common denominator was the intervention of political elites and government program officers.

State Intervention:

According to this perspective, the organisations were encouraged to form by government offices through various mechanisms such as funding, so that their agendas could be controlled. More broadly, through such mechanisms of control, the state could shape organisations' objectives, encourage certain priorities, discourage forms of radicalism, and co-opt leadership. For many of the organisations, there is evidence of such a process. Writers in this perspective point out how the demands of funding require organisations to deliver certain programs¹. Certainly, in the case of

¹ It was learned in interviews that the demands of funding required the organisations to write extensive reports of their activities, leaving them little time for other things. Specifically, the Hispanic organisation reported this as well as the Cypriot and Cambodian representatives, for example. All organisations were subject to restrictions on for example conference and workshop content if applying

the refugee based organisations (Indochinese, Afghan, Ethiopian, etc.), they play a specific role in helping new arrivals to 'integrate' as they act as a referral service, among other things, and receive funding with the expectation of service provision. All the organisations over the different periods were regarded as central to the 'integration' process as was shown for example in the 1948 Citizenship Branch sponsored conference, to the late 1970s CEIC 'settlement' programs. Furthermore, it was clear during the Cold War that NMEUOs were expected to play a role in influencing the 'democratic' politics of members. Later during the late 1970s and 1980s a new 'legitimate' politics of 'national unity' was 'contracted out' to the NMEUOS in terms of the politics of multiculturalism and the new marketisation of pluralism.

There is evidence of state intervention in the formation of most of the NMEUOs described in this thesis. It occurred in several forms: 1) intervention in internal community affairs and coalition-building such as in the case of the Nationalities Branch interference in most Eastern European communities (hence the 'made in Ottawa' tag); 2) encouragement from high level officials (to Mennonites and Hungarian, Italian and Barbadian delegations, for example) to organise nationally as the best avenue for obtaining greater political access; 3) Active solicitation and promises of funding, which was clear in the government archival material related to the *Canadian Ethnic Press Federation* and almost all of the CEC period organisations. The intervention of program officers in the formation of national 'ethnic' organisations was substantiated from the time of the first *Canadian Citizenship Council* to the *Canadian Ethnic Press Federation*, the *Canadian Folk*

for funding. They had to cover the topics advocated by the government if they wanted the money. For example, the Ethiopian organisation complained that they were not able to have a workshop on what they wanted (community health concerns) but rather had to shape their workshop, one of the rare

Arts Council and the *Canadian Ethnocultural Council*. The greatest evidence of direct government intervention was the pressure on organisation representatives who were repeatedly told that if they wanted to be 'heard' by the government, they must form a unified front.

However, as was suggested in Chapter Two when social control theory was first discussed, it is insufficient to assume in considering state intervention that the creation of these organisations was a result of social control alone. There are many possible dynamics occurring regarding 'ethnic' processes of organising and a substantial amount of independent action that was potentially contrary to government agendas. Furthermore, it was not clear why the state would encourage the formation of national organisations, and the consolidation of interests, with the possible indirect effect of potentially empowering groups. The side effects could have backfired. Would not a practice of 'divide and conquer' have worked better? For example, Native groups used government funded conferences for their own purposes to help them meet across Canada and decide on their own agenda.

Yet in most cases, the creation of national 'ethnic' organisations did have the effect of influencing community agendas. The newly accrued legitimate status is a heavy currency in the economy of political rewards in the modern democratic nation state, and served to both regulate potentially troublesome communities and rationalise overall interests to some extent, in a 'legitimate' model with 'legitimate' goals. This was clearly the case with the Eastern European organisations that formed during and following the Second World War. It was also true of the *National Black Coalition of Canada*, and the later organisations that promoted business development as a priority, such as the Turkish, Ghanaian and Korean organisations, in a reflection

opportunities they get to gather group members in discussion, around Department demands. The topic in this case was domestic abuse.

of government policy priorities. The Filipino leaders were seen to expressly distance themselves from consular ties in efforts to re-craft a national representative organisation.

The role played by national organisations in a non-radical, 'legitimate' politics is also clear when it is considered that the national umbrellas very often organised and mobilised previously disaggregated communities under partisan support. NMEUO formation provided access into communities for 'ethnic votes'. So in going back to the question, would not a policy of 'divide and conquer' have served the state better? The answer from the evidence in this thesis is negative. Judging from the amount of Liberal and Conservative Party supporters, 'ethnic' groups were mobilised to vote and think 'middle class' and in line with policy objectives of nation-building. The organisations were mobilised by 'self-controlling' partisan interests, not necessarily representative of the entire community, and assigned with legitimate representational status for that very reason.

ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE CENTRALITY OF THE 'NATIONAL' STATE

Three main theoretical points were outlined as crucial to the explanatory framework of NMEUO formations. The first was that these organisations are not products of 'ethnic groups', rather they are based on socially constructed 'ethnic' categories, which always exist in articulation with other processes of signification in relations of inequality. The second point was that this complicated process of 'ethnicisation' is based in the state and is overdetermined by the state's contradictions. The third point was that one of the most significant state processes with which ethnicisation articulates is *nationalisation*. It is a relatively understudied

process in the Canadian case and merits closer attention because of the way in which it shapes 'ethnic' configurations of representation and politics. These three points are interrelated and are integral parts in explaining the complex relationship between 'ethnic' organisations at the national level and the state. The next sections will analyse the various ways in which this thesis demonstrated the role of the *nationalising* state in the creation of NMEUOs in Canada. It has been argued so far that the very centralisation of the organisations at the national level reflected Canadian *nationalisation* and the seeping of the national project into civil society as Noiriél put it (1996). This next section will discuss how NMEUOs mediated the national unity project not only in form, but in content.

