308. Part 2 of this Book has examined the participation of those whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French in the economic, political, and social life of the country. In Part 3 we now look at those spheres of our society which affect the maintenance of their languages and cultures. In Chapter V we examine language transfer patterns, in an attempt to describe the position and potential of various languages in Canada and of the cultures that these languages transmit and express. In the following chapters we then discuss three major areas of linguistic and cultural interest: education, mass media, and arts and letters. In each area, we review the present situation and recommend appropriate measures.

309. These chapters illustrate the extraordinary diversity of Canada, a diversity which exists not only among the various cultural groups, but also within many of them. There are also generational, regional, and sectional differences in the degree to which various groups show interest in maintaining their linguistic and cultural traditions. We are aware that it is those who are the most interested in maintaining their language and culture who have been the most articulate and forceful in expressing their ideas to the Commission, and we have tried to take this into account in formulating our recommendations.

Factors influencing assimilation

310. In Canada, the retention rate of ancestral languages varies substantially from one cultural group to another, from generation to generation, and from province to province. The vitality of non-official languages is determined by a host of influences and modified by factors peculiar to particular ethnic origin categories. Differences exist even within the same groups residing in different regions of the country. As a result linguistic integration is a complex process; there are no rules that can be applied to all languages or that explain all the reasons behind the maintenance of one's mother tongue. However, there are discernible factors that appear to influence the rate of linguistic and cultural assimilation. Three of the most important are the degree of cultural distinctiveness of a cultural group, percentages of foreign born and Canadian born, and rural-urban settlement patterns.

311. While other socio-economic factors may have an impact of their own, as a general rule, the greater the cultural difference between an immigrant group and its receiving society, the slower its rate of integration. This difference can be based on linguistic, religious, or social factors. For example, immigrants speaking a Germanic or Romance language find it easier to adopt English or French than those whose language has no cultural base in North America.[1] Often they also find a warmer welcome here than do those whose culture seems more alien to Canadian society. There are also some groups, such as the Jewish, whose culture is based on factors other than language. Even if the ancestral language continues to occupy an important position in the group's cultural activities, those who have abandoned the use of

[1] *Compare* the linguistic classifications summarized by Commissioner J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, 156-7.

their mother tongue may not have abandoned their cultural identity and aspirations.[1] Customs and patterns of interaction may persist in a cultural group even when considerable linguistic assimilation has taken place.

312. It is apparent that the larger the percentage of foreign born in a cultural group, the more likely it is that the group will use its ancestral language and maintain its cultural identity. Canadian-born children and the grandchildren of immigrants are less likely to consider themselves members of a specific cultural group or to report its language as their mother tongue.

313. Rural isolation and traditionalism tend to perpetuate older ways of life much more effectively than do urban industrial societies. This same factor influences the level of retention of ancestral languages, which have always been more strongly entrenched in rural than in urban areas. Groups that are strongly urban are generally characterized by lessened support of their original languages.

314. This chapter is intended to outline the main trends in language transfer patterns in Canada during the past few decades among those whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French, both immigrants and native born, living in various provinces, in both rural and urban areas. These various linguistic phenomena will then be studied for four of the larger ethnic origin categories: German, Ukrainian, Italian, and Dutch.

A. Language Transfer Patterns in Canada

315. Table 9 shows percentages of the Canadian population by ethnic origin and mother tongue as reported in the last four censuses. Between the years 1931 and 1961 the proportion of the population with English as their mother tongue increased by 1.5 percentage points, while the proportion of the population of British ethnic origin decreased by 8 percentage points. The opposite trend is observed among those whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French. Their proportion of the total population increased by 5.9 percentage points but the percentage of those with mother tongues other than English or French decreased by 2.3 points.

Dominance of English language

316. The predominant linguistic fact in Canada is the powerful attraction of the English language for people of other than British or French cultural backgrounds. This is not surprising in view of the

[1] See *ibid.*, §§ 51-2 of our Book on the official languages for a discussion of the use of the term "mother tongue" by the Commission.

position of the English language in North America. However, it should be kept in mind that English was the mother tongue of some immigrants of non-British, non-French origin prior to their arrival in Canada. For example, there are some immigrants from the United States whose ancestors originally came to North America from various continental European countries but whose families have long spoken English.

Table 9. Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of the population by ethnic origin and mother tongue—Canada 1931–1961

	1931	1941	1951	1961
Ethnic origin				
British	51.9	49.7	47.9	43.8
French	28.2	30.3	30.8	30.4
Other	19.9	20.0	21.3	25.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mother tongue				
English	57.0	56.4	59.1	58.5
French	27.3	29.2	29.0	28.1
Other	15.7	14.4	11.9	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-545 and 92-549.

317. Although Canada's population includes people of many ethnic origins, in 1961 almost 92 per cent belonged to nine origin categories: British, French, German, Ukrainian, Dutch, Italian, Scandinavian, Polish, and Jewish. Although some 60 languages were reported as mother tongues for significant groups, about 95 per cent of the population reported the following six languages: English (59 per cent), French (28 per cent), German (3 per cent), Ukrainian (2 per cent), Italian (2 per cent), and Dutch (1 per cent).

Importance of the native born

318. The fate of a language depends on the persistence of its use by the native born. While immigrants provide immediate support to the language, it is the native born who determine its retention in the long run. This is why the present state and the future prospects of a particular language can be better assessed by analysing language transfer patterns within the native-born segment of the population than by examining overall figures, which include both native and foreign born.

319. In Canada, a total of 4,700,000 residents were of non-British, non-French ethnic origin in 1961; 34 per cent of this total were immigrants and 66 per cent Canadian born. Fifty-one per cent reported a mother tongue other than English or French, but 42 per cent reported a mother tongue corresponding to their ethnic origin. Thirty-five per cent of those who in 1961 reported a language other than English or French as their mother tongue are most likely native born.[1] Thus, two out of three would have learned one of the two official languages as their mother tongue.

Influence of immigration

320. The influence of immigration on language maintenance is not uniform for various ethnic categories. Table 10 shows the lack of direct correlation between the immigrant population and those reporting the corresponding mother tongue. The difference between the two, measured in relation to the total population in a particular ethnic origin category, gives a general indication of the extent to which the native born contribute to language maintenance. This occurs to the greatest extent among the Ukrainians and the least among the Dutch. In fact the preservation of the Dutch language appears to be dependent almost totally on immigration. Native-born members of ethnic origin categories with languages related to English (the Dutch and the German), show high rates of assimilation, but these groups have also had long histories in Canada.

Age pyramids

321. Age pyramids for various ethnic origin categories on which mother tongue pyramids are superimposed indicate some of the different patterns of language transfer (Figures 1-6). The Chinese pyramid is the most asymmetrical and unbalanced. This is chiefly due to immigration restrictions resulting in pronounced overrepresentations in the male population especially in the 25-29 and 65-79 age brackets. The other pyramids show more regular configurations although each has certain characteristics peculiar to the origin category. Each shows some protrusion at the middle age level, called "immigrant bulges," since immigration is most common in the 20-40 age brackets. The Italian pyramid shows the largest immigrant bulge while the slopes of the Scandinavian and German pyramids are very regular. Although all the

[1] Since the census data do not permit cross tabulations by ethnic origin and mother tongue for those born in Canada, it has been necessary to make the assumption that all immigrants of non-British, non-French ethnic origin report a language other than English or French as their mother tongue, thus making up 65 per cent of those so reporting, and leaving the balance, 35 per cent, as native born. This assumption is, of course, not absolutely accurate. Some immigrants of other than British ethnic origin, particularly those from the British Isles and the United States, speak English as their mother tongue. According to the 1961 census, 41 per cent of the immigrant population was of British ethnic origin and 46 per cent reported English as their mother tongue. There have also been small numbers of immigrants of Polish ethnic origin and Jews from North Africa whose mother tongue was French. However, in the total immigrant population only 3 per cent was of French origin and 3 per cent reported French as their mother tongue.

Table 10. Retention of Ancestral Language

Percentage of immigrants and of those whose mother tongue corresponds to their ethnic origin, for four ethnic origin categories—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Number	Percentage of immigrants	Percentage of those whose mother tongue corresponds to their ethnic origin
Non-British and non-French	4,701,232	34.2	41.9
German	1,049,599	27.4	39.4
Ukrainian	473,377	23.3	64.4
Italian	450,351	58.9	73.6
Dutch	429,679	36.2	37.6

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

other categories have much more balanced sex distribution than the Chinese, the Italian pyramid has a substantial male surplus.

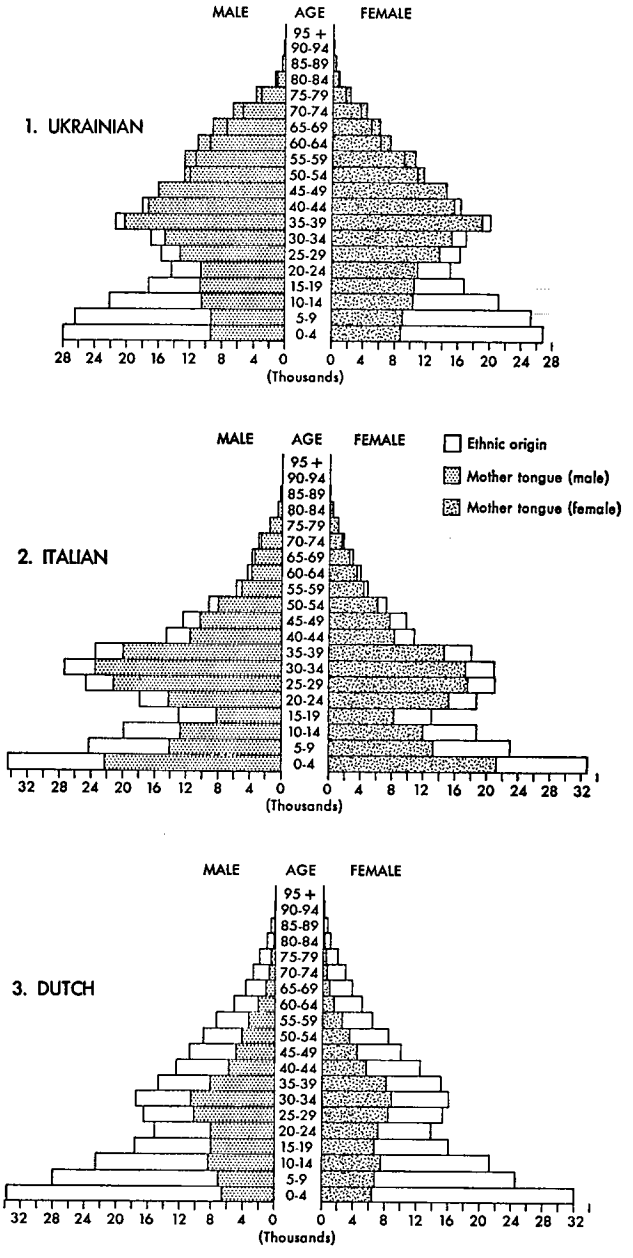
322. Of particular interest is the retention of the ancestral language by the upper age groups. The Ukrainian and Italian pyramids show a high rate of language retention here while language transfer among the Dutch is well advanced in this age bracket. The area between the language and ethnic age distribution outlines of the pyramids in the lower age brackets indicates the strength of mother tongue retention among the native born.

Importance of lower age brackets

323. The survival of a language is greatly affected by the support it receives at the lower age levels, especially in the 0-14 age bracket. Table 11 gives data for six ethnic origin categories. All the categories included in the table have about equal proportions in the 0-14 age brackets, but the percentage of mother tongue retention varies from 67.6 to 6.5.

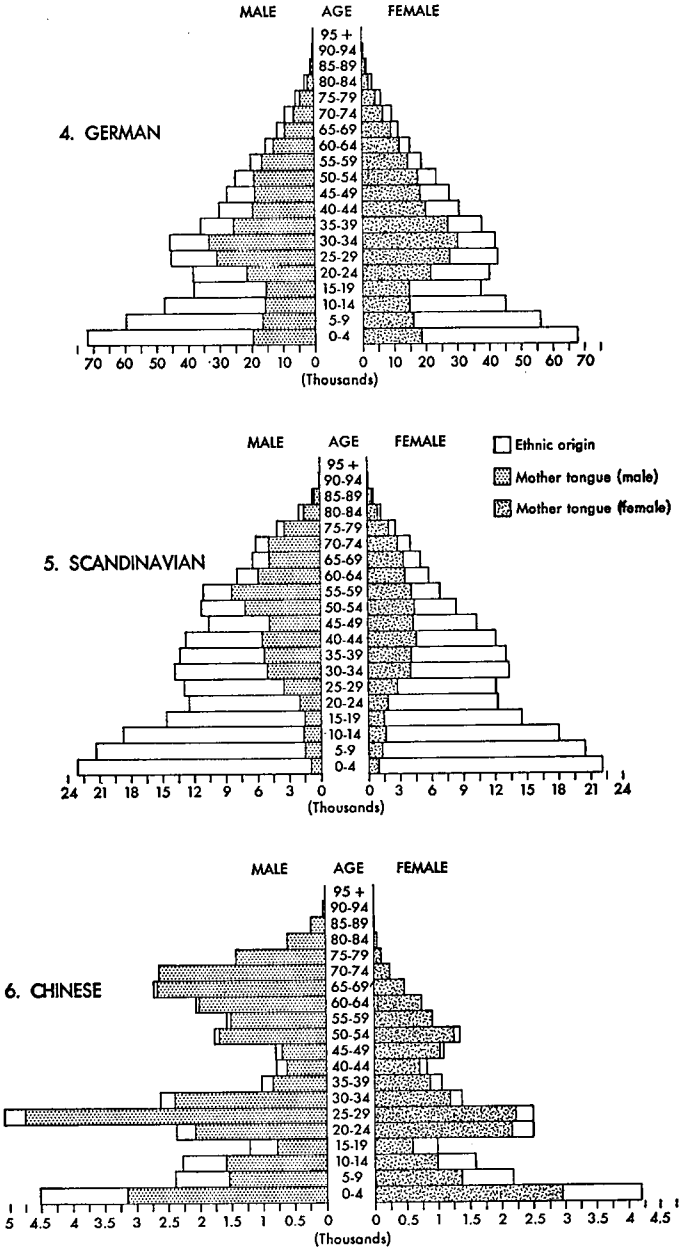
324. The strength of mother tongue retention in other age brackets varies widely in the different origin categories, reflecting the presence of the immigrant generation in the middle age brackets, their length of residence in Canada, and their linguistic aspirations. The pyramids show that the longer a group's history in Canada and the greater its interest in language retention, the more uniform is the distribution of the mother tongue among the various age levels. Among the higher age brackets in the German, Dutch, and Scandinavian ethnic origin categories more advanced losses are evident, while almost total retention is noted among those of Ukrainian, Italian, and Chinese origin.

Figures 1–3. Age Pyramids, by Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue (Ukrainian, Italian, Dutch)—Canada, 1961



Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-545 and 92-549.

Figures 4–6. Age Pyramids, by Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue (German, Scandinavian, Chinese)—Canada, 1961



Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-545 and 92-549.

Table 11. Retention of Ancestral Language by the Young

Number and percentage[1] of those 14 and under in six ethnic origin categories and for six mother tongues—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Non-British and non-French	German	Dutch	Italian	Ukrainian	Scandinavian	Chinese
Number	1,555,866	348,078	164,394	153,224	150,077	123,944	17,128
%	33.1	33.2	38.2	34.0	31.7	32.7	29.4
Mother tongue[2]	**Neither English nor French**	**German**	**Dutch**	**Italian**	**Ukrainian**	**Scandinavian**	**Chinese**
Number	487,847	101,364	43,075	95,807	57,697	8,053	11,573
%	19.9	18.0	25.3	28.2	16.0	6.9	26.6
Mother tongue retention rate[3]	31.4	29.1	26.2	62.5	38.4	6.5	67.6

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-553 and 92-556.

[1] Percentage of the total ethnic or linguistic group.

[2] Regardless of ethnic origin.

[3] Ratio between those of each ethnic origin and those of the corresponding mother tongue.

Rural-urban influences

325. There is no doubt that mother tongue retention has been affected by regional and economic differences, and particularly by rural and urban population patterns. According to the 1961 census, 11 per cent of Canada's population was rural farm, 19 per cent rural non-farm, and 70 per cent urban. The distribution of those of non-British, non-French origin showed only slight deviations from these figures as is seen in Table 12. All three classifications (rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban) showed similar proportions of language retention. However, because these figures do not consider the proportion of each classification that is made up of immigrants, they do not give an accurate indication of long-range mother tongue retention. By subtracting immigrant population figures from those for mother tongues we are left with an approximate indication of the linguistic support provided by the native-born segment of the population: 32 percentage points among rural farm, 28 percentage points among rural non-farm, and 11 percentage points among urban. Thus, mother tongue retention among the native born is stronger in rural areas.

Table 12. Rural and Urban Areas

A. Distribution in numbers and percentages of the total population and of the non-British, non-French population, by rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban areas—Canada, 1961

	All areas	Rural farm	Rural non-farm	Urban
All origins				
Number	19,238,247	2,072,785	3,465,072	12,700,390
%	100	11.4	19.0	69.6
Non-British and non-French				
Number	4,701,232	647,713	824,891	3,228,628
%	100	13.8	17.5	68.7

B. Percentage of immigrants of the population of non-British, non-French origin

All areas	Rural farm	Rural non-farm	Urban
34.1	22.9	20.4	39.9

C. Percentage of the population of non-British, non-French origin with neither English nor French as mother tongue

All areas	Rural farm	Rural non-farm	Urban
51.1	54.7	48.3	51.1

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

326. The urban population of other than British or French ethnic origin shows a strong tendency to concentrate in metropolitan areas. In 1961, over 46 per cent of the total resided in eleven metropolitan areas: Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Kitchener, Montreal, Ottawa, Sudbury, Toronto, Vancouver, Windsor, and Winnipeg. The proportion of the population of ethnic origin other than British or French in these urban concentrations varies from 18 per cent in Montreal to 47 per cent in Winnipeg, but this does not seem to have a directly proportional effect on linguistic assimilation. The support of ancestral languages by the native born is substantially higher in Winnipeg, Sudbury, and Edmonton than in other urban areas, although all three of these cities had lower proportions of immigrants than Toronto and Montreal.[1] This leads us to conclude that social, economic, cultural, and historic factors, as well as immigration, influence retention of ancestral languages among the urban native born.

327. Finally, it should be noted that of the total Canadian population, 232,000, or just over 1 per cent, were unable to speak either English or French in 1961. Thirty-four per cent of this group is Italian, mainly because many Italians in Canada are recent immigrants.

B. Provincial Transfer Patterns

328. In this section we will outline some of the more distinct regional features influencing the retention of mother tongues other than English or French and indicate how they interact with the factors already mentioned.

1. The Atlantic Provinces

329. In 1961, the four Atlantic Provinces had a population of only 175,000 of ethnic origin other than British or French. This total is less than half that in any other single province. They made up only 9 per cent of the area's total population and reported much the lowest level of mother tongue retention in Canada. Only 14 per cent reported mother tongues other than English or French (including Gaelic).[2]

330. This is mainly the result of two facts: much of the population in this area lived there for many generations and there is a low level of immigration. Only 11 per cent of the population of other than French

[1] *See* Appendix II, Table A-137.

[2] *Ibid.*, Table A-138. Among those of British origin in Nova Scotia in 1961, there were almost 3,700 persons who gave Gaelic as their mother tongue, almost half of the Canadian total of 7,500 persons who reported Gaelic as their mother tongue. Presumably, many of these were native-born. However, the number of persons of Gaelic mother tongue is declining rapidly.

or British ethnic origin was not Canadian born. The survival of ancestral languages in this area can be ascribed almost entirely to immigration.

331. The population of the Atlantic region of non-British, non-French ethnic origin also differs from that in other regions of Canada in its economic and regional distribution. It has a low percentage of urban population and a very high percentage of rural non-farm population.[1] The rural farm proportion is relatively low, 9 per cent, but provides 17 per cent of those who still maintain their mother tongues.

2. Quebec

332. Quebec's demographic and language patterns are quite different from those in the Atlantic region. At the last census, 9 per cent of the population reported an ethnic origin other than British or French. This section of the population was almost completely urban; 92 per cent lived in urban areas and 84 per cent in metropolitan Montreal. Despite this urban concentration there was a high rate of mother tongue retention. Sixty-two per cent reported mother tongues other than English or French.[2] This high level of retention of the ancestral language as the mother tongue in Quebec runs counter to the general trend among urban populations. It can likely be explained by the high density of some cultural groups in some districts of metropolitan Montreal and by their occupational and educational patterns, especially among post-war immigrants. It is probable also that cultural awareness among the French-speaking population has stimulated similar awareness among other groups in Quebec.

Official bilingualism

333. In 1961, as shown in Table 13, 57 per cent of those of other than British or French origin who were also bilingual[3] in the two official languages, lived in Quebec. Thirty-one per cent of the population of other than British or French ethnic origin in Quebec reported bilingualism in the official languages, a slightly higher rate than that among those of French or British ethnic origin (24 and 29 per cent respectively). Table 14 shows the distribution of bilingual persons among five ethnic origin categories.

334. In proportion to its total population in Quebec the Jewish category had the highest percentage of bilingual members and the German the lowest. However, in numbers the Italian category was the major contributor; 27 per cent of those of non-French, non-British ethnic origin in Quebec who were also bilingual in the official language were of Italian origin.

1 *Ibid.*, Table A-139.
2 *Ibid.*, Table A-138.
3 For a discussion of the word "bilingualism" as used here see *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 26.

Table 13. Bilingualism of those of Non-British, Non-French Origin

Distribution in numbers and percentages of those of non-British, non-French ethnic origin who are officially bilingual, by province—1961

	Number	%
Canada	246,730	100.0
Quebec	139,493	56.5
Ontario	63,152	25.6
Prairie Provinces	25,422	10.3
British Columbia	12,490	5.3
Atlantic Provinces	5,023	2.0
Northwest Territories and the Yukon	700	0.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-561.

Table 14. Bilingualism of the Non-British, Non-French in Quebec

Number and percentage of the non-British, non-French population who were officially bilingual—Quebec, 1961

		Bilingual	
	Population	Number	%
Total	450,800	139,493	30.9
Italian	108,522	37,674	34.7
Jewish	74,677	27,029	36.7
German	39,457	9,772	24.7
Polish	30,790	9,935	32.2
Ukrainian	16,588	5,727	34.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-561.

3. Ontario

335. Ontario's population of other than British or French ethnic origin increased from 18 per cent in 1941 to 30 per cent in 1961. This substantial increase was the result of immigration and internal Canadian migration. Of the 1,900,000 Ontario residents of neither British nor French origin in 1961, 41 per cent were immigrants and 59 per cent native born. They were dispersed throughout the province, although the greatest concentrations were in metropolitan Toronto and southern Ontario.

336. A substantial proportion of the native born within this number can trace their roots in Canada back a century or more. As early as 1871, 13 per cent of Ontario's population reported non-British, non-French ethnic origin and even then they were concentrated in the southern part of the province.

337. This historical fact added to a high degree of urbanization is responsible for the low rate of mother tongue retention among the native born. Fifty-one per cent of the province's population of other than British or French origin reported mother tongues other than English or French in 1961; 41 per cent were immigrants. The contribution of the Canadian born to the maintenance of their ancestral languages is considerably lower than in the Prairie Provinces. It is also interesting to note that in Ontario a lower proportion of the rural farm population retained their ancestral languages than in the western provinces.[1] This rural farm population is composed largely of descendants of the pioneers and earlier immigrants. Recent immigrants to Ontario have tended to settle in the cities and thus have not provided linguistic reinforcement in rural areas.

4. The Prairie Provinces

338. In 1961, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta had the largest proportions in Canada reporting ethnic origin other than British or French and the highest rate of mother tongue retention by the native born. These three provinces also registered the largest proportions of rural farm populations in Canada.

339. In each province, those of neither French nor British ethnic origin constituted about half the population. The figures are: Manitoba 48 per cent, Saskatchewan 53 per cent, and Alberta 49 per cent. Within this group about the same percentage retained their mother tongues. The strength of these languages is remarkable because it has been attained without much support from immigration. The proportion of the population which is not native-born ranges from 19 to 28 per cent in the three provinces. The maintenance of their ancestral languages has thus fallen to the native born and their efforts have been more successful than their counterparts in any other area.[2]

340. The highest rates of retention of mother tongues other than English or French are in the rural segment of the population. They exceed by a wide margin both the national and provincial averages. The proportion of mother tongue retention among urban dwellers is not

1 *See* Appendix II, Table A-138.
2 *Ibid.*

significantly different from that in Ontario or British Columbia, but the urban population of the Prairie Provinces contains larger proportions of native born.

341. The reasons for this strong support of languages other than English or French by the native born can be traced in the history of the settling of the prairie region, the cultural and religious composition of its population, and its economic structure. A large proportion of the population is of pioneer stock, and the system of block agricultural settlement favoured language and cultural preservation. Although the prairie region has the highest rate of persons knowing two or more languages, only 16 per cent of the population of other than British or French ethnic origin reported bilingualism in the official languages.

5. British Columbia

342. In 1961 the census figures recorded a level of 47 per cent of mother tongue retention among the non-British, non-French population in British Columbia. The retention rate among the native born in British Columbia is slightly higher than that in Ontario and much below that in the Prairies. In British Columbia, bilingualism in the official languages is almost non-existent among the Canadian born of other than British or French ethnic origin: in 1961 only 2 per cent reported bilingualism in the official languages.

C. Transfer Patterns in Four Language Groups

343. The four language groups described below are of different sizes and have different cultural affiliations, Canadian historical roots, vitality, and prospects for survival in this country. Two of them, the German and Dutch, belong to the Germanic family of languages as does English; Italian is a Romance language like French; Ukrainian is a Slavic language with no affinity to either of Canada's official languages.

1. German

344. The proportion of the population who reported German as their mother tongue did not vary much between the 1931 and 1961 censuses. In the consecutive censuses each decade the percentages were 4 per cent, 3 per cent, 2 per cent, and 3 per cent. However these percentages include those of all ethnic origins who gave German as their mother tongue; the number of German ethnic origin who also gave German as their mother tongue was considerably smaller. In 1961,

for example, 27 per cent of the total giving German as their mother tongue were persons of other than German ethnic origin. It should be remembered, of course, that the two world wars affected the self-identification of persons whose mother tongue was German, or who were of German ethnic origin.[1] This is another clear indication of the difficulty of equating mother tongue and ethnic origin classifications.

Provincial variations

345. Of the one million who reported German ethnic origin in the 1961 census only 39 per cent gave German as their mother tongue. There were extensive variations between provinces in this proportion, varying from Manitoba with 59 per cent to Nova Scotia with 3 per cent.[2] The German language has been almost eliminated in Nova Scotia but in the prairie region, British Columbia, and Quebec German was preserved as their mother tongue by about half the German population. Why such wide differences?

346. The historical development of a particular province, its economy, and the cultural aspirations of the group itself have been the chief determinants of the linguistic assimilation rate. German immigrants settled in Nova Scotia as early as the 18th century and the trickle of immigrants in more recent times did not halt the assimilation process.

347. The strength of the German language in the three Prairie Provinces is a result of two phenomena—agricultural block settlements in relatively unpopulated areas and a large proportion of Mennonites and Hutterites for whom the German language is of paramount importance in their social and religious life.

348. Except for Nova Scotia, the Prairie Provinces had the lowest percentages of immigrant population, yet this region recorded the highest rate of participation by the native born in maintaining use of the German language. The same provinces recorded the highest proportions of rural population, which has helped maintain the use of the German language.

349. East and west of the prairies the rate of retention of German as a mother tongue among the native born was much lower. The larger proportions of urban population in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec contributed to a lower rate of mother tongue retention. In Quebec the difference between the proportion retaining their mother tongue and the proportion of immigrants was only 0.3 of a percentage point. In British Columbia it was 7. This relatively high level in British Columbia is due largely to the migration from the prairies of German Mennonites. Ontario is the key province for the future of the German language since in 1961 it contained 38 per cent of Canada's population

[1] Ryder, "The Interpretation of Origin Statistics," 272-4.

[2] *See* Appendix II, Tables A-140 and A-141.

of German ethnic origin and since a significant proportion of German residents of Ontario had two or more generations of Canadian residence.

350. It is clear that the majority of native-born residents with German as their mother tongue are from the Prairie Provinces and that most of those who speak German in other provinces are immigrants. With the continuing movement from rural to urban centres and with immigrants' increasing preference for urban settlement, there is little prospect of German language survival beyond the second generation of native-born residents. This development has been taking place despite the international status of the German language, its place in the curricula of Canadian public schools, high schools, and universities, and extensive educational activities organized by German communities.

2. *Ukrainian*

351. One of the distinguishing marks of Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin is their strong allegiance to their mother tongue. This allegiance is strengthened by fear that their language is threatened with annihilation in their land of origin.[1] In 1961, 64 per cent reported that their mother tongue was Ukrainian despite the fact that the group had one of the lowest proportions (23 per cent) of immigrants among the larger Canadian ethnic origin categories. This means that the maintenance of the Ukrainian language was achieved, to a large extent, by the native born.

Importance of the prairies

352. The prairie region is the stronghold of the Ukrainian language in Canada. According to the 1961 census, two-thirds of all those of Ukrainian ethnic origin who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue lived in the Prairie Provinces. This region was the original area settled by early Ukrainian immigrants. Its vast, sparsely populated expanses offered much-wanted land, and an opportunity to re-establish life according to familiar patterns and to pursue group aspirations and goals. The Ukrainian language was the everyday means of communication during the first decades of settlement, and the isolation of rural communities increased its use by those born in Canada. The Ukrainian language has retained its strong position among the second generation of native born even though recent decades brought few immigrants to the region and despite a population shift to urban areas. Ancestral language retention has been enhanced by the crucial position of the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian national churches and by vigorous educational activities. The cumulative result of these and other factors is a high rate of language maintenance, especially in the rural farm

[1] *Compare* Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force,'" 89-90.

category, in which Ukrainians are still numerous.[1] In Manitoba, for example, 83 per cent of the rural farm population of Ukrainian ethnic origin reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue. A smaller proportion of the urban population of Ukrainian ethnic origin reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, but the percentage was still high (63 per cent).

Provincial variations

353. Although the high level of maintenance of the Ukrainian language is reflected in all provinces, the variations are substantial and significant. In British Columbia the proportion of those of Ukrainian origin who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue is well below the percentage on the prairies, but it is still high (44 per cent), especially since the immigrant population is only 16 per cent of the total. Quebec's Ukrainian population is small but the mother tongue retention rate equals that of Saskatchewan and Alberta (approximately 70 per cent). Immigrants make up 45 per cent of the Ukrainian population in Quebec; and this high level of language retention was achieved by a highly urbanized population.

354. In 1961, one-third of Ontario's residents of Ukrainian origin were immigrants but 58 per cent reported their mother tongue as Ukrainian. As elsewhere, a higher percentage of those of Ukrainian origin had retained their mother tongue in rural areas than in urban but in Ontario the rural segment of the population was small.

355. The census figures show that the native born provide the majority of those of Ukrainian mother tongue, particularly in the prairie region. This suggests that the Ukrainian language will remain strong, although increasing urbanization of the Canadian population generally, together with the low rate of Ukrainian immigration, will probably bring a gradual decline in the number reporting Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

3. Italian

356. Between 1951 and 1961, the Italian ethnic origin category more than doubled its proportion of the Canadian population; it was the fastest growing ethnic origin category in Canada. It is also distinguished from other non-British, non-French ethnic origin categories by its high rate (95 per cent) of urbanization and by its heavy concentration in Ontario and Quebec. Among the larger origin categories only the Jewish group has a comparable rate of urbanization. In 1961, 74 per cent of the 450,000 who gave Italian as their ethnic origin reported Italian as their mother tongue. Their retention of their mother tongue thus exceeds even that of the Ukrainians.

[1] *See* Appendix II, Tables A-142 and A-143.

Provincial variations

357. Eighty-five per cent of Canada's population of Italian ethnic origin lived in Quebec and Ontario in 1961, almost all in urban areas.[1] There were 63,000 persons of Italian ethnic origin in the western provinces, nearly two-thirds of them in British Columbia. Their level of retention of the ancestral language was somewhat lower than in Quebec and Ontario and the percentage of immigrants was also lower. A larger proportion of the Italian population in the West was rural farm than in Quebec and Ontario but their numbers were too small to permit any valid conclusions regarding their retention of their ancestral language.

358. The high rate of retention of their mother tongue by those of Italian ethnic origin must be measured in terms of the high proportion of immigrants. Eighty per cent of those reporting Italian as their mother tongue were immigrants. It seems that wherever immigrants are concentrated in large numbers, as in Quebec and Ontario, the likelyhood of the mother tongue being perpetuated beyond the first native-born generation is better than in provinces with a smaller Italian population. Rural environment does not seem to reinforce retention of their mother tongue among Italians, as it does among Germans and Ukrainians, but the numbers of Italians in rural areas is too small to permit firm conclusions.

359. It is worth noting that, although Italian like French is a Romance language, its affinity with the French language does not seem to mean that retention of the Italian tongue is less likely in Quebec. Indeed the native born of Italian origin in Quebec give slightly greater support to their ancestral language than do those living in Ontario.

4. Dutch

360. Any study of the Dutch language transfer pattern in Canada is made more difficult by the various names used for the language: Dutch, Netherland, and sometimes even Deutsch, which means German. Similar confusion is found in any study of the Dutch ethnic origin category, which includes a sizable group of persons of Mennonite religion who are frequently associated with the German group. For these reasons a student of the Dutch language in Canada must be particularly cautious in the use of statistics.

361. The most striking characteristics of Canada's Dutch ethnic origin category are a low rate of retention of the ancestral language and a high proportion of rural population. In 1961, 22 per cent of the category was rural farm, almost double the rate for Canada's popula-

[1] *Ibid.*, Tables A-144 and A-145.

tion as a whole, and another 22 per cent was rural non-farm.[1] Only 56 per cent of the category lived in urban areas.

Retention of mother tongue

362. Of the 430,000 of Dutch extraction in the 1961 census only 38 per cent reported Dutch as their mother tongue. This was the lowest level of mother tongue retention reported by any of the larger non-British, non-French ethnic origin categories. However, unlike the other major categories, 10 per cent of the Dutch population reported languages other than English, French, or Dutch as their mother tongues, mostly German. We may therefore say that the level of retention of ancestral languages among members of the Dutch ethnic origin category was nearly 48 per cent. This division of linguistic allegiance is partly the result of some changing the ethnic origin they reported during the war years and partly a reflection of religious affiliation. In 1961, 58,000 belonged to the Mennonite Church. Most of these lived in the Prairie Provinces where German was reported as their mother tongue by many who claimed Dutch ethnic origin. For example, of Manitoba's Dutch population, only 26 per cent reported Dutch as their mother tongue and another 45 per cent reported a language other than English, French, or Dutch. This phenomenon gives a good example of the tenuous relationship between ethnic origin and mother tongue.

Provincial variations

363. Retention of the Dutch language by the native born varies between provinces. In Nova Scotia, Quebec, and British Columbia the proportions of immigrants are higher than the proportion of those reporting Dutch as their mother tongue, which suggests that some immigrants report another language as their mother tongue, perhaps German. Theoretically such figures mean that the Dutch language has completely disappeared among the native born in Nova Scotia and British Columbia and this may almost be the case. Across Canada in 1961, only 3,700 Canadian-born residents claimed Dutch as their mother tongue. On the basis of this trend it seems most unlikely that the Dutch language will survive in Canada except as a language of immigrants.

D. The Impact of Radio and Television

364. It is extremely difficult to forecast future language retention rates on the basis of past language retention patterns. A new factor has been added to the various determinants in the last few years; television may exert an overwhelming influence on linguistic assimilation.

[1] *Ibid.*, Tables A-146 and A-147.

365. In the past the isolation of rural areas has been a key factor in the preservation of most mother tongues. Today there are no parts of Canada without radio service and few corners of our country not reached by television transmission. It is unlikely that children can grow up in Canada in the 1960's without constant and direct exposure to the English or French language, or to both, even in their own homes. The electronic media are certain to have a considerable impact upon the future levels of ancestral language retention.

366. Schools are the formal means by which a society transmits its knowledge, skills, languages, and culture from one generation to the next. Canada's public school systems are primarily concerned with the transmission of knowledge that is essential to all citizens, including knowledge about Canadian institutions, the traditions and circumstances that have shaped them, and the two official languages. Since those of British and French ethnic origin are the main groups in Canada, it is appropriate that the British and French cultures dominate in the public schools. But public schools can also provide an instrument for safeguarding the contribution of other cultures.

367. Because of the interdependence of language and culture we must consider the teaching of languages other than English and French in the educational system as an important aspect of any programme to preserve the cultures of those of non-British, non-French origin. Such teaching can have the additional benefit of increasing the country's linguistic resources—resources important to any modern country and especially to one that wishes to play a role in the international community.

368. There are two aspects to the question of teaching languages other than the two official languages in Canada. On the one hand, there is the need to preserve the languages and cultures of those who have been in Canada for many generations. On the other hand, there is the need to preserve the languages and cultures of new immigrants while also integrating them into Canadian society. Obviously these two aspects require different techniques. Programmes that would be appropriate for teaching languages to the children of those who have been here for many generations would not be suitable for immigrants'

children, who must also learn one of the official languages as their working language, as well as the other official language.

Chapter outline

369. The public education system is the first concern in this chapter. In this system, it is important to make a distinction between learning the official languages and opportunities for learning other languages and the cultural subjects related to them. We have already recommended in our Book on education a systematic development of full educational opportunities in both the official languages wherever population concentrations permit. We have also recommended the development of a systematic approach to teaching the second official language to members of both the major linguistic communities. We do not recommend the same degree of development for the teaching of other languages in Canada; rather, we recommend that there be opportunities to study many languages within the context of the public education system.[1]

370. In Canada there are also private schools established by non-British, non-French cultural groups who want their children to share in the cultural heritage of their ancestors as well as in their Canadian heritage. In the second section of this chapter we describe the part played by these private schools in the maintenance of languages and cultures and suggest possible ways of helping these groups to continue this important work.

371. We have already stressed in our Book on education the need for an articulated and continuous approach in the provision of official-language minority higher education.[2] The same approach should be followed in considering educational opportunities for other languages and their related cultural subjects. The third part of this chapter discusses higher education, and the need for integration among all three levels of the educational system insofar as other languages and cultures are concerned. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of adult, or continuing, education.

General principles

372. In considering the question of educational policy we have been guided by three general principles. First, members of non-British, non-French cultural groups should have opportunities to maintain their own languages and cultures within the educational system if they indicate sufficient interest in doing so. Of course, population concentration, continuing immigration, and the different historical background of the various groups, both in their homelands and in Canada, all raise important practical considerations in the application of this principle. Second, where public support is concerned, the question of language and cultural maintenance must be seen within the broader context of

[1] *See below*, § 378.

[2] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, chaps. XII and XIII.

the question of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada as a whole; for example, the learning of third languages should not be carried on at the expense of public support for learning the second official language. Third, since the elementary school years are the most vital ones for the purpose of maintaining languages, the most extensive effort should be made at this level.

Changed conditions

373. In earlier times in Canada, when people originally settled among other members of their cultural group, and when they could expect to be born, live, and die in one particular community, the local school could be conducted in the language of the community. This way of life is no longer possible. As we stated in Book II of our *Report,* "The modern school is a complex institution and is a part of an intricate and highly specialized system. Any kind of minority-language schools must be fitted into this school system."[1] The principle of the right of parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice was elaborated in detail in our Book on education where we discussed the practical implication of this principle and reviewed the complex question of languages of instruction in the modern education system. Our conclusion was that, in our mobile and changing society, with the increasing scope, sophistication, and complexity of modern educational facilities and curricula, it is not feasible for Canada's public education systems to employ languages other than English and French extensively as languages of instruction. While our recommendations below will propose substantial educational opportunities for languages other than English and French where sufficient demand exists, the aim of improving educational opportunities in the official languages must be maintained as the primary objective.