Citizenship regimes and nation-building:

There are many ways in which the state effects 'ethnic' categories in its administration of 'difference'. In immigration policy, there are forms to be filled out, boxes to be ticked, and programs related to settlement needs on an 'ethnic' specific basis. There are international diplomatic ties that affect how many of a certain group may enter the nation state at a given time, and what location of production they will subsequently occupy. Then there are programs that target 'ethnic' representatives and their organisations as 'intermediary institutions' in the state. An omni-present relationship between 'ethnic' organisational representatives and government agents was first introduced during the Second World War and then gradually institutionalised with the development of the social welfare state in the era of reconstruction. This latter government initiative in Canada was concentrated in the Nationalities and Citizenship Branches, and then the Department of Multiculturalism, and was a reflection of the social contract evolving in the post-war *citizenship*

regime. A 'liaison' infrastructure for ethnic organisational politics was established. It was shown in the data chapters how this 'liaison' trajectory was overdetermined by specific discourses and conjunctural relations, characterised by the given *citizenship regime* and historically specific exigencies of 'nation-building'.

Chapter Three contained an overview of the broader ways in which the national 'pervaded the social', as Noiriel (1996) put it, as a substantive backdrop to the relationship between the state and 'ethnic' organising. It was shown how Canadian state development underwent a *nationalisation* trajectory much like, and often in relation to, European counterparts, which articulated with exclusive 'peopling' policies, hierarchical labour recruitment, economic nationalism, and federal political unity. Although Canada has not typically been analysed in terms of a *nationalisation* process, the government's well known 'National Policies', illustrated the point that the country was being defined in 'national' terms from the beginning and that these policies were aimed at institutionalising these norms in the education system, the arts, citizenship and immigration.

It was shown how the project of building the new 'Canadian nationality' was fraught with discourses of White superiority and exclusivity stemming from its prior colonial regime. 'Ethnic liaison', or the relationship between 'ethnic' groups and the state consisted of select labour recruitment, deportations and marginalisation of the *nonpreferred* migrants. Ethnocultural minority groups, as racialised and ethnicised groups, had little political clout and were subject to systemic and overt discrimination. Furthermore, the period was characterised by a regionalised *citizenship regime* as opposed to the later emphasis on nation-wide institutions. There were a few NMEUO organisations existing in the country in this earlier period such as the *Canadian Jewish Congress*, the *Icelandic National League* and the *Federation*

of *Russian Canadians*, for example. These organisations were quite different in structure and mandate but they had something in common. They were each galvanised partly by the desire to organise internally for community support and partly to mobilise themselves for external 'diasporic' causes. There were few political opportunities for mobilisation such as the 'consultations' and funding support that became available only later on. Prior to the introduction of the 'ethnic liaison' infrastructure, there was very little emphasis placed on ongoing relationships with 'ethnic' representatives on the part of the government. In that time, government perspectives of 'ethnic' groups were not open to dialogue, but rather to restriction.

The original impetus toward 'ethnic liaison' arose in the circumstances of Canada's involvement as a Commonwealth member in WWII. Canadian government officials felt that its institutions did not have access or adequate communications with the voluntary sector in general and sought to mobilise citizens in support of the war effort. In this conjuncture, the desire to mobilise the voluntary sector was merged with a desire to control potential 'insurgents'. 'Enemies within' were identified in certain European immigrant groups as they had been in WWI, interned and monitored as potential 'dangerous foreigners', as Avery put it (1979). Furthermore, it was felt by several key Cabinet Ministers of the time that an organised (and less ornery) approach to ethnocultural minorities in Canada would encourage their allegiance and participation in the war effort, leading to quicker 'integration' and potentially, internal control of community members that were not in line with Canada's wartime position. The focus was on White European 'foreigners', not 'visible minority' immigrant communities such as, the Chinese for example, who were still excluded from entry into the country and access to equal citizenship, incorporated as they were as migrant labourers. Government documents show a

discursive theme of promoting ethnic organising for *citizenship education* in the aim of building *national solidarity*. Hence the birth of the Nationalities Branch and an implicit understanding on the part of government officials that opening up communications with these particular 'ethnic' representatives would yield far greater results in terms of control and co-operation than the standard relationship of open contempt and suspicion.

It was in this context that the Ukrainian Canadian Congress was originally formed as well as the Polish Canadian Congress. These *made in Ottawa* organisations established in the 1940s were the first few to co-operate in what would become a systemic form of government-ethnic relations at the national level. This was a new phase in the history of Canadian ethnic-government relations, summarised by the imperative of 'personal contact', as George Simpson noted in the introductory quote to Chapter Four. State intervention and implication in 'ethnicisation' led to the institutionalisation of these categories within the state through the practice of encouraging 'group' representation at the national level.

The 1950s boom in 'ethnic' NMEUO formation was distinctive and would be unmatched until the 1980s. All of the organisations that were deemed 'legitimate' were involved in an official 'ethnic circuit' of Eastern European organisations, all anti-Communist in mandate. They worked together in larger umbrella organisations in opposition to *anti-democratic* forces in Canadian society. This boom was remarkable in the way that it was clearly overdetermined by Cold War considerations and a new outlook on the role 'ethnic' representatives could play in national politics. There is clear evidence that the government supported the formation of NMEUOs run by anti-Communist members and conversely made life difficult for those organisations representing Communist interests. Those with communist interest were

not consulted by the government or considered to be truly representative whereas the non-communist ones were treated as 'legitimate'.