Benefits

374. To a large extent, the study of a language or culture will gain a place in elementary school curricula if it involves basic knowledge and skills useful for life in Canadian society. It will gain entry to the curricula of the secondary schools if it is seen as a means of intellectual or vocational preparation. Although the operative languages in Canada will continue to be French and English the use of other languages and opportunities to learn them can be an important asset to all Canadians. Moreover, Canada has been and remains a country with a high level of immigration and this fact increases the viability and usefulness of other languages. For these reasons, and also because many Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French wish to see their children provided with educational opportunities in their own languages, we recommend certain ways to develop the teaching of other languages and cultures in the public schools.

[1] *Ibid.*, § 19.

375. The perspective of those who wish educational opportunities in other languages for their children is a most important consideration. Where parents regard such opportunities as of primary importance, we feel that governments should offer as much assistance as possible. All the factors discussed in this chapter must be carefully weighed, taking into consideration the overriding goal of ensuring that all children have the best possible education as preparation for a productive adult life. The most effective assistance can be offered by providing through the public schools optional instruction in other languages and related cultural subjects, wherever sufficient demand exists. Our Commission's research indicates that requests for such instruction would not be too extensive. A high level of education is assuming more and more importance for the individual in our society. Parents who choose to have their children instructed in a language that is not useful in the work world or in our institutions make a choice; in effect, they may be choosing for their children a knowledge of the language and culture of their own cultural group at the expense of instruction in other fields which are perhaps more relevant to Canadian society. Even so, the principle of parental choice remains valid and, in cases where Canadian citizens attach great importance to their linguistic and cultural heritage, opportunities for instruction in these areas should be available.

A. Public Schools[1]

1. The teaching of languages other than English and French in elementary schools

376. All provinces authorize the teaching of a second language in elementary schools, and in some provinces (Manitoba, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec) instruction in a second language is compulsory. French is almost invariably the second language for Anglophone pupils and English for Francophone pupils, which is to be expected in bilingual country where these are the two official languages. In two provinces, other languages are authorized beginning in Grade VII. During the 1966-67 school year, 2,100 Grade VII and VIII pupils in Manitoba were studying German. In Saskatchewan, three school districts offered Ukrainian as an option in Grades VII and VIII, and a six-year sequence of Ukrainian study from Grade VII to Grade XII, with the first two years stressing facility in conversation and comprehension. Otherwise, the study of modern languages other than French and English in public elementary and junior high schools has only been on a local,

[1]Data in sections A, B, and C is taken primarily from T. Krukowski and P. McKellar "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

rather than a provincial, basis. German has been taught in a junior high school in New Germany, Nova Scotia; Spanish in Montreal; Russian in Toronto; and no doubt other languages have been taught elsewhere experimentally, either as an option or as part of a programme of enrichment. However, the number of teachers and pupils involved has not been large. In all cases the courses are offered as preparation for high school programmes.

Present curricula

377. Modern languages other than English and French have therefore won only a small place in the curricula of the public elementary and junior high schools in Canada. There are many communities where there is a concentration of people who share a particular ancestral language but where the language is not taught before secondary school, if it is taught at all. Yet the years between five and 14 are considered crucial for the retention of a language, and children need a firm grasp of their mother tongue before leaving elementary school if they are to retain it in later years.

a. Maintenance of languages and cultures

Recommendation 3

378. Briefs to the Commission have advocated the teaching of languages other than English and French as subjects at the elementary level in all the publicly controlled schools in areas where there is a strong concentration of a particular group desiring such instruction. We believe that, where a demand on the part of parents exists, public education systems should provide courses that will assist the various cultural groups in the maintenance of their languages and cultures. They should do so in order to safeguard the contribution these languages and cultures can make to the quality of Canadian life. Therefore, **we recommend that the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme, where there is sufficient demand for such classes.**

379. Since education lies within the jurisdiction of the provinces, the provincial educational authorities, after consultation with representatives of the appropriate cultural groups and scholars in the relevant disciplines, must decide what constitutes a sufficient demand. It will be necessary when doing the planning for these classes to consider other demands on the school system (including the need to teach English or French to immigrant children), the number of languages that would be involved, possible difficulties in developing curricula and textbooks, and the problem of recruiting and training teachers. Where demand is sufficient and resources permit, it may also prove feasible that some instruction in the related cultural subjects can be offered using the appropriate language as the language of instruction. We also feel it

is essential that eligibility for these classes not be based exclusively on ethnic origin or cultural background. We have often stated our conviction that ethnicity should not be a governing principle in Canadian life. Eligibility for such classes should be based on interest and ability. However, it is obvious that the children most interested will be those from homes where the language spoken corresponds with the language offered.

Possible problems

380. The introduction of such classes within the regular school programme may present difficulties because of the priority that must be given to initiating courses in the other official language. We have already recommended that the study of the other official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools.[1] In addition, at the elementary level the curriculum provides relatively little flexibility for introducing optional subjects, since the teaching of basic knowledge and skills requires most if not all the school day. At this level, the teaching of languages other than French and English might mean eliminating some aspects of the basic curriculum, and would therefore entail a deliberate choice by parents and school authorities.

381. Nevertheless, the provision of these classes will affirm Canada's determination to maintain its linguistic resources. They will provide members of other cultural groups with the educational means of retaining their languages in any area where they are sufficiently numerous and concerned. The children will be taught their ancestral language during their most receptive years, and where it proves possible their language will be used as the language of instruction in teaching related cultural subjects. If the classes are carefully arranged to avoid interfering with the regular school programme, they will neither deprive the children of association with members of other cultural groups nor interfere with the teaching of the two official languages. They will also provide opportunities for children to go beyond a knowledge of the two official languages to an acquaintance with other languages and cultures, an appropriate objective in our contemporary world.

b. Immigrants and the official languages

382. Immigrants and the children of immigrants present a particular educational problem and responsibility in a country such as Canada. The public schools must accept the task of teaching English or French to those who enter school with an inadequate knowledge of the official language which is being used as the language of instruction. This situation requires special smaller classes of ten to 15 pupils, and teachers trained in the techniques of teaching a second language. Where possible,

[1] *Ibid.*, II, § 614.

the schools should also provide special facilities for such classes and continuing evaluation of the courses offered. We have already recommended the establishment by provincial authorities of French- and English-language centres for the training of second-language teachers.[1] Since the basic problems of second-language teaching are universal, these centres could also prepare teachers for these special classes.

Recommendation 4

383. The teaching of the appropriate official language is part of the process of integrating immigrant children into Canadian society as a whole: they are becoming Canadians and part of their education for citizenship is language education. The benefits of immigration and of linguistic diversity accrue to Canadian society at large. Therefore the federal government as the government of the country as a whole, rather than provincial or local governments, should be responsible for providing the funds required for the teaching of English or French to children entering the public school system without an adequate knowledge of either of the official languages. However, it should provide only those funds required over and above the cost of teaching any child in the school system. Therefore, **we recommend that special instruction in the appropriate official language be provided for children who enter the public school system with an inadequate knowledge of that language; that provincial authorities specify the terms and conditions of financial assistance for such special instruction; and that the federal authorities assist the provinces in mutually acceptable ways through grants for the additional cost incurred.**

Eligibility

384. These special classes should also be open to the children of Canadian-born parents who wish their children to learn another language. If such classes were available more Canadian-born members of the non-French, non-British cultural groups would be likely to teach their mother tongues to their children at home during the children's early years.

Phased introduction

385. A phased introduction of the appropriate official language as the language of instruction may be the most effective method for such classes. Where there are sufficient numbers and resources instruction might be given in a language other than French or English in Grade I, with the appropriate official language being introduced gradually up to Grade V and the mother tongue concurrently reduced. After Grade V special instruction should no longer be necessary.

Right of parents

386. We are keenly aware of the problem presented by the choice of English-language or bilingual schools rather than French-language schools by immigrant parents in the Province of Quebec. However, we believe, that we must maintain the principle of the right of parents to choose between the official languages for the schooling of their

[1] *Ibid.*, II, § 677.

children.[1] At the same time, we are aware of the threat to the survival of the French language in Quebec. Because the issues inherent in this question are so profound, touching on the very nature of the country, we intend to deal with them in the concluding section of our *Report*.

2. The teaching of languages other than English or French in secondary schools

387. A total of five modern languages other than French and English are authorized and taught in public high schools in Canada: German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, and Ukrainian. But no modern language is taught to anything like the same extent as French in the English-language high schools of Canada or English in the French-language high schools. Latin is the language second to French in many provinces, although it is nowhere compulsory except for Francophones in Quebec's classical colleges. Latin and Greek were compulsory in Quebec's classical colleges until recently. Now one of Greek, Spanish, or German is compulsory.

Current situation

388. Only German, and in the three Prairie Provinces, Ukrainian, can be said to have sizable enrolments. German owes its position in part to the number and long history of the German cultural group in Canada and in part to its status as a world language. The teaching of Ukrainian in the Prairie Provinces is clearly the result of the presence of large numbers of people of Ukrainian ethnic origin, many of them with a strong interest in maintaining their ancestral language. Spanish, Italian, and Russian all have some place in high school curricula as world languages. Italian has more students in Ontario, where the bulk of the large number of Italian immigrants are concentrated, than in other provinces. In recent years the number of students taking the Grade XIII examinations in Italian in Ontario has been considerably higher than the number taking the Grade XII examinations. This strongly suggests the presence of students fluent enough in Italian to attempt the senior matriculation examination without formal instruction in the language in earlier grades.

389. There appears to be a slight trend towards widening the range of modern languages offered in the high schools and lengthening the programme in some of them. There is also some indication that teaching methods are changing to stress conversation and comprehension rather than grammar and literature. These changes have been helped by such innovations as television, language laboratories, and tape recorders, and by an increasing number of teachers fluent in the language they are teaching. Universities that in the past refused admission credits for certain modern languages are now broadening their language admission requirements.

[1] *Ibid.*, II, §§ 47-50.

Recommendation 5

390. At the secondary level any changes in language courses should be seen in relation to what is being done in the elementary schools. Language classes for elementary and junior high school children might well produce secondary school students having a knowledge of any one of many languages. Provincial education authorities should therefore investigate the possibility of providing more advanced work in secondary schools in certain languages spoken in Canada, and also in related cultural subjects. If the numbers are sufficient, advanced classes are desirable for students who already have some knowledge of a language. Classes for beginners would be continued as well unless demand declined. Provincial education authorities should also consider widening the range of language options authorized and taught, wherever sufficient demand exists. Therefore, **we recommend that more advanced instruction and a wider range of options in languages other than English and French, and in cultural subjects related to them, be provided in public high schools, where there is sufficient demand for such classes.**

391. This implies, of course, the development of curricula for these courses and the recruitment and training of teachers fluent in the languages to be taught. Sufficient demand must be defined by provincial educational authorities acting in consultation with representatives of the appropriate cultural group and scholars in the relevant disciplines. We do not underestimate either the difficulties involved, because of other demands on our school systems, nor the time that will be required to develop such courses. However, it is still important, in the Canadian context, that additional modern language programmes be established and that this be done as rapidly as possible.

Another possibility

392. Another possibility at the secondary level would be the development of high schools in which a language other than French or English would be the main language of instruction. In addition to serving a particular cultural group, such schools would have the additional benefit of providing opportunities for intensive education in another language for students of all ethnic origins. Because such a development would have to be carefully weighed against other demands for educational resources, particularly that of developing official-language minority schools, we have not made this a recommendation. However, it is a development that might be possible in the future, and one which could provide a powerful instrument for safeguarding the language and culture of a particular group.

3. The teaching of Canadian history

393. For many cultural groups, it is as important that their contribution to the development of Canada be generally recognized as that their mother tongue be taught in the public schools. They feel that

such recognition is necessary if their children are to take pride in their heritage and be respected by other Canadians. Many cultural groups feel that their contribution to Canadian life has not been adequately treated in textbooks or courses in Canadian history in the public elementary and high schools. For example, a brief presented to the Commission by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee recommended that:

> An extensive revision of school textbooks for public schools should take place in which the Ministers of Citizenship and Immigration together with provincial Ministers of Education examine their contents and exclude discriminatory material and give the students an unbiased social studies material, referring to the different ethnic groups, their origin, history, culture, literature and their accomplishments for the benefit of this country.

Commenting on the announcement that a study of Canadian history textbooks was to be undertaken for the Commission[1] a German-language newspaper wrote:

> It is to be hoped that these two historians will take the trouble to examine the historical contributions of "other ethnic groups" as well. Among these, the Dutch and the Germans have been established in the country for as long as the British themselves. This desire does not express a yearning for "history with feeling" but rather the demand that at long last Canadian history do justice to all ethnic groups in Canada and not only to those of British or French origin.[2]

Past treatment of other groups

394. What little information there is about the treatment of cultural groups other than the British and French in Canadian history courses and textbooks suggests that they have been virtually ignored. The courses of study in Canadian history for junior and senior high schools in the ten provinces were analyzed almost 15 years ago. Some 36 objectives of teaching Canadian history were given in the courses of study set out by the provincial departments of education, but few had to do with promoting understanding among the different cultural groups in the population. For example, the Ontario objectives included engendering "Tolerance, Respect and Goodwill," and those in Skaskatchewan knowledge of "modes of Life elsewhere." But none of the 81 topics into which the field of Canadian history was divided dealt specifically with cultural groups other than the British or French. Topics that might

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1 Marcel Trudel and Geneviève Jain, *Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study*, Studies of the R.C.B.&B., No. 5 (English translation in preparation).

2 *Montrealer Zeitung*, April 21, 1966. The original German text reads: Es ist nur zu hoffen, dass die beiden Historiker sich auch die Mühe machen, die geschichtlichen Leistungen der "anderen ethnischen Gruppen" zu untersuchen, von denen die Holländer und Deutschen im Lande solange ansässig sind wie die Briten selbst. In diesem Wunsche liegt nicht das Bedürfnis nach "Geschichte mit Gefühl", sondern das Verlangen, dass die kanadische Geschichte endlich allen Gruppen der Nation gerecht wird und nicht nur der von britischer und französischer Herkunft.

deal with such groups, such as the Manitoba schools question, population trends in Canada, immigration and emigration, social development in Canada, and urban-rural development received little class time. Immigration and emigration, for example, received an average of 50 minutes of class time in junior high schools during the school year, and the same amount of time in senior high schools.[1]

Commission research

395. The Commission's study of the textbooks in Canadian history used in elementary and secondary schools did not deal specifically with cultural groups other than the British and French. None of the themes in the teaching of Canadian history selected for study dealt with other cultural groups. However, in treating themes of particular interest to the Commission the authors referred to the stress on the assimilation of languages and cultures other than French and English in English-language textbooks—a stress that did not necessarily preclude support of the notion of ethnic diversity in Canada.[2]

396. Evidence available from this and other studies not explicitly concerned with ethnic relations is slight but it concurs with our impression that almost no attention has been paid to cultural groups other than the British and French in Canadian history courses and textbooks in the past, and that little attention is paid to them at present.

Cultural bias

397. In our Book on education, we examined this question from the perspective of the Francophone and Anglophone societies. There we noted:

> With two dominant themes of French Canadian survival and the survival of Canada as a political union, it comes as no surprise that Canadians of ethnic origins other than French or British are almost ignored. Their presence in Canada is usually overlooked and the scattered references to them suggest that they will become good Canadians when they have submerged their ethnic identity.[3]

While this attitude may not be suprising, we feel that it is unjustified. Available information suggests that there are grounds for the complaints about cultural bias in courses and textbooks. This bias results mainly from the selection of material but to some extent from probably unconscious misrepresentation.

398. Those of British and French origin have played the major roles in Canada's history, and Canadian institutions have been modelled chiefly on British or French institutions. It is natural, therefore, that the British and French heritages should be stressed in our public schools. They have become part of our Canadian heritage and as such must be understood by all Canadians. However, Canadian society does

1 Joseph Katz, *The Teaching of Canadian History in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1953), 16.
2 Trudel and Jain, *Canadian History Textbooks.*
3 *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 763.

not consist of "a kind of hereditary aristocracy composed of two founding peoples, perpetuating itself from father to son, and a lower order of other ethnic groups, forever excluded from spheres of influence."[1] The remarks we made on this subject in our Book on education are also pertinent:

> Students are taught history because societies believe that it provides a desirable and necessary training for future citizens.
> ... students must learn from experience directly relevant to an understanding of their own society. History, it is assumed, can convey this knowledge by showing the problems and the challenges our predecessors faced, by showing the origins and development of our social institutions, by instilling a respect for our heritage.[2]

Our public schools should give due weight to the role of those of all ethnic origins in our country's development and to the cultures and languages of all Canadians. All Canadian children can benefit from an awareness of our country's cultural diversity and a better knowledge of the contributions of the different cultural groups to Canada's growth.

Necessary changes

399. Throughout elementary and secondary school, all courses that are directly concerned with Canadian development, and particularly courses in Canadian history and geography, should make explicit the essential part that people of many origins have played and are playing in Canadian life. We are conscious here, as in our earlier discussion on this subject in Book II, of the dangers of interfering with the work of those responsible for history texts and programmes of study. Yet we feel strongly that the interpretation given to the role of those of non-British, non-French origin should be one of the criteria used to assess Canadian history as it is taught in our schools. Certainly all disparaging and prejudicial implications must be eliminated. We therefore extend the remarks we made in our Book on education on history and other textbooks to the treatment of the role played by Canadians of other than British or French origin,[3] and urge that the part played by all the cultural groups in Canada be included among the criteria outlined there.

B. Private Schools

400. Many cultural groups, feeling that neither Canadian society as a whole nor the Canadian public schools have provided adequate means for transmitting their languages and cultures to succeeding generations,

[1] *Ibid.*, General Introduction, § 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, §§ 765-6.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, §§ 764-73.

have set up private schools to supplement or replace the public schools for their children. These private ethnic schools, whose existence is unknown to many Canadians, have been the object of very little research; yet they have played an important part in the maintenance of the languages and cultures of the non-British, non-French cultural groups.

401. In 1965 Commission researchers conducted a survey of 20 cultural groups in Canada, selected on the basis of their size and involvement in ethnic education. Questionnaires were sent to coordinating ethnic organizations where they existed (for example, the Canadian Polish Congress and the Canadian Jewish Congress), to ethnic associations, churches, and individual schools. Fairly complete information was received from the questionnaires and supplementary sources for 12 groups,[1] and partial information for four others.[2] The groups included in the survey made up over 90 per cent of the population of those of other ethnic origin.

Part-time and full-time schools

402. Two types of ethnic private schools are operated in Canada, part-time schools and full-time schools. The two types differ markedly in their formal structure and in the intensity of their educational programme.[3] Part-time schools teach language and cultural courses to children who receive their general education through the public school system. These schools usually operate for a few hours a week. Full-time schools are expected to cover the complete curriculum of the appropriate Department of Education and in addition to teach special language and culture courses.

1. Part-time schools

403. For two reasons, we neither expect nor intend that existing part-time ethnic schools would be eliminated by the provision of optional language classes in the public school system. First, the new classes will teach language and culture as specific subjects within the basic curriculum. Part-time ethnic schools also teach language and culture, but at the same time they attempt to pass on the students the total cultural heritage of their parents and to do so in as much detail as is possible in a society where everyday life is conducted in another language. This heritage may include particular religions or social traditions and economic or political ideology, and possibly even a dialect of

[1] Armenian, Dutch, Estonian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Portuguese, and Slovenian.

[2] Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, and Ukrainian

[3] A study of ethnic schools in the United States makes a distinction between schools on weekday afternoons, weekend schools, and all day schools. *See* Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "The Ethnic Group School and Mother Tongue Maintenance," in Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague, 1966), 92-126.

the language. Since the public schools cannot and should not transmit such knowledge, there is little doubt that ethnic associations will continue to organize their own schools. Second, some cultural groups, because of their small size and lack of geographic concentration, will not have access to classes in their ancestral language in the public school system. Such groups may be equally concerned about the maintenance of their language and culture and may therefore wish to operate part-time schools.

Number and location

404. The number and location of the part-time schools of 16 cultural groups are shown in Table 15. Over 500 schools were reported to be operating during the 1965-66 school year, one-half in Ontario, one-third in the Prairie Provinces, and one-fifth distributed between Quebec and British Columbia. Three cultural groups—German, Ukrainian, and Polish—account for three-quarters of all Canada's part-time ethnic schools.

Table 15. Part-time Ethnic Schools

Number of part-time ethnic schools for selected ethnic origin categories—Canada and six provinces, 1965

Ethnic origin	Total	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Total	507	68	254	64	21	74	20
Ukrainian	170	9	94	19	12	35	1
German	157*	4	66	36	8	32	11
Polish	57	10	38	5	0	2	2
Jewish	24†	15	—	—	—	—	3
Italian	22	12	9	—	—	1	—
Lithuanian	15	2	10	1	0	1	1
Hungarian	14	3	5	1	1	3	1
Latvian	14	1	12	1	0	0	0
Estonian	10	1	8	0	0	0	1
Greek	8	3	5	0	0	0	0
Slovene	5	1	3	1	—	—	—
Armenian	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
Portuguese	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
Japanese	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Chinese	1	1	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Based on Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."
* Excludes Mennonite schools.
† Excludes six schools in the Atlantic Provinces.
— Dash indicates data not available.

Enrolment

405. The significance of the number of schools can only be assessed when considered along with their enrolment, which varies from one dozen to several hundred students. In 1965 the total enrolment in the German, Ukrainian, and Jewish schools made up about 65 per cent of all students in ethnic schools, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Enrolment in Part-time Ethnic Schools

Number of students in part-time ethnic schools for selected ethnic origin categories—Canada and six provinces, 1965

Ethnic origin	Total	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Total	39,833	10,397	16,224	3,529	1,054	4,084	4,545
German	12,623	250	4,752	2,166	325	1,630	3,500
Ukrainian	8,702	1,106	3,896	879	682	2,101	38
Jewish	5,038	4,443	—	—	—	—	595
Polish	4,000	760	2,400	300	0	200	310
Italian	2,887	2,040	822	0	0	25	0
Greek	1,750	850	900	0	0	0	0
Lithuanian	1,520	120	1,360	40	0	0	0
Latvian	992	40	850	45	0	20	37
Estonian	685	60	600	0	0	0	25
Hungarian	601	198	190	18	47	108	40
Slovene	335	53	231	51	—	—	—
Armenian	328	216	112	—	—	—	—
Japanese	156	45	111	—	—	—	—
Chinese	120	120	—	—	—	—	—
Portuguese	96	96	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Based on Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."
— Dash indicates data not available.

406. A significant indication of the intensity of a particular cultural group's interest in preserving their ancestral traditions can be obtained by comparing the total enrolment in ethnic schools with the total number in the corresponding ethnic origin category. On this basis the Baltic cultural groups—Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians—were at the top of the list, and some of the largest ethnic origin categories, such as the Polish and Italian, were at the bottom. The Jewish cultural group had a considerably higher proportion of children in such schools than the German or Ukrainian cultural groups. The Dutch, the fourth largest ethnic origin category in the 1961 census, showed little interest

in formal, part-time education aimed at the preservation of the Dutch language.[1]

407. A vast majority of part-time schools are at the elementary school level, for children from seven to 12 years of age. The remainder are for the 13 to 16 age bracket, and rarely go beyond this level.

Facilities

408. Partly because of tradition, and partly because of the private character of part-time ethnic schools, an overwhelming proportion of the classes are held on the premises of the sponsoring association, usually in a parish hall or club room. There is no definite pattern for the type and quality of classrooms. On the whole, the Jewish schools are the best equipped, and suitable premises and other facilities are also found among the Chinese, Ukrainian, and German part-time schools. As might be expected, the least suitable quarters are usually found among the smaller and more dispersed cultural groups.

Use of public schools

409.. The question of using public school buildings for part-time ethnic schools has received attention in ethnic publications, in briefs submitted to us, and at our public hearings. Public school boards were invariably criticized for their reluctance to permit use of their buildings and other facilities for part-time ethnic schools. In answer to this, school representatives have pointed out that most buildings are already overtaxed with extra-curricular activities, that opening the school to one group would inevitably lead to similar demands from other groups, and that the school budget could not bear the additional expense. However, some cultural groups in various parts of the country have made arrangements with local school authorities, and the number of part-time classes held in public school buildings by members of non-British, non-French cultural groups has been increasing. In the Toronto area, the German cultural group paid one local school board $5,000 as yearly rental for several classrooms in three public schools and in another case, $600 for two classrooms for one school year. In Montreal almost all part-time classes, except those sponsored by Jewish or Protestant groups, are held in schools operated by the Montreal Catholic School Commission.

School curricula

410. The average school year of the part-time schools is shorter than that of regular public schools. Most schools offer between 25 and 30 periods of instruction which result in three hours or less of instruction per week. The curricula of these schools are similar in several respects. All include such humanist subjects as literature, history, and geography. The ancestral language of the sponsoring group is the focus of the programme; indeed it is frequently the *raison d'être* of the school.

[1] No enrolment figures were obtained for Dutch schools. Other sources, including a survey of voluntary associations done for the Commission, indicate little interest among the Dutch in ethnic schools for maintaining the Dutch language. However, there is considerable interest in religious schools among those of Dutch origin.

Religious instruction given in the schools is usually under the direct control of a church, although this practice has been declining as a growing number of part-time programmes have been designed to serve students of various religious affiliations.

411. An analysis of school curricula and other school activities leads to their division into two broad but distinct types on the basis of their formal design, the number of subjects offered, and related activities. In terms of these criteria we can make a distinction between "high" and "low" ethnicity programmes. A "high" ethnicity school programme contains several subjects—literature, geography, history, the arts—distributed over three to five consecutive grades. This programme is frequently expanded to include music, dancing, folk-art, sports, scouting, and drama. These schools also issue report cards and organize graduation ceremonies and other aspects of school life. Clearly, high ethnicity school programmes aim at immersing the children in the group's culture and are sponsored by groups determined to retain their cultural identity. They are found mainly among those of Jewish, Ukrainian, Chinese, and Greek ethnic origin.

412. The "low" ethnicity programmes consist of a few hours of conversation weekly, about the native land carried on in the mother tongue. Students are taught to read and write the language and much of the programme is left up to the individual teacher. Cultural activities, as well as other facilities available in up to date educational establishments, are often scarce or absent.

Teaching of English and French

413. In general, English and French are neither taught as subjects nor employed as the language of instruction in the programmes of part-time schools. Except in the Jewish schools, English is employed only sparingly as a supplementary medium of communication for students with limited facility in the ancestral language. The French language is not taught in the part-time schools in the predominantly Anglophone provinces. In Quebec, part-time schools supported by the Catholic School Commission of Montreal offer one period of French per week to fulfil the condition for receiving the support. Recently, Jewish private schools in Quebec have made a concerted effort to include French language courses in their programmes.

Textbooks

414. Textbooks are printed in the language of the sponsoring cultural group, and in many instances combine literature, history, and geography. The quantity, quality, and range of the subject-matter in these texts is a serious problem for part-time ethnic schools. Books are usually in short supply or on a limited range of subjects. Because the demand is insufficient to cover the cost of publishing new textbooks, older works tend to be reprinted. As a result, many of the textbooks now in use are becoming more and more out of date for educational purposes.

Textbooks written and published in Canada and reflecting Canadian situations are rare, although some have been issued by Polish and Ukrainian organizations. The bulk of the books used come either from the countries of origin or from the United States. Some foreign governments publish textbooks especially designed for schools abroad.

Teachers

415. In 1961 there were over 1,000 part-time or full-time teachers in ethnic schools as shown in Table 17. Schools with small enrolments tend to have higher teacher-student ratios than those with large enrolments. This tendency is partly due to the smaller schools having a greater number of teachers engaged on a temporary basis for part of a school year. Full-time teachers constitute a small percentage of the total teaching staff and are usually in schools operated by Jewish, German, and Ukrainian groups. Teachers assigned to teach ethnic subjects at full-time schools often teach in part-time classes as well.

Table 17. Teachers in Part-time Ethnic Schools

Number of teachers in part-time ethnic schools for selected ethnic origin categories, by sex—Canada, 1965

Ethnic origin	Total	Male	Female
Total	1,241	301	626
German	280	—	—
Jewish	246	79	167
Polish	142	25	117
Italian	113	48	65
Latvian	110	33	77
Ukrainian	109	38	71
Lithuanian	60	20	40
Greek	42	20	22
Hungarian	40	9	31
Estonian	34	—	—
Slovene	32	14	18
Armenian	12	6	6
Japanese	12	6	6
Portuguese	5	3	2
Chinese	4	0	4
Dutch	—	—	—

Source: Based on Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."
— Dash indicates data not available.

416. Teachers' qualifications vary widely. About half the teachers have limited training and experience or none at all. Many of the other half hold certificates from Canadian teachers' colleges and some also teach in the public schools. A relatively high proportion of the teachers

are foreign-born and acquired their professional training in their country of origin. Fluency in the language and knowledge of the culture of a particular cultural group are the main prerequisites for a teaching position. Jewish, German, and Ukrainian schools seem to have the best qualified teaching staffs. Various cultural groups try to improve the level of teacher competence in their schools by offering special seminars, summer and weekend training courses, and literature on teaching methods. Some cultural groups sponsor their teachers' attendance at colleges in the United States or Canada.

Lack of staff

417. However, the lack of qualified teaching personnel is an acute and perennial problem even for groups with well-established schools. Groups with a long history in Canada—the Germans, Mennonites, Jews, and to an extent the Ukrainians—can rely on members of their cultural group who teach in the public schools. Some recently established cultural groups whose countries of origin are outside the Soviet orbit recruit teachers from overseas.

418. Although most teachers are paid for their services, it is usually only a token payment rather than reasonable remuneration for the time and effort involved. On the average, teachers in part-time ethnic schools receive between $4.00 and $6.00 for each session. This scale of pay only enables them to earn from $120 to $180 each during the entire school year.

Financial problems

419. Many of the problems of part-time ethnic schools—in particular, their lack of suitable classrooms and other facilities, deficiencies in the textbooks available, and the shortage of qualified teachers—reflect the financial difficulties faced by almost all of these schools. There are two main sources of funds, fees paid by students and subsidies from sponsoring organizations. These sources usually do not provide enough money to meet the needs of the schools.

420. School fees are relatively low, from $1.00 to $5.00 per month per student; and payment may not be strictly enforced. Sometimes no fee is imposed, especially in schools with a small body of students. Often free tuition is provided for needy or promising students.

421. The sponsoring organizations or cultural groups provide support for part-time schools through regular yearly subsidies, irregular donations, or endowments. The organizations collect school funds through periodic campaigns or social events. Other sources of support for ethnic schools are sometimes found in the homeland of the sponsoring group or through its diplomatic representative in Canada.

422. Some ethnic schools operate on a sounder financial basis; their fees are much higher and the sources of funds more abundant. However, even these institutions lead a precarious financial existence and are always searching for new sources of money.

Consolidated schools

423. Some cultural groups have tried to overcome their financial difficulties by amalgamating with other groups and developing joint school programmes. Schools of this type are now in operation in some cities. The main difficulty in developing such schools seems to be the division of the various sponsors into religious, ideological, and even generational camps, each unwilling to give up control of the school's budget or to eliminate divisive elements from their school programmes. Many cultural groups have consolidated their educational activities with those of other groups over the past decade but it appears unlikely that this process will ever be complete.

Montreal experience

424. One solution to the financial problem of the part-time schools is the policy of subsidization adopted by the Catholic School Commission of Montreal. For the last 12 years, this body has given financial support to part-time ethnic schools for Catholic cultural groups on condition that the programme includes one period of instruction in the French language each week. The Commission provides accommodation in public school buildings, janitorial services, and pays the teachers' salaries, at a rate of $10.00 for a period of instruction lasting about three hours. The cultural groups are responsible for forming classes, which must have about 20 students, supplying textbooks, and finding teachers (who must be approved by the Commission). The sponsoring groups must also submit reports on attendance and agree to inspection from time to time by the Commission's representative, usually a school inspector. In 1965-66, nine cultural groups participated in the programme; 4,600 students were enrolled; and there were 173 teachers in 189 classes, usually held on Saturday mornings. The cost of the programme to the Commission was $71,000. The obligation to devote part of the short weekly session to French, which means recruiting teachers able and willing to teach French, is considered onerous by some cultural groups and has sometimes been only perfunctorily fulfilled. The Commission has taken action to improve the French instruction, in one case by supplying the textbooks for the teaching of French, in another by increasing the amount of time to be alloted to French and assuming control of the appointment of teachers of French. On the whole the programme has been successful. It is one factor in the relatively high enrolment in part-time ethnic schools in Montreal, and it demonstrates that with some support from the public system, these schools are viable institutions.

425. We endorse this approach. Part-time ethnic schools have played an important part in the maintenance of languages and cultures. Support from local authorities, where it is possible, is the most appropriate form of assistance because of the variety of situations and factors that must be considered. It is encouraging that local arrangements have proven

possible and successful, and we do not feel recommendations for action by either the provincial or federal levels of government are warranted.

2. Full-time schools

426. Private ethnic full-time schools offer a dual programme. Their students follow the regular curriculum of the province in which the school is located, and in addition a programme of linguistic, religious, and cultural courses. They are subject to inspection by educational representatives of the provinces, and their grades and diplomas are recognized by the provincial departments of education.

427. There are ethnic full-time schools in all the provinces except the Atlantic Provinces, and their total enrolment is close to 9,000. The Mennonites and the Jewish, Ukrainian, and Greek cultural groups operate such schools. The Mennonite religious community, approximately 150,000 strong, is one of the major supporters of full-time schools. It operates ten schools at the high school level with a total enrolment of about 1,300 students, and six Bible schools with an enrolment of about 400. There are also about 400 students in three Bible colleges primarily concerned with training prospective ministers and missionaries. In all, Mennonite communities across Canada operate 19 educational institutions at the secondary and college levels.

Jewish schools

428. Most Jewish schools are at the elementary level. It has been estimated that approximately 4,500 students are enrolled in 26 Jewish full-time schools, 13 of them in Montreal. Some are maintained by local congregations, ranging from ultra-orthodox to reform in their religious practices. Others are run by lay bodies, and the teaching in these schools tends to stress the history and culture of the Jewish people.

Ukrainian, Greek, and other schools

429. Like the Mennonites, the Ukrainians have concentrated their efforts mostly at the secondary level. Their schools have been organized and maintained mainly by the two Ukrainian national churches. In the Prairie Provinces, the Ukrainian Catholic Church operates at least five full-time schools with about 2,000 students. The Greek group is the latest to establish a full-time school; in 1963 it opened an elementary school in Montreal, now attended by approximately 500 students. Other groups that once maintained such schools have closed them. Whether the total enrolment in full-time ethnic schools has declined is difficult to estimate, since the number and size of the schools operated by the active groups have been growing.

Distinctive features

430. The distinctive feature of a private ethnic full-time school is that it brings together children of the same cultural group not only to study but also to engage in recreational activities. The children attending full-time schools also participate as a body in ceremonial

events within the cultural group and represent it in ceremonies in the community. They are often spoken of and addressed as future leaders of their cultural group. The segregation of the children from children of other cultural groups, and the emphasis on their potential for leadership, seem designed to reinforce their sense of ethnic identity and their loyalty to the group's values.

431. The formal ethnic programmes of these schools are usually provided for by a slight extension of school hours. The programme may be spread over more grades and more days of the week than in the part-time school because teachers and classrooms are always available. However, full-time schools are not necessarily more effective than part-time schools in maintaining a cultural group's language and culture. Research in the United States resulted in the conclusion that "by every available index the All Day School is far less embedded in ethnicity and, therefore, far less concerned with language maintenance than any other type of ethnically affiliated school."[1]

432. Like other private schools, ethnic full-time schools are usually unable to provide as elaborate facilities and equipment as the public schools, or as wide a range of subjects and programmes. In part this is a matter of size and organization; in part it is a matter of funds. It raises the question of whether or not these schools prepare their students as well as the public schools for full participation in Canadian society.

Financial difficulties

433. The tuition fee at full-time schools is usually $200 or $300 a year. Scolarships are frequently offered in order to maintain enrolment and attract outstanding students. If the schools are residential, free room and board are also offered in some cases.

434. The financial burden involved in the running of a full-time school is probably the major deterrent to the proliferation of such schools. The cost of building and maintaining schools is high and it is increasing rapidly. So are the costs of facilities and supplies and of teaching and supervisory staff. Churches have been the initiators and main supporters of full-time schools, but they have had to make heavy demands upon the whole cultural group for the funds required. The existence of such schools seems to be precarious, except within the Jewish community. Only in the Province of Quebec do ethnic private full-time schools receive provincial support.

Future prospects

435. In the future the financial burden may become an insurmountable problem for ethnic full-time schools, as the costs of providing an education adequate for full participation in modern society continue to increase. If they must compete with other schools for students, they are likely to do so by weakening the ethnic component in their programmes.

[1] Fishman and Nahirny, "The Ethnic Group School and Mother Tongue Maintenance," 95.

In the United States research indicates that such schools are tending to discontinue instruction in the mother tongue and to enroll ethnically "inappropriate" students.[1] If such schools raise their fees, they are likely to base their enrolment on economic factors rather than cultural origin. The grave concern of some of the Canadian ethnic full-time schools about funds, even at a time of heavy immigration and general affluence, seems to indicate pressures that may lead them in this same direction.

436. We have considered with care the proposal made in briefs that public financial support be provided for these schools but reject it because there are serious difficulties. These include the present heavy demands on all our educational resources, the need to provide all children with equal opportunities in terms of programmes and services, the practical problems of teachers, textbooks, and space, and the question of public control over educational facilities supported by public funds. Our research and anlysis lead us to conclude that even with some public aid, the smaller cultural groups could not afford to support a separate network of full-time schools that could maintain standards and facilities comparable to the public system, particularly in the range of their curriculum and special services. There is also a danger that the public school system would suffer in many communities if several cultural groups were to set up their own schools supported by taxes; the size of the constituency supporting the public schools would be reduced while at the same time the new full-time schools would not have open enrolment. We do not consider this potential impairment of the public system acceptable; the result could be detrimental to all children concerned.

437. As with part-time ethnic schools, local arrangements seem the most appropriate form of support. Private ethnic schools should receive the same treatment from provincial educational authorities as other private schools. We have no recommendations to make concerning these schools although we feel it important to record the part they play in the maintenance of the languages and cultures of those of other than British or French ethnic origin.

C. Colleges and Universities

1. The teaching of modern languages

438. In 1965-66, as Table 18 shows, 27 different modern languages other than English and French were taught at one or more of 36 Canadian universities and colleges. German, Spanish, or Russian were taught at many institutions; 13 taught Italian, seven Ukrainian, and six Polish.

[1] *Ibid.*, 100.

Languages offered

439. A number of the languages currently spoken in Canada were not offered at any of the universities or colleges studied; these included Swedish, Danish, Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, and Dutch. No university or college taught any of the Eskimo tongues, and of the native Indian languages only Cree was offered as a subject for linguistic analysis, at the University of Alberta.

Table 18. Modern Language Courses

Courses in modern languages other than English and French offered in 36 universities and colleges—Canada, 1965-66

Universities and colleges	Total	Romance languages				Slavic languages						Germanic languages			Other European languages			Asiatic languages										Other languages
		Catalan	Italian	Portuguese	Spanish	Czech	Polish	Russian	Serbo-Croat	Slovak	Ukrainian	German	Icelandic	Norwegian	Gaelic	Modern Greek	Yiddish	Arabic	Chinese	Japanese	Malay	Pali	Persian	Sanskrit	Tibetan	Turkish	Urdu	Cree
Total		1	13	3	33	1	6	23	2	1	7	34	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1
Acadia	1											x																
Alberta	8		x		x		x	x			x	x		x														x
Bishop's	3				x			x				x																
British Columbia	8		x	x	x		x	x				x							x	x								
Carleton	3				x			x				x																
Dalhousie	4				x			x				x						x										
Laurentian	4		x		x			x				x																
Laval	5		x	x	x			x				x																
Loyola	2				x							x																
McGill	10		x		x			x				x				x		x		x		x				x	x	
McMaster	4		x		x			x				x																
Manitoba	6						x	x			x	x	x				x											
Marianopolis	2				x							x																
Memorial	3				x			x				x																
Moncton	2				x							x																
Montreal	9		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x																
Mount Allison	2				x							x																
Mount St. Vincent	1				x																							
New Brunswick	3			x	x							x																
Notre Dame	2				x							x																
Ottawa	6			x	x		x	x			x	x																
Queen's	4			x	x			x				x																
R. M. C. (Kingston)	1											x																
Saskatchewan	6				x			x			x	x												x	x			
Sir George Williams	3				x			x				x																
St. Dunstan's	1				x																							
St. Francis Xavier	4				x			x				x			x													
St. Mary's	2				x							x																
St. Patrick's	2				x							x																
Toronto	17	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x						x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	
Trent	2				x							x																
Victoria	3				x			x				x																
Waterloo	4				x			x			x	x																
Western Ontario	4		x		x			x				x																
Windsor	4		x		x			x				x																
York	3				x			x				x																

Source: Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."