The 1960's conjuncture of state development and nation-building politics was characterised by new discourses such as the importance of folk arts and human rights considerations. The human rights considerations were typical of the era of civil rights protest movements and de-colonisation movements around the world. These forms of liberalisation were having wider implementation during this period of international regime reorientation. The folk arts focus served to recognise minority cultures within dominant societies. It benignly served to acknowledge minority cultural rights without leading to 'excessive' shifts in state power. These concerns and foci were promoted in a context of 'social engineering': the belief of government offices in 'social scientific' programs of education and *integration* into the nation.

While there were immigrants coming from a more diverse array of countries after the changes to the Immigration Points System, these new categories were ignored at the national level in most cases for the time being. There were however groups organising at the national level at that time that did not represent the typical Eastern European background. The formation of the Arab Federation does not seem to be typical of any particular boom but is evidently part of a larger political imperative that developed for 'ethnic' leaders in Canada by that time. It was clear from the organisation's primary documents and interview material that 'ethnic' organisers were cognisant that an organisation had to be 'national' in order to be officially recognised. While this realisation may have been made earlier too, there was perhaps a new boldness in the 1960's which may be explained partly by influences of the civil rights protests. The Arab leaders felt that it was time that they were given the political space to express their agenda. They formed in response to the

fact that the *Canadian Jewish Congress* had managed to carve what they perceived as an influential niche and they had to counter it. They had to organise nationally in order to be *heard*. The larger political and sociological picture in Canada is referenced in order to explain what made mobilisations practicable or desirable at that time which is seen to be rooted in discourses and practices of nation-building.

This phase of sporadic NMEUO formation revealed what seems to be the efforts of growing marginalised 'ethnic' populations who want to share in the 'fruits' of the *ethnic circuit* and the infrastructure that caters to it. However, despite the extent or limits of direct influences of government agents at a given time, it is a powerful effect of *nationalisation* that 'ethnic' representatives knew that in order to be heard, it was necessary to join the NMEUO circuit. Furthermore, there were political opportunities more in evidence in the years of the folk arts promotion and 'ethnic' *contributions*: 'ethnic' groups seemed to be valued through the valorisation of folk arts, leading to a more confident 'coming out' for various minority communities in Canada, such as the Mennonites and the Finns. The situation was different however for racialised minority groups from non-traditional source countries.

Two other non-Eastern European groups organised at the national level during the 1960's. There was intense attention paid to them by the government in the offices of the Citizenship Branch and even the RCMP. They were perceived to pose a potential threat to the status quo of 'national' life. They were the 'Black' groups and the Native peoples associations, viewed as potentially threatening civil rights protesters, through their increasingly vocal opposition to government neglect and marginalisation of their groups. These considerations interacted with international influences in social development and human rights which, intersected with the

government programs devoted to appeasing and controlling these social forces in the policy frameworks that dominated at the time. By the late 1960's, the liberalisations in immigration and 'peopling' policies expanded, breaking down official discriminatory barriers of citizenship. The conjuncture of the time was such that Communism was a lesser threat in Canada by then, and growing international trade concerns and Canada's assumed international obligations underlined the nation-building project of state development.

After the demographic changes began to show in Canada's population as a result of the Immigration Policy's "Points System", there was a realisation that the increasing 'ethnic vote', or non-White vote, was crucial for electoral success, and this led to increased interest in 'ethnic liaison' and expansion of the existing infrastructure. In particular the policy of Multiculturalism institutionalised 'ethnic claims' for cultural preservation and a basic principle of non-discrimination. During the period leading up to the introduction of the policy and during the campaigns for national unity to counter Quebec separatist tendencies, the *nationalised* 'ethnic representatives' 'circuit' was mobilised in favour of national unity. During the 1970s, the *National Association of Canadians of Origin in India* and the *National Congress of Italian Canadians*, for example, formed in these years to participate in the new circumstances of political access. Problems of representation and consensus plagued both organisations but nonetheless they were courted by the government for the role they played in delivering the national unity agenda to their communities. They, along with others in the 'circuit', tacitly supported the federal politics of individual rights rather than the politics of collective rights advocated by Quebec politicians. Again, like the 1950s, there was a co-operative relationship between the national government and the 'ethnic circuit'. In the 1950s it was about countering

Communism. In the 1960's and 1970s it was about countering Quebec separatism. The policy aims of 'integration' were always overtly tied to the logic of nation-building concerns of the Canadian government.

Thus far, Multiculturalism and its proponents were largely White 'ethnic' Canadians. The growing population of non-White immigrants was still not part of the *nationalised* state infrastructure of 'ethnic liaison'. Aside from the Canadian Arab Federation that formed in 1967, the Council of Muslim Canadians that formed in 1973, NACOI formed as late as 1976. The silence of 'visible minority' organisations in this scene would not remain the case for long. Toward the late 1970s, ethno-immigrant groups from *non-traditional* source countries were targeted specifically for organisational development by 'ethnic liaison' officers and, in effect, by Cabinet decree. Their demands had been ignored prior to that time, with the exception of the attempted marginalisation of Native protest movements and the appeasement of the Black Coalition. As it was shown in the report of W.H. Agnew, Director of Materials and Research Division, 1966, quoted at the opening of Chapter Five, 'ethnic' was still considered to be 'White European', meaning, non-Whites did not exist in the terrain of government administration of 'liaison'. Non-White immigrants occupied the administrative language of labour recruitment and refugee processing, but not nation-building.