440. There is some correlation between ethnic concentrations and the language programmes offered by local colleges or universities. At the University of Manitoba an honours programme in Icelandic, originally endowed with $250,000 by the Icelandic community, offered ten courses. The University of Manitoba also offered two courses in Yiddish and Hebrew through an endowment from the Jewish community. In Alberta, where there is a concentration of people of Scandinavian origin, courses in Norwegian are available. However, it appears that the total enrolment in various language classes owes more to the prestige of the language than to an interest on the part of the students in maintaining their ancestral languages.

Entrance requirements

441. One factor influencing the development of language courses at universities is the entrance requirements regarding languages, including how many languages are required. Entrance requirements are changing rapidly with changes in the high schools and with the establishment of new universities. Credits in modern languages are generally not demanded for entrance into faculties of engineering or applied science, although they may be used to fill one of the optional requirements and although students in honours courses normally must pass a reading examination in a language useful in their research. Credits in modern languages usually are required for entry into other faculties of arts and science at most, although not all, Canadian universities. The requirements for 23 English-language universities in 1965-66 are listed in Table 19. The French-language universities had no specific language entrance requirement, because a knowledge of English was assumed.

442. It should be noted that, although some universities accept any approved language for credit on entering the institution, the vast majority of students in fact present English, French, German, or Spanish. The right to offer any modern language for entrance credit is rarely utilized, partly because of the absence of a wide range of language courses in high school. In the three Prairie Provinces, the option of presenting Ukrainian as an entrance credit at local colleges and universities encourages students to enroll in high school courses in the language, although to date it has not encouraged large numbers of students to continue their study of the Ukrainian language at university.

Recommendation 6

443. Many universities will have changed their entrance requirements since our survey, but because these entrance requirements exert a considerable influence on the choice of languages by students at the secondary level, and we feel they have been and may still be unduly restrictive in certain cases, therefore, **we recommend that Canadian universities broaden their practices in giving standing or credits for studies in modern languages other than French and English both for admission and for degrees.** This action would serve the interests of

students and would also mean that Canada could gain greater advantage from the languages currently spoken here. It would be particularly appropriate for universities situated in areas where the languages in question are spoken by substantial numbers of people.

Table 19. Language Admission Requirements

Number of modern languages required or optional for admission to the faculties of arts and science of 23 universities and colleges—Canada, 1965–66

Universities and colleges	Arts		Science
	Number of compulsory languages	Number of optional languages[1]	Number of compulsory languages
Acadia	1*	1	1*
Alberta	1†	1	1†
Bishop's	1‡	3	
Carleton	1*	1	1*
British Columbia	1*	2	1*
Dalhousie		1**	
Loyola	1††	1	1††
McGill	1*	1	1*
McMaster	1†	2	1†
Manitoba	1†	1	1†
Mount Allison	1*	2	1*
Ottawa	2††	1	1††
Queen's	1*	2	1*
Saskatchewan	1*	1	1*
St. Dunstan's	1*		1*
St. Francis Xavier	1*	1	1*
St. Mary's	1*	1	1*
Toronto	1†	1	1†
Trent		3	
Waterloo	1*	1	
Western Ontario		1	
Windsor	1†	2	1†
York	1*	2	1*

Source: Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."

[1] Number of modern languages student may present for credit.

* At the student's choice, with approval.

† Must be one of a specified list.

‡ French is required for students from Quebec.

** French or German is required.

†† French is required.

444. As language teaching at the elementary and secondary school levels is improved the language capabilities of future university students will also improve. Colleges and universities should study the possibility of expanding their curricula in the fields of the humanities, particularly languages and literature, and the social sciences, to take advantage of the linguistic potential of their students.

2. Area study programmes

445. When a university or college offers courses in languages other than the two official languages, it may do so as part of an area study programme. Such programmes consist of courses and research projects all related to a clearly defined area of the world, and emphasizing not only languages but also other fields in the humanities and social sciences, such as anthropology, economics, geography, history, linguistics, literature, philosophy, political science, and sociology. The area under study may be a specific country, or a region. There appears to be little relationship between the areas of the world singled out for study at Canadian universities and the areas from which large numbers of the Canadian population of other than British or French origin have originally come. The programmes are generally not specifically concerned with the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural heritages of those represented in our population.

a. Soviet and Eastern European studies

446. A survey of university calendars for 1965-66 indicated that the emphasis in area study programmes was then focussed almost entirely on Russian and Slavic studies, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Ten Canadian universities offered undergraduate programmes in this field with the subject matter of the courses offered spread widely throughout the humanities and social sciences and including a variety of language courses.

Slavic studies

447. Programmes offered at the graduate level were generally closely related to undergraduate courses. For example, the University of British Columbia offered a master's degree in Slavic studies with seminars covering the same general areas as its undergraduate courses. Master of arts programmes in Slavic languages and literature were widely available. McMaster University had a programme devoted entirely to the Russian language and literature. The degree of doctor of philosophy was offered at the University of Ottawa and the University of Toronto, with the emphasis almost exclusively on language (plus linguistics and philology) and literature. A similar doctorate was also awarded at the University of Montreal until 1965 when the course was changed to

Table 20. Soviet and East European Studies

Number of courses in Soviet and East European studies offered at selected Canadian universities—Canada, 1965–66

Subjects	Alberta	British Columbia	Carleton	McGill	Manitoba	Montreal	Ottawa	Saskatchewan	Toronto (undergraduate)[1]	Toronto (graduate)	Total
Russian literature	9	7	6	8	4	5	25	5	8	8	85
Russian language[2]	9	7	4	9	4	9	25*	5	6	3	81
Ukrainian literature	5				2	1	15	2		2	27
Ukrainian language	7				4	1	7	2	3		24
East European history	2–H†	4	1–H	2–H	1–H		6½		1–H		17½
Polish language	3	2	1‡		3	1	3	1	3		17
Russian history	3–H	3	1–H	1–H	1–H		4	1–H	2–H	1–H	17
Polish literature	1	2			1	2	8			2	16
Russian geography	1–G	1	1–G	1–G	1	½–G	1–G	1–G	1–G	1–G	9½
Russian economy	2–E		2–E	1–E				1–E	1–E	1–E	8
Russian politics	2–P	1–P	1–P	½–P			1–P		1–P	1–P	7½
Marxist philosophy	1–P	1	½–P	½–P				1–P	1–P	1–P	6
Russian culture and philosophy				1			1	2	1		5
Serbo-Croat language			1‡			1			3		5
East European culture and philosophy		1					1½				2½
Russian foreign policy		1–P	1–P								2
Serbo-Croat literature						2					2
East European geography				1–G		½–G					1½
East European economies	1–E										1
East European politics	1–P										1
East European relations		1									1
Czech literature						½					½
Slovak literature						½					½
Total	47	31	19½	25	21	24	98	21	31	20	337½

Source: Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."

[1] Except for the University of Toronto, no distinction is made between undergraduate and graduate courses.

[2] Language courses include grammar, composition, and other aspects of linguistics.

* Includes five courses in Slavic philology and linguistics.

† As many area study programmes are interdepartmental, courses available to area study students but given within a department are indicated as follows: H-history, P-political science; E-economics; G-geography.

‡ A requirement for students selecting intensive study on Poland and Yugoslavia, not regularly offered and non-credit.

conclude with the *diplôme d'études supérieures*. The University of Toronto also permitted a minor concentration in Polish, Ukrainian, or a Serbo-Croat language. Although there is no area study programme as such at the University of Alberta, it was possible to take a doctorate in political science or history with specialization in the area of Eastern Europe or the U.S.S.R.

448. Table 20 is a summary of the courses in Soviet and East European studies available in 1965-66. Language and literature courses dominated at most universities. Only the Russian language was offered by all the Canadian universities having Slavic area study programmes. A minimum of four and an average of more than six Russian courses were available at each of these universities. Ukrainian was taught mainly on the prairies. Although Polish language courses were available at more universities than Ukrainian, usually only one course was offered in Polish and nowhere were there more than three; even fewer courses were provided in Polish literature. Courses available

449. The University of Montreal was the only French language institution offering a formal programme in Soviet or East European studies, and no institution in the Atlantic Provinces offered a programme in this area, although the Russian language was taught at Dalhousie University.

450. Several specific factors seem to influence the existence of Soviet or Slavic study programmes. The size of an institution is important as well as the availability of source materials. The University of Toronto and the University of British Columbia offer a wide variety of courses in many subjects because of their size and resources; work on Eastern Europe is only one segment of this, although an important one. Course offerings also depend upon the presence of qualified professors. To a considerable extent the arrival of university-educated immigrants to Canada since 1945 has stimulated Soviet and Slavic studies. The position of the U.S.S.R. in the world today is unquestionably another powerful stimulant to Slavic studies in Canada.

b. Far Eastern studies

451. Studies of the Far East were restricted to a very few institutions in 1965-66. The University of Toronto had separate graduate and undergraduate programmes. A student could specialize in either Japanese or Chinese, which included classical Chinese and modern Mandarin. There were also courses on the literature of China and Japan, East Asian fine arts, the history of Asia and its major constituent nations, Asian philosophies, East and South Asian archaeology, and Pali and Sanskrit language and literature. The master of arts degree programme consisted of language, literature, and philosophy.

452. The University of British Columbia's bachelor of arts course in Asian studies began with courses in modern Chinese and Japanese for two years, then classical Chinese. No other languages were offered. In addition to literature, philosophy, fine arts, and history courses, courses in Asian international relations were available. These same

subject areas were also available in the graduate programme leading to the degree of master of arts. A department of Far Eastern studies has existed at Saskatchewan since 1964, but the courses offered were limited.

c. Other eastern studies

453. In 1965-66, language and literature courses were also offered in Arabic, Malay (Indonesian), Persian, Turkish, and Urdu. Courses and seminars encompassed a variety of subjects and were divided according to region, rather than discipline. McGill University was explicitly concerned with the economic development of the Muslim nations, and graduate work could be carried out in the departments of political science, history, economics, and philosophy, oriented toward problems of the Near East, in conjunction with the Institute of Islamic Studies. McGill's programme, founded in 1952, operated at the graduate level only. Doctoral candidates were required to have two years residence in the Muslim world.

454. At the University of Toronto, honours bachelor of arts, masters, and doctoral degrees were available in Islamic as well as ancient Near Eastern studies. Except for three interdepartmental courses each split among history, geography, and culture, the undergraduate programme at Toronto dealt exclusively with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish language and literature. Graduate courses included area studies of Islam in North Africa and Spain, Islamic philosophy, the history of Muslim civilization and Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu language and literature. Sanskrit and Pali were taught in the Far Eastern studies department; political and economic issues of Muslim India and Pakistan were also dealt with.

d. Other programmes

455. In 1965 the University of Toronto initiated a Latin American studies department, joining Laval University, the pioneer in this field. In 1965-66 only 13 and 12 courses were offered at Toronto and Laval respectively so neither programme could be regarded as intensive.

456. In Nova Scotia, St. Francis Xavier University conducted a Celtic studies programme with four courses in Gaelic language and literature and two in history. The honours Icelandic degree at the University of Manitoba was purely literary and linguistic. Acadia University sponsored three West Indian studies courses within its political science department. There was a single course in Hungarian and Estonian literature within the graduate programme at the University of Montreal, for which competence in these languages was a prerequisite and which was not given every year.

457. No Canadian university had formal area studies dealing with Western Europe or any country within it, such as France, Germany, or Italy. However, most courses in the humanities and social sciences dealt with Western Europe or its constituent countries. Regulations regarding the selection of courses might permit an individual to work out a specialized programme concentrating on one or more Western European countries.

3. Expanding university programmes

458. We have indicated above that we feel universities should study the possibility of expanding their curricula in the fields of the humanities, particularly languages and literature, and social sciences relating to particular areas. Much of this expansion could take place through area study programmes. These programmes would serve the national interest and facilitate Canada's international role. Such programmes are complex and costly; they should probably be concentrated in relatively few universities, where high standards could be achieved with the resources available. There are many factors to be considered in determining which university should institute a particular programme. One important factor might well be a concentration of people, in the region where the university is located, whose ethnic origin corresponds to the area of study. We feel that this question should be studied at once by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, or by another inter-university body, in the interest of the most effective utilization of educational resources. Therefore, **we recommend that Canadian universities expand their studies in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences relating to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages.**

Recommendation 7

4. Ethnic colleges and universities

459. We considered the case for a separate, federated university in western Canada, made up of ethnically-based colleges, such as a Ukrainian college and a German college. We concluded that we could make no recommendation concerning the creation of such an institution. We note the formation of colleges serving particular cultural groups and employing the languages of those groups in addition to English, French, or both the official languages. For example, in Manitoba a Ukrainian Orthodox college (St. Andrew's) is part of the University of Manitoba; a Ukrainian Catholic college (St. Vladimir's) intends to become a degree-granting institution; and a research institute (the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences) has an adult education programme in Ukrainian studies. Such institutions could form a federated

university and they should be free to do so. Probably, for both academic and financial reasons, they would prefer to be part of one of the larger, existing universities.

D. Adult Education

460. Various cultural groups in Canada carry out programmes in the field of adult, or continuing, education. In Book II we pointed out that "the term continuing education at the present time is poorly defined, encompassing as it does a complex and widely differing range of agencies and programmes" and noted the need for "a thorough study of the desirable organization and structures required to encourage discussion and further study among adults on Canadian affairs. . . . "[1] This remains true, but adult education is of special importance in the context of this Book. Programmes conducted by the non-British, non-French cultural groups can play an important part in maintaining the cultural heritage of these groups.

Aims of courses

461. In many cases the existing programmes consist of courses on different cultures where the appropriate language is used as the language of instruction. Although varying quantitatively and qualitatively from group to group, their main objective is to raise the standard of education and knowledge of the group's members. Some are refresher courses; some are classes designed to up-date specialized advanced study; some are forums for the consideration of questions of daily life. Some inform group members about current cultural affairs or about the results of recent research on a particular culture. Some are courses in the language, literature, or history of a particular cultural group.

462. Although the Commission did not undertake a survey of such programmes, there are a number of institutions which offer these types of courses such as the Polish Research Institutes in Montreal and Toronto, and the B'nai B'rith Foundation in larger centres; German cultural and educational organizations, such as Goethe Houses, the Ukrainian Prosvita Institutes, and Italian societies such as the Dante Alighieri groups. In 1966 the Polish Canadian Research Institute in Toronto organized a cycle of lectures "in order to acquaint the Polish society with the Problems that are dealt with by the Institute, and to bring the individuals interested in the activities of the Institute into contact with it. . . . Subjects of the lectures are within the orbit of the Institute's interests."[2] The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg in 1968-69 offered adult education courses in Ukrainian language,

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 789.

[2] T. Krychowski, *The Polish Canadian Research Institute: Its Aims and Achievements* (Toronto, 1967), 6-7.

literature, and history. Various Mennonite schools in Canada are involved in adult education for the German cultural group. These lectures and programmes are geared to the level of education of the adult members of the relevant cultural group. They supplement the work of extension divisions of universities and school boards, which usually offer extension programmes in adult education in either English or French.

463. Programmes in the field of adult, or continuing, education for members of the non-British, non-French cultural groups emphasize particular cultures and languages. They play an important role in emphasizing the contribution made by these cultural groups in Canada, and thus contribute to the country as a whole. We feel, therefore, that they merit the interest and support of such educational authorities as the extension departments of school boards in relation to informational programmes and the Citizenship Branch in regard to cultural programmes. Such support could include assistance in providing suitable premises for courses and educational facilities such as materials and audio-visual aids.

464. Finally, we feel it most important that the special dimension of programmes in various cultures and languages other than English and French be carefully considered whenever continuing education is studied or planned. When the thorough study of continuing education suggested in Book II is undertaken, the special contribution and needs of the non-British, non-French cultural groups should be given particular attention.

465. Like the public schools, the press, radio, television, and films, often referred to as the mass media, are generally thought of as tending to dissolve cultural differences. However, they can also be used to support and maintain a group's culture and identity and to gain recognition of the contribution of different cultural groups by society at large. Two aspects of the media of communication are of interest to us here.[1] The first is the two-way communication betwen a group and society at large. The media provide members of all cultural groups with information about Canada; they express Canadian beliefs, values, and customs and portray the Canadian way of life. They may also provide information about the beliefs, values, and customs of different cultural groups to Canadian society as a whole. The second aspect of the role of mass media is communication within a cultural group. Mass media may transmit news of the homeland and the group's activities, and may provide information and opinion about life in Canada. Access to such information in their own languages is of great importance to immigrants, particularly those who have not acquired skill in either English or French. It is less vital to Canadian-born members of non-British, non-French cultural groups.

A. The Ethnic Press

466. The role of the ethnic press is of intense concern to spokesmen for cultural groups other than the British and French in Canada. Many ethnic publications have a long history; there is no sizable

[1] This chapter is only concerned with the media as they relate to cultural groups other than the Bri ish and French. English- and French-language newspapers, radio, and television will be discussed in the section of our *Report* dealing with the mass media.

cultural group in Canada today that does not have at least one publication devoted to its interests, and most groups have several.

Extent of discussion

467. Our discussion here is limited to the ethnic press, although it would also be valuable to examine the treatment of cultural groups other than the British and French in the general press, and the extent to which the general press is read by members of such groups. This topic certainly warrants research. The term ethnic press as used here includes all private publications designed to appeal to cultural groups other than the British and French.[1] These need not be in a language other than English or French; what matters is their content and readers. Only regular publications are considered. Publications originating outside Canada are not included although their omission may create an inaccurate impression as to which publications influence the various cultural groups. Two types of publications originating in other countries should be kept in mind although they are not included in this study. One is what could be called the exile or *émigré* press, which is politically motivated. *Freie Press Korrespondenz,* a Ukrainian publication originating in Munich, to which many Canadian ethnic press editors subscribe, and *Exil et Liberté,* the organ of a group of Russian political exiles published in Paris, are two examples. The other type is general publications issued by the countries of origin of Canada's different cultural groups. These may or may not be politically oriented and may or may not be inspired by the government of the originating country. The United States is another important source of foreign publications of interest to Canada's other cultural groups. For example, no daily newspapers in Ukrainian are published in Canada but anyone wishing to read such a publication can subscribe to an American one. Since neither the ethnic origin nor the number of Canadian readers of foreign-based publications is known, it is impossible to attempt even an approximate estimate of their influence here.

1. Historical background

468. It is extremely difficult to trace the history of the ethnic press in Canada. There have undoubtedly been ethnic publications that have disappeared completely; there are others whose existence is known only through brief references in local histories.

Early publications

469. The earliest ethnic periodicals published in Canada seem to be two German weeklies, the *Kanada Museum und Allgemeine Zeitung,* established in New Berlin (Kitchener), Ontario, in 1822 and the *Neuschottlaendische Calendar,* begun in 1787. The oldest ethnic periodical still publishing is the Icelandic-Canadian *Heimskringla,* established in 1886. In 1959 it amalgamated with another Icelandic paper, the

[1] The word "private" is used to exclude publications issued by government agencies.

Lögberg, founded in 1888, and the two are issued today under their combined name. In 1892, the first year for which there is a record, there were 18 ethnic periodicals published in Canada, in German, Icelandic, and Swedish. The *Jewish Times* was established in Montreal in 1897. The first Slavic periodicals, the Ukrainian-language *Kanadiiskyi Farmer* and the Polish-language *Glos Kanadyjski,* appeared in Winnipeg in 1904. The first Chinese-language paper, the *Chinese Times,* appeared in Vancouver in 1907.

Rates of growth

470. The ethnic press has shown a constant increase during this century. There were two Slavic publications in 1905; in 1965 there were 54, 33 of them Ukrainian.[1] The Romance language groups had only two Italian publications in 1911; by 1965 they had a total of 14, 11 Italian and three Portuguese. Before World War I the publications of the German group outnumbered those of the Slavic group by roughly 12 to one and most of them were in the German language.[2] The Scandinavian group also had a few periodicals. The Dutch ethnic press did not appear until the 1950's when a dozen periodicals were founded. Publications in languages that do not fall within the main groups of Germanic, Slavic, or Romance languages have shown a variable rate of growth, although taken together they rose from eight in 1911 to 57 in 1965. Many of these publications belong to cultural groups, such as the Lithuanian, that did not have a press in Canada prior to World War II. The total ethnic press in Canada in 1965 included 155 publications.

471. The number of periodicals does not necessarily indicate the interest that the members of a group have in their ethnic press. The number of German periodicals decreased sharply between 1911 and 1921, for example, but there was not an equal decline in their total circulation, which suggests that a process of amalgamation was occurring.

472. Census figures show that there has been some correlation between the size of an ethnic origin category and the number of publications directed toward it. Certainly the strong upsurge in the number of publications during the 1950's was due in some measure to the great wave of immigration after 1945. It appears that the life-span of ethnic publications is dependent on immigration, because the high level of language loss among the native born tends to reduce a publication's potential clientele. A study of the Polish ethnic press in Canada noted that, despite efforts to maintain the Polish language,

[1] Most of the data in this section is drawn from Robert F. Adie, "The Ethnic Press," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. in 1965-66, with the cooperation of the Ethnic Press Section of the Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

[2] *See* Appendix II, Table A-148. The linguistic classifications used here are those outlined by Commissioner J. B. Rudnyckyj, in his Separate Statement, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,* I, 156-7.

Canadian-born children are generally not familiar enough with the language to support a Polish-language newspaper. The study concluded that Polish newspapers published in Canada are read almost exclusively by immigrants, and that this is also true of most other ethnic publications.[1] This conclusion is substantiated by the ratio of immigration to circulation. There is a fairly strong correlation between immigration in a particular ethnic origin category and the increase in circulation of ethnic publications in the corresponding language.[2] However, the number of immigrants does not alone determine either the number of publications a cultural group supports or the rate of increase of circulation.

Religious affiliations

473. There is some indication that the earlier publications reflected the religious affiliations of the various cultural groups to a much greater extent than is now true. Thus a preponderant number of the early German publications could be considered religious publications.[3] Research shows that the early Polish press in Canada was also very concerned with religious matters and that often the publications were church sponsored. However, there is evidently no serious Polish religious press today.[4]

474. Not all early ethnic periodicals were primarily concerned with religious topics. The Icelandic press was relatively free from religious orientation and was devoted to literary pursuits. Even the German and Polish papers published in Canada were not solely concerned with religion, and some dealt with the topic only occasionally.

Sponsoring organizations

475. When an early publication was not a church publication it was usually the official publication of a secular ethnic association which often meant that the press had to conform to the views of the sponsoring organization. This dependence often led to heated controversies, both ideological and personal. The history of relations between ethnic associations and the press reveals a continued tendency among editors and publishers to seek independence from their sponsoring associations, especially since World War II.[5]

2. *Types of publications and circulation*

476. Most ethnic publications appeared either weekly or monthly. In 1965, there were six dailies, 10 semi-weeklies, 65 weeklies, 15 semi-

[1] Victor Turek, *The Polish-Language Press in Canada: Its History and a Biographical Sketch* (Toronto, 1962), 33.

[2] *See* Appendix II, Tables A-148 and A-149.

[3] Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1957), 175, notes that the first religious periodical published in the United States in the German language was established in 1764, and that from then on almost every German religious or church group has had a publication at some time.

[4] Turek, *The Polish-Language Press in Canada*, 59.

[5] *Ibid.*, 51.

monthlies, 51 monthlies, and eight quarterlies, semi-annuals, and annuals. Thus, about 90 per cent of ethnic publications were weeklies, semi-monthlies, or monthlies.

477. Weeklies and monthlies also dominated in terms of circulation. The weeklies had a total circulation of approximately 461,000 copies per week. Most had a circulation of about 3,000 copies, but a few had higher circulations. The largest was reported by *Il Corriere Italiano* (Montreal), which printed 36,500 copies per issue. It was followed by *Il Cittadino Canadese* (Montreal, with 24,000), *Ukrainsky Holos* (Winnipeg, 16,000), and *Der Courier* (Winnipeg, 15,000).

478. The total circulation of the ethnic monthlies and semi-monthlies was considerably smaller, about 148,000 in all. The monthly with the largest circulation was the *German Canadian Business Review,* which sold approximately 18,000 copies per month. Publications appearing semi-weekly had a total circulation of 40,000 copies and the quarterlies 27,000 copies.

479. Only the Chinese and Jewish cultural groups published daily papers. Each of the four Chinese dailies sold about 5,000 copies. For the Jewish group, *Der Yiddisher Journal* of Toronto and *Der Kanader Adler* of Montreal, had between them a combined circulation of 30,000 copies until *Der Kanader Adler* ceased publication in 1967.

480. It is only possible to speculate about why these two groups have dailies while other groups do not. The Chinese group tends to be concentrated heavily in British Columbia, and this concentration might be one factor, but it is not the only one. The question remains largely unanswered and needs further research.

3. Geographic distribution

481. The number of publications originating in eastern Canada has risen sharply during the last few decades. This corresponds only in part to the shift in location of the immigrant population during the post-war period, and to the appearance of new cultural groups such as the Lithuanian and Portuguese. In 1965, the greatest number of ethnic periodicals was published in Ontario, followed in descending order by the Prairie Provinces, Quebec, and British Columbia. No ethnic periodicals were published east of Montreal.

Regional concentrations

482. The publications originating in each province reflected the ethnic concentrations in that region. For example, the publications in British Columbia were directed to very few cultural groups, half to the Chinese and Japanese. In the prairies, almost 50 per cent of all the publications were directed to the Ukrainian cultural group and 25 per cent to the German. Four of the five Greek publications

originated in Montreal, as did six of the Jewish and four of the Italian ones. The publications of these three groups accounted for approximately 70 per cent of Quebec's ethnic press.

483. Ontario's ethnic press was particularly large but was rarely proportionate to the province's population of a particular ethnic origin category. For example, in 1961, 38 per cent of all those giving German as their ethnic origin lived in Ontario and the same figure applied to those of Jewish origin, but only 23 per cent of the German publications and 27 per cent of the Jewish ones originated in Ontario. At the same time, only 44 per cent of all those claiming Dutch origin and 27 per cent of those reporting Ukrainian origin lived in Ontario, yet 90 per cent of the Dutch and 48 per cent of the Ukrainian publications originated there. The same disproportionately large percentages applied to Polish, Scandinavian, Hungarian, and Finnish publications. Many of Ontario's ethnic publications had nation-wide circulation while most of the ethnic periodicals of the other provinces were distributed almost entirely within that province. This suggests that the Ontario ethnic press was influential in shaping the attitudes and opinions of many cultural groups.

4. Number of publications

484. It is difficult to measure the strength of the ethnic press in each of the various cultural groups. Ukrainian publications are the most numerous; in 1965 there were 33 of them, 21 per cent of the total number of ethnic publications. Jewish, German, and Italian publications were next in size, in that order. However, when the number of publications is related to the population of a particular ethnic origin category, the Lithuanian press, with five periodicals for 28,000 group members, had the highest ratio, followed in order by the Chinese, Hungarian, and Ukrainian presses. The German press had the lowest ratio, serving the largest ethnic origin category in Canada, after the British and French. When the circulation rate was related to the number of persons in the corresponding ethnic origin category, the Estonian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and Chinese ethnic papers were highest. Comparisons on the basis of those reporting a particular mother tongue as distinct from those reporting the corresponding ethnic origin showed an essentially similar pattern with some notable variations. On this basis the Lithuanian, Estonian, Hungarian, Icelandic, and Chinese ethnic presses led.

485. It is very difficult to assess the relative strength of the ethnic press among the various cultural groups: the feeling of cultural distinctiveness, the percentage of immigrants in the group, immigrant concen-

trations, the language retention rate among the native born, educational standards and aspirations, and occupational differences all contribute to its relative strength in any particular group.

5. Language patterns

486. Approximately 80 per cent of all ethnic publications in Canada were printed in a language other than English or French. Another 10 per cent were printed in English and the remaining 10 per cent partly in English or French and partly in another language. Only the *Bulletin du cercle juif* of Montreal appeared entirely in French.

Bilingual publications

487. The 10 per cent which published in a mixture of French, English, and another language included only those that adhered to a consistent bilingual policy, because most papers printed an occasional article in one of the two official languages. In 1965, this mixed category included five Ukrainian, three Jewish, and all the three Japanese publications, as well as one each of the German, Swedish, and Danish publications. Most of these were monthlies, and one was a quarterly, so it would appear that these publications were directed to smaller and possibly more exclusive sub-sections of ethnic groups.

English publications

488. There were seven Jewish and three Ukrainian ethnic publications in English, as well as one Chinese, one German, one Dutch, and one Icelandic. They were all issued less frequently than those in other languages, and seemed, like the bilingual publications, to be tailored to the requirements of small sub-sections of the groups. These publications tended to be devoted to cultural, religious, and professional topics, rather than to general events.

489. The reason for publishing an ethnic periodical in English seemed to be to communicate with members of the cultural group who no longer read their ancestral language, or who prefer English. There was a particular tendency to publish sports news, children and youth sections, and editorials on Canadian topics.

490. The use of English to maintain or increase circulation appears unsuccessful. In fact, in most instances, it actually resulted in a decline in circulation; immigrants are unable to profit from these articles while the Canadian born probably prefer to read large English-language dailies.

6. Developments since 1958

Canada Ethnic Press Federation

491. One of the most significant developments in the organization of Canada's ethnic press was the founding in 1958 of the Canada Ethnic Press Federation (CEPF). Before 1942, ethnic publications were almost entirely independent of one another and cooperation was minimal. The first step toward sustained and effective collaboration

was made in 1942, when the publishers of western ethnic papers formed the Canada Press Club of Winnipeg. A similar move occurred in Ontario in 1951, when the Canadian Ethnic Press Club of Toronto was founded. In 1958, the two clubs united into a single organization, the Canada Ethnic Press Federation. Since then ethnic press clubs have also been founded in Vancouver and Montreal. The objectives of the Federation are to study and interpret the Canadian scene and to aid the integration of ethnic cultures into that scene.

492. Most of the Federation's member publications are weeklies with large circulations and more than half of them are directed toward Slavic groups. Many other publications do not belong to the Federation for a variety of reasons, including financial difficulties, the organization of the Federation, and personal and regional rivalries. Certain types of periodicals, such as monthlies and quarterlies, see little advantage in membership, since they tend not to rely on advertising (an important concern of the CEPF), and because they characteristically appeal to a rather select clientele. Regional jealousies are particularly strong, and they often cut across ethnic lines. For example, many editors of publications originating in Toronto are recent immigrants and they have often been resented as intruders by older immigrants or by the Canadian born. Westerners occasionally voice a general suspicion of eastern "foreigners," and hint that the federal government favours Toronto at their expense. However, the CEPF has had a considerable degree of success. It has assumed the role of spokesman for the needs and desires of the ethnic press, and it has obtained recognition from the federal and some provincial governments.

493. The Federation has also assumed the role of guardian of the interests of all non-British, non-French cultural groups, calling official attention to cases of discrimination or alleged discrimination against them. Promotion of a more open immigration policy is a major concern. It has also been very energetic, and fairly successful, in persuading the federal and provincial governments to increase government advertising in ethnic publications. Finally, it has attempted to consolidate inter-ethnic activities and relations through a formal exchange of information among its member publications.

New sources of material

494. A second significant development among ethnic publications is a fairly recent tendency both to broaden and consolidate their sources of information. This development may in the long run prove just as important as the founding of the CEPF. In the past an ethnic editor had to rely almost exclusively on translations from English- and French-language papers, and on out of date publications from the homeland. These two sources are still important, but they no longer predominate, and are supplemented by a variety of other sources. These include

publications by government agencies; material distributed by Canadian Scene (a Toronto news service founded to help in the settlement and integration of new immigrants, privately financed and providing information in 12 languages for the use of all non-Communist, other-language publications in Canada); the CEPF; various small press services; domestic periodicals and magazines; foreign government publications; the foreign press services; and radio and television broadcasts. Because of lack of staff and financial resources, ethnic publications must rely mainly on secondary sources of information on national and international affairs. The major secondary sources of such information are weekly news magazines and English- and French-language dailies and weeklies. Local news is generally taken from local newspapers.

495. Press services of other countries are not widely used by the editors of ethnic publications. The only important exception is the Jewish Telegraphic Agency which supplies material to some Jewish publications. However, many countries with large numbers of immigrants in Canada finance monthly or semi-monthly publications which are sent free to both editors and individuals.

Recent consolidation

496. In the last few years, the ethnic press has become an established institution; a great change from its unstructured and ephemeral past. These changes have increased the ability of an ethnic publication to supply relevant information on topics of interest to a particular cultural group, and have thus also improved its ability to retain its readers. Furthermore, the ability of the ethnic press to voice the demands of the different cultural groups in a coherent fashion through the CEPF may help to persuade governments and organizations to meet these demands, which may in turn increase the importance of the ethnic press.

7. *Content*

497. Ethnic publications devote about 50 per cent of their space to news, 25 per cent to entertainment, and 25 per cent to advertising. Many people believe that ethnic publications contain a large amount of information on the activities and interests of the cultural groups they serve but content analysis suggests that this is not true. A 1965-66 survey of 67 publications directed toward ten different cultural groups showed that the average coverage of group activities was only about 25 per cent of the total news coverage, or 13 per cent of the material published.[1]

498. However, some papers carried considerably more material on group activities. In the Lithuanian publications approximately 70 per cent of the news published dealt with the group and for the Greek

[1] *See* Adie, "The Ethnic Press."

press the figure was about 40 per cent. Different publications directed toward a single cultural group also varied remarkably in the proportion of space they devoted to group news.

Canadian topics

499. The proportion of Canadian news also varied widely between cultural groups and individual publications, but the average was 20 to 25 per cent of the total news. A wide range of Canadian topics was discussed but some themes were emphasized consistently. In general these were themes that affected, or appear to affect, the cultural groups involved. Any event, proposal, or issue concerning immigration was stressed heavily. Discrimination was another topic of special interest and about half the ethnic papers surveyed were deeply and continuously concerned with this question. The ethnic press generally expressed relatively little adverse criticism of the Canadian way of life. Any criticism was usually directed toward isolated aspects of Canadian society of special concern to the cultural group or the publisher.

News of the homeland

500. News of the land of origin was another important topic in almost every ethnic publication but again it was probably of less concern than is often thought. Content analysis suggests that such news makes up no more than 20 per cent of the total news coverage. The publications of the Dutch, Jewish, Polish, Greek, and Chinese cultural groups seemed to show the strongest interest in news of their homelands.

International news

501. International topics were another important area and in this case the publications displayed a fairly even level of interest; international news ranged from 10 to 25 per cent of the total news coverage.

502. The ethnic press as a whole appeared to stress literary content, and serialized fiction and poetry were quite popular. The publications had almost no comic strips or cartoons, and little coverage of sports.

Ideological emphasis

503. A further general impression of the ethnic press is that it is more ideological than publications directed to those of French or British origin. This emphasis was difficult to determine because almost all reporting in any language and in any paper reflects the beliefs of the reporter to some degree. However, there appeared to be a considerably greater amount of explicit expression of opinion in the ethnic press. This is partly a matter of style and tradition, since most European countries have a more vigorous opinion press than North America. Editorializing of the news is probably increased because editors tend also to be leaders within their cultural group, because many publications depend on associations that have a specific ideology, and because of a belief that the ethnic paper should be educational.

Advertising

504. Advertising constituted approximately 25 per cent of the total content of the ethnic press.[1] The information available does not allow

[1] Compared to 40-60 per cent for successful Canadian dailies, according to W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1967), 150.

precise statements on the proportions paid for by local and national businesses, but approximately 75 per cent of all advertising in the ethnic press can be characterized as local.

8. Conclusions

505. The many and varied publications that make up the ethnic press render a number of important services. They interpret the events and customs of Canadian life to immigrants unacquainted with the country's two official languages. They inform their readers of activities and issues within their cultural group. They act as spokesmen for the interests and viewpoints of particular cultural groups and of immigrants in general.

Current strength

506. The vast post-war influx of immigrants, the high standard of education and literary interests of many of these immigrants, and the general affluence of their community have all contributed to the present vigour of the ethnic press. The formation of a nation-wide ethnic press federation and the improvement of news services for ethnic publications both attest to its strength and serve to increase it. Television does not seem as yet to have had adverse effects on ethnic publications either by providing an alternative source of information and entertainment or by speeding the linguistic integration of immigrants.

507. The contribution of ethnic publications to the maintenance of languages and cultures is difficult to determine. Ethnic publications no doubt prolong to some extent the use of ancestral languages and interest in different cultural heritages. However, they are typically short-lived. The recent improvements in the services they offer may increase their appeal to native-born readers.

Current aid

508. Ethnic publications might benefit greatly from additional assistance, particularly financial aid, but it should be pointed out that they already receive considerable aid. Federal, provincial, and municipal governments distribute to constituent periodicals information judged to be of particular concern to their readers. The various sectors of government also advertise in the ethnic press. The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State makes a financial contribution to the biennial conferences of the CEPF, and also occasionally indirectly subsidizes ethnic publications by entering into contracts with their editors for projects requiring research and writing. The independent news service, Canadian Scene, also performs an important service at no cost to the publications which use it.

Obstacles to further aid

509. It would be difficult to recommend further forms of monetary aid from government to ethnic publications. Independence is as important for them as for any other publication, and a government subsidy can carry with it the danger of government influence. In addition,

many forms of aid to ethnic publications would interfere with their normal tendency to rise and decline in response to a group's needs. Moreover, the practical difficulties in establishing criteria, policies, and practices for disbursing aid would be immense. The ethnic press should receive the same consideration as other areas of the media as far as support of this kind is or may be undertaken by government agencies, although a distinction might be made between regular operating costs and non-recurring capital costs or particular projects that are associated with the publications' business. However, the principle of a free and independent press must remain a central concern.

510. We approve of the existing forms of government support for the ethnic press, including the supplying of information through press releases and paid advertisements and the provision of special forms of financial assistance through the Citizenship Branch, as mentioned above. Such support should be continued and perhaps expanded. However, we do not feel that any publication should depend on a government for any sizable proportion of its funds. The need for a free and independent press precludes such subsidization of any publication, including those which make up the ethnic press.

511. Government policy decisions in other areas may adversely affect the ethnic press; for example, the recent changes in postal rates. This particular development is too recent for anyone to know in detail the nature and extent of the effect it will have, but it should be looked at by the government with a view to its consequences for the ethnic press.

B. Radio and Television Broadcasting

512. Each cultural group cannot have its own broadcasting facilities, because of the cost. It must seek to utilize the facilities of either the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation or the private sector of the broadcasting industry. We have only considered broadcasting in languages other than English or French in this section although this will not give a complete picture of the media available to members of other cultural groups. Some broadcasting in French or English is undoubtedly of interest only to these cultural groups but the number and extent of these broadcasts cannot be ascertained.

513. English and French broadcasting involves a two-directional flow of information between the two main groups in our society and the other cultural groups. Ideally Canadian society as a whole gains knowledge of the smaller cultural groups from such broadcasting, and vice versa. The presentation of the other cultural groups to the rest of the population is of greater concern here since it is obvious that Canadian society is constantly presented to the other cultural groups.