From the mid 1970s, the old *non-preferred* immigrant groups were encouraged to mobilise and share in the fruits of status and patronage as the White 'European' representatives did. This represented a major shift in the politics of citizenship. This time, the non-White middle class groups were participating in the 'circuit' as 'nationbuilders'. While non-White 'ethnic' communities were treated as insignificant politically during the Cold War era of 'ethnic liaison', they were now

viewed with more interest by government officials for two reasons: first, because of their potential votes; second, there were new discourses that were emerging regarding non-discrimination issues in the civil rights era. It was shown in Chapter Five that the bureaucrats in charge of 'ethnic liaison' programs were pushing through a social development perspective in tandem with a government that was reluctantly addressing what it referred to as a 'racial problem'. The attention to 'equality rights' accelerated throughout the 1980s.

During the 1980s the largest proportion of NMEUO formations took place since the 1950s. A sweep of 'ethnic' (visibly 'ethnic' and otherwise) community representation occurred. The context leading up to the CEC formation in 1978, and the boom in organisation formations to follow, was quite different from the context of state-ethnic relations in the 1940s and 50's. However, there were several constant strands of policy and 'liaison' themes that persisted over time and, it is argued, contributed to the build-up toward the 1978 events. In the year 1978, government policy changed to overtly fund NMEUOs, with its new operational support programs, making public a process that had been in existence for almost 40 years. The importance of maintaining good ties with ethnic leaders, as 'political allies' was demographically all too obvious to political strategists. The CEC was organised through the intervention of the government's Multiculturalism Directorate and it had a domino effect on the formation of more NMEUOs. The creation of a national umbrella of national umbrellas echoed the 'third force'. The *uber* umbrella required member organisations to 'people' it and render it meaningful in its public affairs role. It was an extension of the organisations and the politics of the nation-building period leading up to the late 1970s.

From this overview of the birth and evolution of the 'liaison' relationship between government offices and 'ethnic' organisations since the Second World War, it is clear that the events of 1978 did not represent an entirely new, post-Multiculturalism initiative but rather it was a continuation, and in some ways a culmination of, a process that had begun 37 years earlier. Therefore, changes in the state, the citizenship regime, and nation-building discourses are reflected in *who* formed *when* and *why*. NMEUOs embody *nationalisation* processes in form, configuration, and by mediating and legitimating national discourses.

In looking at the history of 'ethnic' state relations, it is evident that there were ideological relations and articulating social processes that defined the relationship and its outcomes. At no time over this entire post-war history did the 'liaison' relationship appear arbitrary or coincidental, or exhibit a substantive shift toward the importance of 'local organising'. A major shift in discourse was from the language of 'national solidarity' in the 1940s and 1950s, to the language of 'national unity' in later years. Thus it was not only the administrative intervention of the state that affected the development of NMEUOs. The *nationalising* process (which affected most Canadian institutions) lent content and representational significance to these 'ethnic' bodies.

NATIONALISATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Noiriel's work (1991; 1996) pointed out that the *nationalisation* process is inherent to the modern nation state but intensified in particular with the rise of the social welfare state. It was at this point in history that the 'tentacles' of the state reached into voluntary associations and individuals lives and a new bond was forged

with citizens in the 'social state'. The centralisation of political life at the national level, and the subsequent bureaucratisation of social life, created 'citizens groups' and administered them legally, leading to a new way for 'ethnic groups' to be 'categorised' and represented socially. This led to a change from local organic community representation to national configurations of representation.

In Canada, from the historical evidence viewed in relation to the politicisation of NMEUOs, it seems indeed that with the growth of the social welfare state in the period of Reconstruction, a new relationship was forged between ethnic groups and the state where, in order to be heard, 'ethnic' representation had to be organised nationally. Chapters Four through Six showed ways in which the state affected the institutionalisation of 'ethnic' categories of representation through its Citizenship policies. In each phase a specific rationale underlined the programs offered and the objectives of the program officers which reflected the historical conjuncture in which they worked. An 'ethnic liaison' infrastructure arose in the state and gradually expanded from the Nationalities Branch to the Citizenship Branch to a policy and program of Multiculturalism. This trajectory of 'ethnic liaison' that was introduced during World War Two was the real beginning of the national 'ethnic' politics that were associated with the Multiculturalism debates later on. It was an extension of a process that began in 1940 when as Jenson (1993) put it, "citizens were represented to themselves" in a new *citizenship regime* of the state.

For Noiriel, the 'nation' is not simply an 'imagined community' but an institutionalised community. As it was explained in Chapter Two, in this perspective, society is present in the state and the state in society through its practices of codifying individual identities through the categorisation mechanisms and identification practices (such as censuses, passports, etc.). The state overruns society

in this way and creates identity groups, legally and practically. This thesis departed from Noiriel's approach (1991; 1996) somewhat in that the participation, circumstances and agendas of the 'organisers' were factored into the historical narrative and analysis. In this way *nationalisation* was analysed in terms of how it was reproduced by the social actors in determining their Constitutions and negotiating for political participation and access.

As a state process, *nationalisation* is evident historically since the era of Reconstruction and the beginning of a new citizenship regime. A 'national unity' focus is consistently advocated and the discourses that it interacted with were largely those of 'integration' and 'democracy', significant words in the lexicon of difference and belonging as they were institutionalised in Citizenship boundaries. It was shown how Canada is both a 'racialised' and *nationalised* state in the significations it operationalises through its accumulation and legitimation functions, expressed in nation-building initiatives. The very definition of the 'national' occurs in relation to the definition of an out-group. It is inherently binary in that way. Therefore, a direct consequence of the parameters of belonging is that 'outsiders' play a role in helping to define insiders. It was shown in Chapter Three how the state defined real Canadians *a contrario* to 'non-preferred' immigrants and 'enemy aliens'. This process is an 'internal' state process, yet structured by the state's position in a larger global context of *inter-national* trade relations. Categories of immigrants are signified in relation to their 'prior nationalities' and are therefore *nationalised* at this prior level as well, and categorised based on articulations with the significations in the Canadian context.

As Bannerji (1996) pointed out earlier with regard to the policy of Multiculturalism, it serves to attempt to mediate the ruptures and fissures of the

contradictions in the capitalist nation state particularly in relation to the discourse of nationhood. NMEUOs embody that same contradiction. The state's gate-keeping functions and differential incorporation of immigrants is seemingly overruled or buried under the legitimating strategies of 'integration' programs, and Citizenship and Multicultural platitudes. The evolution of NMEUOs are a window on to the contradiction between *nationalised* development and the construction of racialised barriers of differential incorporation of labour in Canada. 'Ethnic' organisations created within that space, were embroiled in its discourse, and are integrally imbued with its contradictory imperatives of 'integration' and 'Multiculturalism'.

'Ethnic' organisations were contracted the vision of 'the national' and continue to carry out the ideology and practice as they are simultaneously rationalised into national representative organisations in the manner that all institutions are rationalised at the national level. These *particularistic* 'ethnic' organisations embody, both in form and function, the national boundaries and significations. They occupy a contradictory space as both differentialised bodies and particularised members, and 'nation-builders' and federalist allies. The role of NMEUOs are vitally important to the 'national' state because of the way in which they help to make appear tenable and self-evident the 'national' vision of a plural society.

NMEUOs serve the state in various forms, in their nation-building mandates and in absorbing the immense contradictions on which the 'nation' state operates. As administrative categories in a racialising *nationalising* state, the organisations reconfigure the immigrant and 'ethnic' *other's* political representation in Canada which, one can observe, became separated from the dynamics of the group's unequal incorporation or racialisation in the social formation. As Amit Talai (1996) put it in

Chapter One, they become abstracted from the very rationale they were supposed to serve.

Social and political construction of ethnicity:

Avtar Brah's (1996) quotation at the beginning of Chapter Two served as an anchor for that chapter and much of the discussion that followed. It succinctly pointed out that 'ethnicity' does not communicate an 'already existing difference' and therefore narratives of commonality and difference have to be investigated in terms of the social and political conjunctures in which they are constituted. NMEUOs, typically mentioned in the sociological literature as forms of 'ethnic' social organisation and as extensions of 'already existing groups', were seen here as constructed by and through state processes. Through this process of *nationalisation*, different aspects of collective identity become privileged and interact with historical significations. This explains the resulting configuration and boundaries of 'identity groups', or 'ethnic' and 'race' groups.

Categorisations of 'ethnicity' emerge through the bureaucracy of, as Balibar put it, the 'social state', which is *nationalised* and as such imparts boundaries and group delineations. The meanings and therefore the categories, change with conjunctural change in the state. A group can be interpreted publicly as an 'ethnic' or 'racial' unit at one point and then be re-interpreted, or *re-signified* later on. But as Jenson and Phillips (1996) specified, the state does not impart identities, it shapes the opportunity for their expression. This thesis was not concerned with the actual practice of 'ethnic' identities, which are subjective and individual experiences, intersected by other aspects of group differentiation and boundary definitions. This thesis looked at one of the ways that the state administers group identities thereby

affecting the possibilities for 'claims-making' and representation. This does affect boundary formation of 'ethnic' identity for members but it is a contested site of struggle, affected by cultural expression and diaspora influences.

In terms of an example of the state construction of boundaries of belonging, the Native case is probably the most illustrative. Members were categorised and constitutionalised based on legal categories, which are different from subjective group identities expressed. The categories were: status (on a land base), vs. without reserve status, and being Metis or Inuit. The Indian Act declared who was a Native and who was not and was administered on this basis. There was a similar process in effect with 'Blacks' in Canada when they came to be recognised politically as Trinidadians and Barbadians vs. Afro-Caribbeans or Blacks, for example. The movement from 'Black' to Trinidadian showed that groups were *re-represented* to themselves. They were not constitutionalised as such (as the Natives were), with the result that their 'public identity' may shift more easily again.

Shifts in public 'identities' or representational configurations are seen in the case of South Asians in Canada, for example. Immigrants from India were administered as one amorphous group by the state until much internal lobbying from the Sikhs led to some differentiation within that category. Similarly, the Czechoslovak association became differentiated from the Slovak association after its national independence. The delineation of 'Hispanic' in the late 1980s was, as the Latino Dictionary defined it, a 'catch-all' for broad regional, 'ethnic', and national identities. Arab and Indian delineations, which reflect regional and racialised categorisations of belonging, are made meaningful in the Canadian context and operable in the state administration of racialised 'difference'. While many groups were 'balkanising' from the original homogenising 'nation of origin' categories in

which they were placed, the 'Hispanic' groups teamed up as a public force despite the tendencies in the state to administer 'nation' based identity groups.

The role of state intervention in the creation of 'identities' (and in this thesis, organisations), expands our perception of the social construction of 'ethnic' boundaries by taking into consideration the role of the 'national' frame. Himani Bannerji (1996) wrote that, 'identity categories' are produced by the state, while the role played by the state remains unnoticed. This thesis was about *noticing* the role played by the state in the determination of 'ethnic' categories.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

What made the 1978 Multiculturalism Conference an important starting point for the research question of this thesis was the disbelief expressed by some at the conference in the possibility of the formation of a national coalition of 'ethnic' umbrella groups. While their discussions on its impracticality were taking place, such an organisation was being promoted and pushed into existence by government representatives behind closed doors. When the organisation, the CEC, finally did come to fruition in 1980, it was hardly recognised that its formation was part of a process that started long before, a process of *nationalising* ethnic organisations and representation into manageable bureaucratic categories. This thesis told part of the story of how 'ethnic' organisations became *nationalised* over the years. Like other institutions in the Canadian state, so too was 'ethnicity' *nationalised*.