1. Broadcasting in other languages[1]

a) The public media

514. In Canada, only privately-owned broadcasting facilities broadcast in other languages. The publicly-owned broadcasting media have always operated only in French and English, with the exception of the areas noted below. The policy of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is summarized in the following statement from their brief to the Commission:

> It is natural that some of these groups should want broadcasts in their own language, but the Corporation is not in a position to meet this demand.... The CBC is a federal agency, the statutory creation of Parliament.... Parliament recognizes only two official languages....
>
> It would seem that private radio and television stations... are better situated to provide broadcasts in languages other than English or French.

CBC policy

515. The CBC's policy appears to have been developed by the Corporation, since broadcasting in languages other than English and French is not referred to in the Broadcasting Act. The [Radio] Broadcasting Regulations of the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) specifically permitted such broadcasting, and it appears that the CBC could broadcast in any language, subject to the conditions noted below. The Corporation does broadcast a small amount of service information from St. John's, Newfoundland, to the Portuguese fishing fleet operating on the Grand Banks. This service was initiated at the request of local merchants. The CBC also broadcast from Montreal during Expo '67 in languages other than French and English from midnight until 3 a.m., making use of personnel from its International Service.

Northern Service

516. The CBC excepts Indian and Eskimo languages from its general policy of limiting its broadcasts to English and French. The Corporation explains its position as follows:

> To fulfill the purpose of the CBC to educate, inform and entertain the Northern Service broadcasts programs designed to meet the needs of Canadians living in the North. One of these needs is for special programs in the Indian and Eskimo languages in addition to those in French and English.
>
> In broadcasting in these indigenous languages, the Northern Service is not trying to preserve, develop or expand their use; their viability is not the CBC's responsibility. It does so because it is the only means of communicating with some of its listeners by showing respect for their mother tongue, thereby establishing a mutual trust without which it cannot fulfill its purpose.[2]

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1 "Broadcasting in other languages" here means all broadcasting except that in English, French, or Indian and Eskimo languages. The term "foreign-language broadcasting" has intentionally been avoided in this section because it is ambiguous.

2 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Northern Service, "Indian and Eskimo Language Programs," Ottawa, January 6, 1964.

517. The Northern Service is not one connected network although parts of it do form area or regional networks. The same stations or networks broadcast Indian- and Eskimo-language programmes as well as English and French programmes.

International Service

518. In addition to its Northern Service, the CBC has an International Service with special facilities that broadcast in languages other than English and French, but these programmes are not directed to Canada's other cultural groups. The International Service is designed to provide a daily short wave broadcasting service in 11 languages, as part of the information activities of the Canadian government. Tapes of these programmes are not available in Canada, and there is no indication that the broadcasts are listened to by means of short wave receiving sets by a significant Canadian audience. Nor is the content of these broadcasts designed to appeal to residents of Canada.

519. The International Service does arrange domestic distribution of broadcasts from other countries. These programmes are not available to other cultural groups in Canada, as such, since union agreements specify that they can only be used by broadcasting organizations; but the broadcasts are of course available to all Canadian listeners when scheduled over domestic networks and stations. Although these broadcasts supply some information and considerable music from many countries, the spoken portions of the programmes are in English or French, and thus these programmes cannot be considered broadcasts in other languages.

b) The private media

520. Because the publicly-owned media broadcast mainly in Canada's two official languages, broadcasting in other languages is dependent upon private facilities. Prior to 1962 the status of broadcasting in languages other than the official languages was unclear. There was no general policy for stations to follow, but a survey conducted in January 1958 revealed that at least 54 stations offered some services in other languages.[1] In January 1962, largely as a result of an application to establish a station in Montreal to be devoted to the other cultural groups, the BBG stated its general policy on the matter. In 1964, the BBG drew up official regulations for AM and FM radio broadcasting in languages other than English, French, and Indian and Eskimo languages. There is so little television in any languages except English

[1] "A Report on Foreign Language Radio Programming," compiled by the Canadian Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters (CARTB), 1958.

and French that no policy toward such programmes is mentioned in the BBG's television regulations.

Existing regulations

521. According to the BBG's regulations, Canadian languages for broadcasting purposes include English, French, and Indian and Eskimo languages. Stations broadcasting in any other languages are subject to all the normal regulations, and also to certain special provisions. No station may broadcast in other languages for more than 15 per cent of its total broadcast time in any week, unless it has received special permission to exceed that figure from the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC), which replaced the Board of Broadcast Governors in February 1968. The CRTC may, upon application by a licensee and without holding a public hearing, grant permission to the licensee to broadcast in other languages for more than 15 per cent of broadcast time, but not for more than 20 per cent. Also upon application to the CRTC, but with a public hearing, the CRTC may grant permission to broadcast in other languages "for periods that in the aggregate exceed twenty per cent but do not exceed forty per cent of the broadcast time per week of the station."[1] Before this latter permission is granted the licensee must show to the CRTC's satisfaction that there is a "sufficient number" of potential listeners in the area to justify the special authorization. A "sufficient number" would be between 150,000 and 200,000.[2] The licensee must also show that such broadcasts will help to integrate the members of the audience into the community and must describe the methods by which he will exercise control over the programme and advertising content of such broadcasts. In any event, no licensee will be granted this authorization if the area concerned does not possess a multi-station classification.

522. For all stations the time devoted to broadcasting in other languages is computed in block periods from the opening announcement of a particular language segment to the closing announcement of the portion in that particular language. The language used in the opening and closing announcements determines what cultural group the programme is considered to be directed toward. If any programming in other languages is handled by programme contractors, the licensee must know at all times the English or French equivalent of what is said. Scripts of all spoken portions of such programmes broadcast in languages other than French and English must be filed with the station management, together with a certified correct translation in either English or French. All food and drug commercials in other languages must, like

[1] Canada, Board of Broadcast Governors, "Radio (F.M.) Broadcasting Regulations," *Canada Gazette*, Part II, vol. 98, No. 13, July 8, 1964, 652-3. See also *ibid.*, "Radio (A.M.) Broadcasting Regulations," *Canada Gazette*, Part II, vol. 98, No. 3, February 12, 1964, 166-7.

[2] Canada, Board of Broadcast Governors, "Foreign-Language Broadcasting," Public Announcement, January 22, 1962, 2.

their English and French counterparts, be submitted for clearance by the Department of National Health and Welfare, with the additional requirement that they be accompanied by a certified correct translation.

523. Stations broadcasting in other languages are expected to arrange their programming to enable their listeners to learn something about Canadian history, geography, and government. Furthermore, the station is expected to assist immigrants to understand English or French by special programming. For listeners who understand only English or French, the station is expected to provide capsule résumés in the appropriate language of what has been said in the other language.

524. These requirements thus ensure that a cultural group can have neither the only radio station in an area nor a station devoted exclusively to broadcasting in its own language, even if its members make up a majority of the population of the area and are willing and able to finance a station. No station can devote itself exclusively to one cultural group, even when all these conditions are met, because the regulations require that it must ensure that it serves "a majority of the principal ethnic groups in its proposed listening area." The requirement of providing translations is another difficulty. Considerable ambiguity is added by the requirement for educational content in programmes.

Aims of regulations

525. It is obvious that the BBG viewed broadcasting in languages other than English and French only as an aid to the integration of other cultural groups into Canadian society, and not as an aid to the maintenance of other languages and cultures. This position was stated quite clearly in their 1962 announcement:

> The Board recognizes there is a need particularly in the larger centres of population for broadcasting in languages other than English and French to help in the task of integration. This applies particularly to the housewife who is largely confined to tasks within her home and does not have the same opportunities of a husband at work or children at play to become quickly conversant in either English or French.
>
> By mixing some periods of foreign-language broadcasting with English and French over a broadcasting station, the broadcaster can assist in not only making the newcomer feel less lonely in a new land but can help to inculcate instruction in the Canadian way of life—government, customs, tradition, culture—more easily than would otherwise be the case.
>
> It is recognized, of course, that as ethnic groups become better assimilated this need will gradually disappear unless there is a continuing heavy influx of immigrants.

Current programming

526. The time actually devoted to programmes in other languages is relatively small. In one week during August 1963, for example, about 300 hours were used by about 55 radio stations across the country broadcasting to approximately 20 cultural groups. In one week during February 1966, some 50 stations, broadcasting in about 25 lan-

guages, used about 200 hours.[1] The average number of hours in the two Canadian samples corresponds approximately with the average of five hours in the United States as determined by a recent study.[2]

527. Most stations that broadcast languages other than English and French do so for short periods of time. Many had less than one hour of such broadcasts during the sample week during February 1966, and some had as little as 15 minutes. The average would have been considerably lower had it not been for the high number of hours recorded by a very few stations. CFMB in Montreal, at that time the only station in Canada authorized to broadcast as much as 40 per cent of its time in other languages, broadcast 48 hours during the sample week. CHWO in Oakville and CKFH in Toronto broadcast 30 hours and 20 hours respectively. These three stations accounted for about 50 per cent of all broadcasting in other languages on AM radio stations in Canada during that particular week.

Geographic distribution

528. Ontario has the most stations involved in broadcasting in other languages, the greatest number of hours devoted to such programmes, and the greatest variety of groups to which the broadcasts are directed. In February 1966, 21 of the 50 stations broadcasting in other languages were situated in Ontario, ten in Quebec, four in Manitoba, four in Saskatchewan, six in Alberta, and five in British Columbia. During the sample week, the Ontario stations accounted for approximately 110 hours of broadcasting, Quebec stations for 60 hours, Manitoba stations for 16 hours, Saskatchewan stations for 4 hours, Alberta stations for 18 hours, and British Columbia stations for three hours.

529. Ontario and Quebec stations together accounted for 85 per cent of all broadcasts in other languages in Canada during the sample week. Almost all Quebec's portion of this figure was accounted for by the 48 hours broadcast by CFMB in Montreal. French-language stations in Quebec and elsewhere were responsible for approximately 26 hours, or roughtly 13 per cent, of broadcasting in other languages during that week.[3]

530. In this field as in the ethnic press, Ontario and Quebec together contribute a much greater percentage of the total than their proportion of the population with ethnic origins other than British and French would lead one to expect. CFMB, CHWO, and CKFH which accounted for roughly

[1] *See* Appendix II, Table A-150. Figures for these samples are from BBG compilations. The figures for 1966 do not include FM radio stations, which had approximately 16 hours of other-language programmes during the week. Since our research was completed, other stations have entered the field of other-language broadcasting, such as, for example, CHIN in Toronto, which in 1968 applied for authorization to extend its broadcasting in other languages from 20 to 40 per cent of its total air time. The figures also exclude programmes in other languages broadcast in the United States but aimed at least in part at Canadian audiences.

[2] Mary Ellen Warshauer, "Foreign Language Broadcasting," in Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States*, 76.

[3] CFMB is classified as an English-language station.

50 per cent of broadcasting in other languages in Canada in one week during February 1966 are all located in Canada's most heavily urbanized areas. This suggests that urban concentration may be the single most important factor in determining the extent to which a cultural group is served by radio.

Groups served

531. The number of programme hours devoted to cultural groups other than the British and French varies widely. In the survey week during February 1966 the Italian, German, and Ukrainian cultural groups had 88, 33, and 26 hours of broadcasts directed at them in their respective languages, which in no way corresponds to their relative size as ethnic origin categories. The small Greek cultural group accounted for 23 hours, while there were only two hours devoted to the large Dutch group.

Television programmes

532. Since television does not impose linguistic demands upon its audience to the same extent as radio, it is probably more strongly assimilatory. In one week during February 1966, there were only about four hours of programmes televised in other languages, two hours and 20 minutes in Italian, one hour in Spanish and Portuguese, and 30 minutes in Polish. One and a half hours were broadcast in Ontario and the remainder in Quebec.

Programme content

533. The content of the radio and television broadcasts in the sample week, approximately 215 hours of broadcasting in all, is listed by programme categories in Table 20. This figure includes the 16 hours of FM radio and the four hours of television programmes. About 70 per cent of the time was devoted to light music (150 hours).[1] Religious programmes followed with 32 hours, followed in turn by classical music programmes with 24 hours.[2] Since the total available number of hours for the stations in the sample would certainly exceed 5,000, the number of hours devoted to each of these programme categories and the limited total number of hours of broadcasting in other languages suggest that such broadcasting is not very influential in the maintenance of languages and cultures.

c) Recommendations

534. In considering broadcasting in other languages, we have adopted two working principles. The first is that the position of the other cultural groups in Canada must be seen within the broad context of official bilingualism. Because of technical limitations in the broad-

[1] According to the BBG's programme categories this includes, "popular, folk, western, dance and band music intended as light entertainment."

[2] This category includes "classical, symphony, opera, choral recital and ballet programmes and interpretative dance music."

Table 21. Other-Language Broadcasting

Programme content of radio and television broadcasts in languages other than English or French during a sample week in February 1966

BBG programme categories	Number of hours broadcast
Light music	149.5
Religion	31.5
Classical music	24.0
Variety (revue) and music hall	8.5
News and news commentaries	7.0
Community and special events	4.5
Public affairs	2.5
Quizzes and games	2.5
Drama, story and light verse	2.0
Drama, poem and story	1.0
Sports and outdoors	1.0
Education (formal and informal)	.5
Total	214.5

Source: Board of Broadcast Governors.

casting media, this principle makes certain choices necessary; there are only so many television channels and so many positions on the radio band. The second principle is that not only integration but also the maintenance of languages and cultures is a legitimate aim, worthy of support. Statements by the BBG stressed the importance of broadcasting in other languages for the integration of immigrants. Broadcasting in other languages is also important for maintaining these languages and some elements of the cultures of the groups that speak them.

535. For private broadcasting there appears little reason why the policies and regulations for broadcasting in other languages should differ from those for English and French. Other languages should not have to face special restrictions in an area where competition is the keynote, once technical limitations and official bilingualism have been taken into account. Both the private stations and cultural groups other than the British or French should be free to negotiate whatever arrangements the market permits. This might well result in no significant increase in broadcasting in other languages, but it should still be the stated policy. It would at least allow more freedom in the production of programmes already being presented in other languages.

536. The CRTC should apply its general rules to broadcasting in the languages of the other cultural groups. It should not insist that the use of other languages be specially authorized. The educational

requirements of programmes in other languages should apply only to the extent that they also apply to programmes in English and French. Language should not be a factor considered in the restrictions placed on the monopolizing of a station by a single group. It does not appear reasonable that the licensee, in order to meet his responsibility for what is said in programmes he broadcasts, be required to have on file a translated version of every programme broadcast in another language. The licensee's responsibility should be considered fulfilled as long as a translation can be supplied if demanded by the CRTC.

Special regulations

537. However, certain special regulations are necessary in regard to broadcasting in languages other than the official languages. The requirement that food and drug commercials in languages other than English and French be submitted with a certified correct translation to the Department of National Health and Welfare appears reasonable. English and French commercials of this nature must also be submitted for clearance, and we feel the Department should not be expected to know the content of all commercials in other languages without a translation. The same argument applies to any translations requested by the CRTC.

Recommendation 8

538. The necessity for these regulations is further justification for the argument that other special regulations should be avoided. As long as broadcasting in the languages of the other cultural groups can meet its administrative and legal responsibilities, there is no reason why it should be hampered by extensive regulations which restrict its freedom to compete in the market-place. Therefore, **we recommend that the CRTC remove restrictions on private broadcasting in languages other than English and French, except those restrictions necessary to meet the administrative and legal responsibilities of the licensees and those that also apply to English- and French-language programmes.**

Recommendation 9

539. Although the private sector of Canadian broadcasting is slightly larger than the public sector, the latter, because it is financed by public funds, has been of more concern to the spokesmen for the non-British, non-French cultural groups. A number of briefs to the Commission have demanded that the publicly supported media recognize the place of languages other than English, French, and Indian and Eskimo languages in Canada by employing them in radio and television broadcasting. The maintenance of the linguistic and cultural heritages of all Canadians is of importance to the whole of society, they argue; and if the number of listeners or viewers of programmes in any one of the other languages would be small, so is the number of philatelists and balletomanes, for example, to whom

some CBC programmes are at present addressed. In broadcasting carried on by the CBC, there is little justification for proscribing languages other than English, French, and Indian and Eskimo languages, and there are considerable grounds for recognizing the place of other languages in Canada. There are, of course, difficulties in such recognition. The number and the location of Canadians who want to listen to broadcasts in other languages, the nature of the programmes that they would listen to, the allocation of time among the language groups, and the interest of sponsors in other-language programmes would all require thorough investigation. The question of if and how broadcasting contributes to cultural retention would also be worth exploring. However, the possibility of broadcasts in languages other than English and French should not be automatically rejected. Therefore, **we recommend that the CBC recognize the place of languages other than English and French in Canadian life and that the CBC remove its proscription on the use of other languages in broadcasting.**

540. Removal of the proscription may not result in any immediate increase in broadcasting in other languages because of technical difficulties. Broadcasts in other languages could be carried either by existing CBC stations, replacing programmes now given in English or French, or by new radio or television stations. The former seems to be the preferable alternative. To use existing facilities would not involve appreciable cost, and it can hardly be argued that all the current English and French programmes are essential. Replacing present programmes with other-language programmes might cause some resentment. However, programme changes are always disappointing for some listeners, and the CBC has not considered this an overriding argument against such changes in the past.

541. If programmes in other languages were carried on new facilities, these would necessarily be FM radio stations or ultra high-frequency television channels. Since at present many radio and televisions sets are not equipped to receive FM or ultra high-frequency broadcasts, considerable expense would be involved both for the CBC and for the recipients. On the other hand, the cancellation of programmes in English and French would be avoided. The development of new facilities for broadcasting in other languages does not require the establishment of a third network, which would involve exorbitant expense. Single stations located in regions where there are many people who want to listen to broadcasts in other languages, such as the metropolitan areas of Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, would be the more likely development. Because even this

more modest solution would be expensive, it is proposed only as a possible alternative to some publicly supported broadcasts in languages other than English and French using existing facilities.

Recommendation 10

542. We are aware of the difficulties and costs involved in CBC coverage in English and French radio and television, and the number of unanswered questions about the complex psychological and social factors involved concerning other-language broadcasting. Therefore, **we recommend that the CRTC undertake studies in the field of broadcasting in other languages to determine the best means by which radio and television can contribute to the maintenance of languages and cultures and that the CBC participate in these studies. We further recommend that these studies include pilot projects on either AM or FM radio in both Montreal and Toronto.**

543. The development of satellite communication systems may, in the future, revolutionize broadcasting and open up new possibilities for receiving programmes in many languages from Europe and Asia. However, the domestic satellite communication system for Canada proposed by the federal government on March 28, 1968, envisages only a small increase in television channels and satellite-to-station, rather than satellite-to-set, transmission. It is therefore unlikely to improve the prospects for other-language broadcasting. The possibility of future developments should therefore not be used as an excuse for delaying action which is possible with our present technical resources.

2. *Broadcasting in English and French*

544. We agree with the Committee on Broadcasting which stated in its *Report* in 1965 that, "Canadian broadcasting would not be doing its job if it did not strive to permit all Canadians from one ocean to the other to know themselves better. . . ."[1] To the extent that Canadians who are of neither British nor French ethnic origin are integrated into the Anglophone and Francophone societies, radio and television meet their interests as adequately or inadequately as they meet those of other Canadians. For those who remain attached to their original culture, there are many broadcasts that reflect their interests. How many it is impossible to say, since there is no category among those employed by the CRTC or the CBC for classifying programmes which isolates those of particular interest to immigrants or members of other cultural groups. Even if such categories did exist, they could not take into account the frequent casual and informal recognition of the fact that

[1] Canada, Committee on Broadcasting, *Report* (Ottawa, 1965), 19-20 (usually referred to as the Fowler report).

Canadians are of many ethnic origins. These include names mentioned on newscasts, sports reports, and other programmes; biographical facts presented concerning newsworthy Canadians; the accents in which speakers, although broadcasting in English or French, present their views; and the titles and content of such programmes as the CBC's English-network television series entitled "Wojeck." Yet it is possible that these indications create a climate of opinion in which the maintenance of different cultures is permitted or even encouraged, and thus are more effective in assisting cultural maintenance than programmes specifically intended either to reinforce a group's culture or to inform others of it.