The evidence presented in this thesis adds to the current literature on 'ethnic' social organisation and politics in Canada by illustrating the presence and dynamic of

nationalisation in articulation with other processes of differentiation in the social formation. It is in this state process that one sees clearly the role of nation-building strategies implicated in the formations of these NMEUOs and in their mediation of the conjunctural contradictions that arise inherently in the differentialist, exclusive nation state. This fundamental process in the state's developmental politics has affected 'ethnic' social relations and, based on the findings outlined, has articulated with 'ethnic' social organisation in the creation of new political forms at the national level that *serve the state*. The lens of the history of NMEUO formations shows not only a process of 'ethnic' social organisation that is not explained by 'ethnic' centred theories of mobilisation, but also the process of the homogenisation of 'ethnicity' as Sneja Gunew put it:

... what seems to happen in very crude ways, within the context of multiculturalism, is that certain people are elevated very quickly to those who speak for all immigrants: in terms of funding, and in terms of the dissemination of their work, etc. As a result, you don't hear about the rest, because 'we have covered that' and those few token figures function as a very secure alibi (Spivak and Gunew, 1993:195).

Ethnicity was homogenised in the process of the attempted homogenisation of Canada (ie. *nationalisation*) in the process of gaining alibis for the national project. It seems contradictory to invoke the language of homogeneity and *nationness* in relation to 'ethnic' groups that theoretically and practically represent heterogeneity and 'difference'. This is the contradiction that has made discussions of 'nation' rare in the Canadian literature, but yet given the evidence in this thesis, there is a link that needs to be explored further in research. As discussed in Chapter Two, it is not the intention to declare Canada a national and homogenous region when it is clearly not. The point is that it is in the ongoing *attempt* to pursue national culture and 'unity'

that social life is deeply inscribed by the relations of inequality and the significations of racialised and *nationalised* difference.

The thesis focused mainly on 'ethnicisation' and racialisation process in the 'national' but, as mentioned in Chapter Two, these processes articulate with gendering processes which were not examined here in relation to NMEUOs. It is possible to suggest that the history of NMEUO formations as told in this thesis reveals a gendered process in that the categorisation of 'ethnic' groups and 'interests' were defined primarily as 'male' 'ethnic' interests, assumed to represent the *whole* group. Certainly the politicisation process was male dominated. Further research in this area could reveal other key dimensions of the formative, constitutive processes of 'ethnic' categories, such as gendering.

The approach to this particular form of 'ethnic' organising was comprehensive. All organisations that were found to have operated historically were addressed in the narrative, in order to substantiate the larger historical meta-narrative. Now that the organisations are outlined in brief, more in-depth studies of certain organisations could be done to expand the understanding of the role these types of organisations have played historically in local communities, or in government, or in 'inter-group' relations. In particular, it would be interesting to do an analysis of the 'claims' of the organisations to study how they manifest their 'categorisations'. This thesis has remained silent on the *work* that they do.

Finally, it would be highly revelatory to do a similar study in other countries in a comparative approach. Given that many of the NMEUOs in Canada are members of world congresses, part of a 'diaspora' circuit, it would be interesting to see how they interact in their diaspora context, in their particular 'national' frame. This would reveal possible parallels and/or similarities with 'ethnic' social organisation in other

'national' contexts. But since 'what they are' is dependent on 'how they came into being', one would expect to find that Canada's national 'ethnic' formations are unique to the state that produced them.

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Appendix A:

CEC MEMBERSHIP 1980-1996

Source: CNEOC 1st *Conference Report*, 1980: (total: 32)

- Federation of Pakistani Canadians (FPC)
- Hellenic Community of Metro T.O.
- Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians
- Croatian Peasant Society of Canada
- Chinese Benevolent Association of Canada
- Korean-Canadian Cultural Association
- Czechoslovak National Association of Canada
- Canadian Serbian National Committee
- Mennonite Central Committee
- Canadian Polish Congress
- National Black Coalition of Canada
- National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association
- National Association of Canadians of Origins in India (NACOI)
- Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC)
- Estonian Central Council in Canada
- Finnish Canadian Cultural Federation
- Latvian National Federation in Canada
- United Council of Filipino Associations in Canada
- Federation of Korean Canadian Associations
- National Congress of Italian Canadians
- First Portuguese Canadian Club
- Canadian Arab Federation
- Hungarian Canadian Federation
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee
- Greek Community of Montreal
- Slovenian National Federation
- Byelorussian Canadian Coordinating Committee
- Toronto Chilean Association
- Austrian Club Edelweiss
- Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality
- Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario
- Canadian Slovak League

Source: CNEOC, *What We Stand For: Annual Report, 1983*: (total: 26)

- Armenian National Federation (ANF)
- Byelorussian Canadian Co-ordination Committee
- Canadian Arab Federation (CAF)
- Canadian Federation of Vietnamese Associations
- Canadian Jewish Congress
- Canadian Polish Congress
- Chinese Canadian National Council
- Council of Muslim Communities in Canada (CMCC)
- Croatian Peasant Society
- Czechoslovak National Association
- Estonian Central Council
- Fed. of Danish Associations in Canada
- Fed. of Sikh Societies of Canada
- First Portuguese Club of Toronto
- Finnish Canadian Cultural Fed.
- Greek Community of Montreal
- Hellenic Community of Metro T.O.
- Latvian National Federation
- Lithuanian Canadian Community
- National Association of Canadians of Origin in India
- National Association of Japanese Canadians
- National Black Coalition of Canada
- National Congress of Italian Canadians
- National Federation of Pakistani Canadians
- Slovenian National Federation
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee

Source: CEC National Conference Report, *Building the Consensus*, June 1984: (total:30)

new groups:

- Cypriot Federation of Canada
- Federation of Korean Associations in Canada
- Hellenic Canadian Congress
- Serbian National Shield Society of Canada

dropped out:

- Greek Community of Montreal

Source: Multiculturalism and the Economy, C.E.C. National Assembly Report, June 1986: (total: 34)

new groups:

- Canadian Hispanic Congress
- German Canadian Congress
- Icelandic National League
- National Council of Barbadian Associations of Canada
- Russian Canadian Cultural Aid Society
- Slovak Canadian National Council

dropped out:

- Estonian Central Council
- Hellenic Community of Metro T.O.

Source: C.E.C. Annual Report 1989-90: (38 total)

New groups:

- Estonian Central Council (rejoined)
- Federation of Lao Associations of Canada
- National Council of Ghanaian Canadians
- National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organisations in Canada (NCJSOC)

name change:

- Ukrainian Canadian Congress

Source: C.E.C. Annual Report 1990-91: (37 total)

New group:

- Federation of Trinidad and Tobago Associations of Canada

dropped out:

- National Black Coalition of Canada
- Federation of Sikh

new name:

- National Council of Filipino Associations

Source: *C.E.C. Annual Report 1991-92: (37 total)*

name change:

- National Council of Trinidad and Tobago Associations

Source: *C.E.C. Annual Report 1992-93: (38 total)*

New group:

- Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations

name change:

- Belarusan Canadian Coordinating Committee
- Vietnamese Canadian Federation

Source: *C.E.C. Annual Report 1993-94: (38 total)*

name change:

- Portuguese Canadian National Congress

Source: *C.E.C. Annual Report 1995-96: (39 total)*

new group:

- United Macedonians Organization of Canada

Appendix B:

ORGANIZATION PROFILE

NAME:

YEAR OF INCEPTION:

REASON FOR FORMATION AND EVENTS SURROUNDING INCEPTION:

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

METHODS:

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE:

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS:

FEDERAL BOARDS OR COUNCILS OF WHICH THE ORGANIZATION IS A MEMBER:

DIASPORA ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION AND/OR REGULAR OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS WITH COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, NAME(S) OF ORGANIZATION(S) AND DESCRIPTION:

**NAMES OF OTHER CANADIAN ORGANIZATIONS W/WHICH ORG.
COLLABORATES OCCASIONALLY OR REGULARLY:**

MAJOR REPORTS PREPARED

HISTORY OF FUNDING:

COMMENTS: MAJOR CHANGES OR REORGANIZATIONS SINCE INCEPTION

Appendix C:

NMEUO CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF FOUNDING¹

Polish Alliance of Canada 1907
Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada (FOC) 1911
Serbian National Shield Society 1916, 1963
Association of United Ukrainian Canadians 1918 (inc.1942)
Canadian Jewish Congress 1919
Icelandic National League 1919
Federation of Russian Canadians 1930
Croatian Peasant Society 1931
Czechoslovak Association of Canada est. 1939, inc. 1960 and 1979...
Ukrainian Central Committee (later Congress) 1940
Canadian Polish Congress 1944
National Association of Japanese Canadians 1947
Canadian Council of Christians and Jews 1947
Canadian Citizenship Council 1948, (1968, became Federation...)
Estonian Central Council in Canada
Slovenian National Federation of Canada 1950
[German Canadian Congress (orig. 1952, inc. 1984)]
Latvian National Federation in Canada 1950
Canadian Hungarian Federation 1952
Byelorussian National Association
Lithuanian Canadian Community 1952
Russian Canadian Cultural Aid Society 1954
Canadian Ethnic Press Federation 1958
United Macedonians Organisation of Canada 1959
National Indian Council 1961
Mennonite Central Committee 1963
Belarusan Canadian Coordinating Committee 1966
Canadian Folk Arts Council (1966-84)
Canadian Arab Federation 1967
Congress of Aboriginal Peoples 1968 (formerly part of National Indian Council, 1961)
Assembly of First Nations 1968 (formerly part of National Indian Council)
Maltese Canadian Federation 1968
National Black Coalition of Canada 1969
Inuit Tapirisat of Canada 1971
Finnish Canadian Cultural Federation 1971
Slovak Canadian National Council 1971, (1985 inc.)
Canadians of Bangladesh Origin 1972
Council of Muslim Communities of Canada 1973
National Congress of Italian Canadians 1974
Slovenian Canadian Council 1975

¹ This list was updated in 1996. Some of the organisations listed are no longer in existence but were included because of their analytical significance. Listings in italics are not NMEUOS but were integral to the history of NMEUO formations.

National Association of Canadians of Origin in India 1976
Federation of Korean-Canadian Associations 1978
National Organisation of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women 1980
Chinese Canadian National Council 1980
Canadian Ethnocultural Council 1980
Vietnamese Canadian Federation 1980
Armenian National Federation 1980
National Federation of Pakistani Canadians
Federation of Danish Associations in Canada 1981
National Council of Canadian Filipino Associations (est. 1983, inc. 89)
Canadian Hispanic Congress (est. 1983, inc. 84)
Metis National Council 1983
Federation of Sikh Societies of Canada 1983 inc.
National Council of Barbadian Associations in Canada 1984
Cypriot Federation of Canada 1984
Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations 1985
National Council of Ghanaian Canadians 1987
National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organizations 1987
Federation of Lao Associations of Canada 1987
Hellenic Canadian Congress 1987
Ethiopian Canadian Federation 1987
National Indo-Canadian Council 1988
National Council of Trinidad and Tobago Organisations 1989
Federation of Cambodian Associations of Canada 1989
Bosnian Canadian Community Association (inc. 1990 or 1992?)
National Alliance of Canadian Sikhs 1992
Council of Afghan Associations in Canada 1992
Portuguese Canadian National Congress 1993

Appendix D:

INTERVIEWSⁱ

1. Staff member, Table de Concertation pour refugies de Montreal, (09/27/95)
2. Board member, Canadian Hispanic Congress, (09/27/95)
3. Staff member, B'Nai Brith Canada (09/14/95)
4. Staff member , Canadian Jewish Congress (08/18/95)
5. Staff members, Canadian Ethnocultural Council (08/9/95)
6. Staff member, SOS Racisme (Canada), (membre de la federation Internationale de SOS Racisme) (07/12/95)
7. Staff member, Centre for Research Action on Race Relations (07/26/95)
8. Staff member, Minority Advocacy Rights Council (07/18/95)
9. Staff member, Harambee Centre, Ottawa (07/17/95)
10. Board member, Portuguese Canadian National Congress, and member of Portuguese Inter-agency Network (08/24/95)
11. Staff member, Human Rights League, B'Nai Brith Canada (09/1/95)
12. Staff member, National Association of Canadians of Origin in India (08/10/95)
13. Board member, Serbian National Shield Society of Canada (09/1/95)
14. Board member, Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations (08/31/95)
15. Board member, Latvian National Federation in Canada (08/25/95)
16. Board member, Lithuanian Canadian Community (08/25/95)
17. Board member, National Alliance of Canadian Sikhs (08/28/95)
18. Staff member, Intercede (Toronto Organization for Domestic Workers' Rights) (08/29/95)
19. Board member, National Council of Canadian Filipino Associations (08/2/95)

ⁱ The following list includes unidentifying information about interviewees to ensure confidentiality

20. Staff member, National Association of Japanese Canadians, Toronto Branch (08/23/95)
21. Board member, Finnish Canadian Cultural Federation (09/13/95)
22. Board member, Chinese Canadian National Council (08/31/95)
23. Board member, Czechoslovak National Association of Canada (08/30/95)
24. Board members, National Council of Barbadian Associations (08/29/95)
25. Staff member, Canadian Council for Refugees (09/8/95)
26. Staff member, Urban Alliance on Race Relations (08/29/95)
27. Board member, Federation of Korean-Canadian Associations (08/17/95)
(telephone interview)
28. Board member, German Canadian Congress (09/1/95) (telephone interview)
29. Board member, National Council of Trinidad and Tobago Organizations
(10/3/95) (telephone interview)
30. Board member, Romanian National Council (08/31/95) (telephone interview)
31. Program Officer, Dept. Multiculturalism, Canadian Heritage, Community Participation Branch (05/31/96)
32. Board member, Federation of Cambodian Associations in Canada (06/11/96)
33. Board member, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (06/17/96)
34. Board member, Russian Canadian Cultural Aid Society (06/17/96)
35. Board member, Slavic Congress of Canada (06/18/96)
36. Board member, Ethiopian Canadian Federation (06/19/96)
37. Staff member, Council of Afghan Associations in Canada (06/19/96)
38. Staff member, Bosnian Canadian Community Association (06/19/96)
39. Board member, United Macedonians Organisation of Canada (06/20/96)
40. Board member, Hellenic Canadian Congress (06/20/96)
41. Board member, Netherlands Canadian Cultural Association (06/21/96)

42. Board member, Hungarian Canadian Federation (06/22/96)
43. Board member, Council of the Muslim Community of Canada (06/24/96)
44. Board member, Slovenian National Federation of Canada (06/24/96)
45. Board member, Canadian Hispanic Congress (06/25/96)
46. Program Officer, Dept. Multiculturalism, Heritage Canada, Community Support Branch (07/09/96)
47. Board Member, National Black Coalition of Canada (08/07/96)
48. Former Board member, Canadian Folk Arts Council (08/09/96)
49. Board member, Federation of Sikh Societies (08/12/96)
50. Board member, National Indo-Canadian Council (09/11/96)
51. Board member, Slovak Canadian National Council (09/17/96)
52. Board member, Canadians of Bangladesh Origin (09/17/96)
53. Board Member, National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organisations (09/18/96)
54. Ecumenical Officer to the Canadian Council of Churches (09\19\96)
55. Board member, Canadian Polish Congress (09/19/96)
56. Former staff member of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council
57. Programme Officer Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program, Ontario Region (11/15/97) (telephone interview)
58. Senior Programme Officer, Immigrant Settelement and Adaptation Program, Ontario Region (10/21/97) (telephone interview)
59. Board member, Portuguese Canadian National Congress (11/17/97) (telephone interview)
60. Board member, National Association of Canadians of Origin in India (12/3/97)
61. Board member, National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organizations (12/3/97) (telephone interview)

62. Senior Programme Officer, Multiculturalism, Operational Support Branch (12/4/97)
63. Board member, National Black Coalition of Canada (12/5/97)
64. Board member, Canadian Cypriot Federation (10/97) (telephone interview)
65. Staff member, Vietnamese Canadian Federation (07/97)
66. Board member, Chinese Canadian National Council (11/97)
67. Former Senior Programme Officer, Multiculturalism, SOS Branch (08/2000)
68. Former Senior Programme Officer, Multiculturalism, SOS Branch (09/2000)