Need for research

545. We feel, therefore, that the first necessity is for research concerning cultural groups other than the British and French with respect to radio and television broadcasting. Being aware of the intricate problems of methodology involved, and of the consequent high costs of research, we do not wish to prejudge where the most profiitable areas of investigation may lie, but some obvious possible areas of study would include trying to discover what types of broadcasting at present on English- and French-language radio and television are pertinent to other cultural groups, and what the effects of the various types of broadcasting are—who they reach, and how they affect the attitudes of different members of their audience. As already indicated, broadcasting in which references are made incidentally to other ethnic origin categories or other cultural groups should be studied, as well as broadcasts directly and specifically concerned with other cultural groups. The comparative effects of broadcasts on public and private stations or networks should also be probed. Finally, of special interest to us would be a comparison of the treatment of the other cultural groups by the English and French media.

Recommendation 11

546. The CBC, which already has highly trained and experienced personnel in its research department, should certainly be involved in these investigations. Some of the research has, however, to do with the private as well as the public sector of the broadcasting industry, so private broadcasters and independent scholars should also take part. Therefore, **we recommend that research be undertaken through the CRTC concerning the nature and effects of the portrayal of other cultural groups on both publicly- and privately-owned English- and French-language radio and television stations.**

547. It has been suggested that the other cultural groups should have formal representation on policy-making broadcasting boards. We do not agree with this proposal. Such representation simply for the sake of representation is neither necessary nor appropriate. On the

other hand, those responsible for the appointments to such boards should be aware of the ethnic diversity of the Canadian population and the particular interests of the various cultural groups in our country. Certainly no qualified person should ever be excluded from such a position simply because he is of neither French nor British ethnic origin.

C. Film

548. Films in the languages of cultural groups other than the British and French which are produced in other countries are extremely important to some cultural groups in Canada. Some groups enjoy many films in their own languages and there are a few theatres that cater exclusively to certain groups. The number of such theatres in the country is small, but it demonstrates that groups can have their own theatres and films provided they are sufficiently concentrated to support them. Many theatres that show English- or French-language films also have special days when films in other languages are shown. In Ontario theatres in many cities show such films on Sundays. Because of the excellence of many films produced in a variety of languages, some groups in Canada can see films in their own languages, with sub-titles, which run for long periods in some of the best and largest theatres. Other groups are unable to do so because the film industries in their countries of origin are not yet well developed. They will have more opportunities as film production in their countries of origin develops and becomes competitive in the international film market.

Usefulness of foreign films

549. Films with sub-titles in English or French are also a means of communication between the cultural groups other than the British and French and the Canadian public as a whole. These films do not portray other cultural groups in Canada *per se,* but they can provide the Canadian public with glimpses of a group's general culture and of the way of life in its country of origin. Well-made films based on life in these countries but produced in English and French also contribute to the public's knowledge and appreciation of these cultures. Again, some groups are particularly well served in this area, either because of the stage of development of film production in their countries of origin or because their countries of origin are favourite settings for English- or French-language films. It should be noted that, although the problem cannot be dealt with in this Book, such films can also misrepresent other cultures and undoubtedly do so at times. Films produced abroad in languages other than English or French now make an important contribution to the maintenance of languages and cultures within the different cultural groups in Canada.

National Film Board

550. The National Film Board is the main film agency in Canada which portrays the other cultural groups. A private film industry is developing in Canada in both French and English but it has not as yet portrayed the various cultural groups in any depth. In its own words, the Film Board's function is to produce and distribute films "on matters relating to the interests of Canadians and to the interests they share with other countries throughout the world."[1] Such films portray Canada's social, cultural, economic, and industrial growth. They show what is happening in Canada, and what is happening abroad of importance to Canada.

551. Films for distribution in Canada must be produced in either English or French; but in 1966, in addition to its English and French productions, the Flm Board also had versions of its films in 40 other languages. Altogether prints of 178 films were available in languages other than English or French.

552. These versions were produced primarily for distribution abroad, in collaboration with the Department of External Affairs. They are also available for special programmes in Canada, and the Film Board is pleased to respond to requests for them, but such requests are rare and there is no policy for stimulating them. For example, in 1966, the following language prints were made available:

Language	*Number of Films*	*Region*
Italian	31	Ontario
Spanish	14	Newfoundland
German	5	Ontario
Dutch	4	Ontario
Italian	3	Quebec
Portuguese	2	Ontario
Dutch	1	Quebec
German	1	Quebec
Hungarian	1	British Columbia
Hungarian	1	Ontario
Portuguese	1	Newfoundland
Swedish	1	Ontario

The Italian films for Ontario were requested by the Film Board's Toronto office to stimulate interest in the Board's films. The Portuguese and Spanish films were requested by the Film Board's Atlantic supervisor for a Portuguese ship whose crew members could not understand English.

Recommendation 12

553. Since the spokesmen for some cultural groups were of the opinion that the Film Board either did not have versions of its films in

[1] National Film Board of Canada, *Catalogue of Films 1965* (Ottawa, 1965), 2.

other languages or did not make them available for domestic showing, **we recommend that the National Film Board undertake to publicize the fact that it produces prints of many of its films in languages other than English and French, particularly in regions where there are concentrations of persons who speak languages other than English and French. In addition, we recommend that the voluntary associations of cultural groups stimulate interest among their groups in the use of these films.**

554. The National Film Board has portrayed aspects of the life of many different groups in Canada, including the Polish, Jewish, Chinese, Negro, Greek, Ukrainian, and Hutterite groups. In its *Catalogue of Films 1965,* for example, "One Sunday in Canada" is described as follows:

> When an Italian immigrates to North America he brings a little bit of Italy with him. The warmth of his sunny Mediterranean he must leave behind but he can sing about it in his songs and preserve it in his customs. This film visits an Italian community in Montreal on a summer's Sunday. It is a day of special observances at the Italian church and also the day when Montreal's Cantalia soccer team challenges Toronto's Italia.

In addition to films about particular groups, the 1965 *Catalogue* lists a number of films about outstanding Canadians who are of ethnic origin other than British or French, for example, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Henry Larsen, and Paul Anka; about "the unsung, unnoticed men who keep a community running," including "Paul Tomkowicz—Street-Railway Switchman"; about immigrants and their problems; race and ethnic prejudice; learning English as a second language; and the settlement of Canada and its growth into a nation, "its traditions enriched by those of many peoples." Finally, the Board has produced and distributed films such as its "Comparisons" series (1960-64), in which similar aspects of life in several countries are compared, in an effort "to reduce the strangeness between people."

Recommendation 13

555. The National Film Board has certainly not ignored the contribution of other cultural groups in its productions, and whether or not it should have produced more films about them is a question of subjective judgment. It has also attempted not to focus unduly on the folklore or on any curious aspects of the lives of members of any specific cultural group, as group spokesmen have suggested, in spite of the difficulties of making the participation of members of other cultural groups in everyday Canadian life sufficiently dramatic for film-making purposes. Therefore, we commend the Board for its past work, and **we recommend that the National Film Board continue and develop the production of films that inform Canadians about one another, including films about the contribution and problems of both individuals and groups of ethnic origin other than British and French, and that the National Film Board receive the financial support it requires in order to produce such films.**

556. In its terms of reference the Commission is instructed to take "into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada." We have indicated in our General Introduction that

> There are several possible interpretations of this statement. In the broadest sense of the term "culture," the sheer fact that men came from elsewhere to take part in building the country has contributed to our cultural enrichment. When they arrived, their essential concern was to continue the work of carrying civilization into the thinly populated areas. By settling the country they helped to lay the basis for Canada's cultural growth.
>
> In a narrower sense Canadian culture has been the richer for the knowledge, skills, and traditions which all the immigrant groups brought with them. Their many distinctive styles of life gradually increased the range of experience, outlook, ideas, and talents which characterize the country. Cultural diversity has widened our horizons; it has also given opportunities—not always seized upon—for various approaches to the solution of our problems.
>
> Finally, the coming together of diverse peoples in Canada also benefited our culture in the humanistic sense of the term. For a long time the frontier was not a rich soil for the arts and letters. Many of the frontiersmen had taken little part in the artistic life of their homeland, or if they had, they were forced to forget such pursuits in the new country. As it matured, however, Canadian society turned to the search for grace and leisure, and the folk traditions preserved by the sons and daughters of the early settlers combined with the artistic sense, the talents, and the skills of later immigrants to add new dimensions to literature, music, and the plastic arts in Canada.[1]

557. So far in this Book the contribution of the cultural groups other than the British and French to the cultural enrichment of Canada

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 16-18.

has been discussed in the first two senses. In this chapter we discuss the contribution of those whose origin is neither British nor French in the domains of literature, music, the performing arts, and the visual arts in Canada. We also discuss the organizations set up by cultural groups to preserve their artistic and literary heritage.

558. We wish to recall briefly two principles noted in the General Introduction that will guide us in our discussion of the arts and letters.

> In any work of art it would be futile to try to distinguish between the contribution of the author as an individual and that of the cultural group to which he belongs; to ferret out the artist's origin, or the degree to which he reflects his ethnic group, would be no more rewarding. A work of art is first and foremost the work of an individual, but it always has roots in society. Finally, we must bear in mind that no artistic creation will take its place in the culture inherited by all Canadians unless its creator has become sufficiently integrated into the Canadian community to speak meaningfully to it.
>
> We think it undesirable, even if it were possible, to measure various groups against a yardstick and say that some have contributed more and others less .... our intention is to recognize and to point up the cultural and linguistic riches that Canada possesses, since to do so is a first and essential step towards safeguarding those riches.[1]

559. Art and literature are so personal that we cannot avoid naming individuals but those we mention are certainly not the sole contributors to the field under discussion, nor is there any implication—since subjective judgment is inevitably involved—that they are the most outstanding. We are not making judgments on the aesthetic or professional merits of the works mentioned in this chapter but it is important to review and illustrate their diversity and scope.

Nature of survey

560. Here, we wish to record some of the contributions of those of ethnic origin other than British or French in the arts and letters and to review some of their achievements that have received public recognition or a measure of acclaim from critics and scholars. The briefs received and the surveys carried out by the Commission illustrate a richness and variety that we attempt to summarize in this chapter. The Centennial edition of *The Canadian Family Tree* includes the names and ethnic origin of many individuals who have contributed to all fields of artistic endeavour; so do many histories of the arts in Canada.[2]

General support

561. In addition to the direct contribution of artists and writers we would like to acknowledge the general support given to arts and letters by those of ethnic origin other than British or French. In

[1] *Ibid.*, § 19-20.

[2] *See*, for example, Alan Gowans, *Looking at Architecture in Canada* (Toronto, 1958); J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto, 1966); Helmut Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* (Toronto, 1960); and C. F. Klinck, *et al.*, eds., *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English* (Toronto, 1965).

studying the contribution of other cultural groups to Canadian arts and letters we have been reminded repeatedly that many members of these groups have for years provided financial support for the arts: they are collectors of art; donors to museums and art galleries; patrons of theatres, ballet companies, and orchestras; and donors of prizes, scholarships, and awards for promising young artists. These contributions, and the more anonymous but equally essential contribution of those who support the arts by attending plays, concerts, and exhibitions, have been vital to the development of arts and letters in Canada.

A. Literature[1]

1. In English and French[2]

Prairie novels

562. Since it was on the prairie that the first wave of immigrants of origin other than British and French had to come to terms with the Canadian environment, the first type of literature to bear a deep imprint of writers of other ethnic origin was the western regional novel. The opening up of the West and the struggle of homesteaders against a harsh and unrelenting physical environment were too dramatic for writers to overlook. The first prairie novels, published in the opening decades of the 20th century, were by authors of British origin such as Nellie McClung, Frederick Niven, Ralph Connor, and Robert Stead. However, the first such novel actually written may have been by the Swedish immigrant Frederick Philip Grove, although his books were not published until the 1920's and 1930's. His five prairie novels are usually considered his best works:

> They portray man in conflict with a forbidding land and a forbidding climate, in conflict with his own inchoate impulses and with the often contrary impulses of his fellows, and in conflict always with time which quickly eats away that which he builds; and yet man retains his dignity even in defeat. Technically, Grove's novels embody the strengths and the weaknesses of that school of naturalists who dominated the European and American novel from roughly 1880 to 1914. Like the novels of Zola and Dreiser and Hamsun, Grove's have strength and solidity, present masses of accurate sociological detail, and embody in plain prose a deterministic view of human character; but like those novels, too, they are somewhat deficient in flexibility and subtlety, in grace and wit. They are perhaps rough hewn, but they are hewn from granite.[3]

[1] This term is taken to include imaginative literature and literary scholarship in any language spoken in Canada.

[2] Because the majority of immigrants to Canada have adopted English as their language, there will be fewer references to literature in French in this section. However, a number of post-war immigrants of Polish, Ukrainian, and other ethnic origins have begun to write in French.

[3] Desmond Pacey, "Fiction, 1920-1940," in *Literary History of Canada*, 682-3.

563. Grove had a European education and a broad European experience. Martha Ostenso, who grew up in Minnesota and North Dakota, and Laura Salverson, who was raised in Manitoba, are two other prairie writers. Their books represent in fiction the experience of immigrant settlement in which the parents of the writers had themselves participated and which the authors had observed as they grew up. It is no accident that Scandinavian writers produced several of the best-known and most influential works in the literature of the West. They did so because of their high educational standards and because of their cultural affinity with Anglophone society.

564. Western novels, whatever the origin of their authors, have strong similarities in theme and atmosphere, but those by writers of British origin tend to stereotype the settlers of other ethnic origin. Works by the children of these settlers portray their people as individual and human. They also depict a sharper sense of isolation and a wider gulf between the generations, and thus throw into sharper relief the problems of all western settlers. However, such differences are marginal. A more noticeable contrast is that between western novels as a whole with their sombre realism, and the predominantly idyllic fiction being written at the same time in other parts of Canada.

Urban novels

565. A second type of fiction to which writers of ethnic origin other than British or French have contributed is the urban novel. However, here the city is not the chief protagonist, as the prairie is in western novels. These works are concerned with a search for identity or values. They have appeared mainly since World War II and, in keeping with the development of Canadian literature generally during this period, have tended to show greater sophistication and skill than earlier works. Their authors have included men and women of all ethnic origins—imigrants, temporary residents (such as Malcolm Lowry and Brian Moore), and the native born.

566. The first type of urban novel by writers of ethnic origin other than British or French portrays young people growing up in ethnic communities in Canadian cities and their struggles to achieve their goals. Two outstanding examples are John Marlyn's *Under the Ribs of Death* and Mordecai Richler's *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*. John Marlyn, of Hungarian origin, describes the boyhood and young manhood of Sandor Hunyadi, the son of a Hungarian immigrant, in the north end of Winnipeg in the 1920's. The effort of this boy to escape from his cultural group and from poverty is thwarted by the Depression.

567. Mordecai Richler, a Jewish writer from Montreal, sets Duddy Kravitz, a similarly ambitious youth, in a teeming and exuberant Jewish slum in the 1940's and 1950's. In this more prosperous era Duddy achieves his goal. Many of the scenes from the novel seem to

be not a recasting of the author's experiences, but a graphic recollection of them.

Other novels

568. Another type of novel concerned with the search for identity or values is not bound to the Canadian environment, but looks to Europe and the past. Examples include Henry Kreisel's *The Rich Man,* Adele Wiseman's *The Sacrifice,* and A. M. Klein's *The Second Scroll,* all first novels by writers of Jewish origin. The latter two are interesting for their use of religious themes, *The Sacrifice* for the theme of sacrificial slaughter and *The Second Scroll* for that of the search for the Messiah. In *The Sacrifice,* an immigrant Jew from Russia "sacrifices" his son to his own conception of Jewish greatness. He cannot reconcile himself to the materialism of Winnipeg, and this inability results in murder (both symbolic and actual). The sacrifice of the first two generations does not seem to be in vain, however, because the grandson begins to be able to face the ugliness of much of surrounding reality without surrendering his sensitivity. The material of the book is drawn from the Jewish experience in Canada, but its implications are universal. *The Second Scroll* has been described as having

> the rhetorical power, the exuberance in handling words observable in the best of Klein's poems, and it includes sections of poetry in the glosses that make the novel, with its five books from "Genesis" to "Deuteronomy," not only a parallel to the "First Scroll" but also to the sacred commentaries upon it. From the pogroms of 1917 to the State of Israel in 1949, it records the exile, exodus, and return of the chosen people as a young Jewish Canadian journalist, in search of his multiform and messianic uncle, Melech Davidson, comes to understand that miracle.[1]

Other prose forms

569. Those of non-British, non-French origin writing in English have made distinctive and valuable contributions to a number of other forms of prose. F. P. Grove, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Laura Salverson wrote memorable autobiographies and the first two also published essays. Norman Levine's *Canada Made Me* is an arresting combination of memoir and travel. Alicja Poznanska-Parizeau's novels and travel books, written in French, successfully combine the memory of her Polish background with a strong desire to establish roots in Quebec. Drama for the stage, radio, and television has also benefited from the talents of writers of many different ethnic origins.

Poetry

570. Three Montreal poets may be taken as examples of the many contributions to Canadian verse by poets of ethnic origin other than British or French. All three are Jewish, and their poetry owes much to this fact; all rank among the finest of Canadian poets. A. M. Klein has been called "the first contributor of authentic Jewish poetry

[1] Hugo McPherson, "Fiction, 1940-1960," in *Literary History of Canada,* 710-11.

to the English language."[1] He represents the fruitful, organic synthesis of the Christian and Judaic cultures, the past and present, in a balanced, artistically rendered view of different universes. The universality of Klein's tastes and interests is evident in his themes which are Jewish and Gentile, political and philosophical, social and religious, international, Canadian, and local. "The Hitleriad," "Hath not a Jew . . . ," "The Rocking Chair," psalms, and numerous uncollected poems confirm the thematic breadth of the poet. "The Rocking Chair" is recognized as a remarkable interpretation of French Canada by a poet writing in English. His vigorous, strong, and clear language is enriched with Hebrew-Judaic imagery.

> Klein . . . a son of immigrants who had saturated himself with the culture of his parent generation . . . is thoroughly at home in the Canadian milieu. He has accepted both worlds and is one of the few in North America writing to epitomize this dual harmony—a very rare kind of phenomenon, for it is generally the conflict and turmoil that makes for creativity.[2]

571. Irving Layton is one of the best known and most prolific of contemporary poets. His work is not permeated with Jewish tradition to the extent that Klein's is but his cultural identity does mark his poetry, partly by making the stance of outsider natural to him. He himself has identified not only the Jewish community, but specifically the Jewish community of Montreal, as essential in the development of his poetic vision.

572. Leonard Cohen was born several decades after Klein and Layton, and his poetry, songs, and novels all express the sensitivity of a new generation. His Jewish background figures explicitly in a number of his poems and in his novel *The Favourite Game.* His vitality and creativity have gained him a large and enthusiastic international following, and much critical acclaim.

Jewish contribution

573. The contribution of those of Jewish origin to literature in English is so outstanding that a number of critics have spoken of it as constituting a distinctive type, characterized not only by quantity and quality but by an underlying theme, the struggle of the individual to understand and free himself from suffocating traditions and social ties.[3] This theme is not limited to Jewish writers although it is expressed with special force by them. The number of Jewish authors who have become expatriates, for example, Mordecai Richler, Norman Levine,

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[1] *See* David Rome, ed., *Jews in Canadian Literature* (Montreal, 1962), 50.

[2] B. G. Kayfetz, "Immigrant Reactions as Reflected in Jewish Literature," *Congress Bulletin* [Canadian Jewish Congress], XVI, No. 8 (October, 1962), 4-5.

[3] *See* Jean-Charles Falardeau, *Roots and Values in Canadian Lives* (Toronto, 1961), 16-17; Roy Daniells, "Poetry and the Novel" in *The Culture of Contemporary Canada,* Julian Park, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1957), 72-4; George Woodcock, "Introduction," to Mordecai Richler, *Son of a Smaller Hero* (Toronto, 1966); and Northrop Frye, "Poetry" in *The Arts in Canada,* Malcolm Ross, ed. (Toronto, 1958), 88.

Leonard Cohen, Jack Ludwig, and Lionel Shapiro, is an indication of how strongly the restrictions of their environment, depicted in their novels, are felt by these writers. The few examples which we have been able to note here do not give an adequate indication of the number and diversity of Canada's Jewish writers.

Other examples

574. There are obviously many other writers—novelists, poets, and critics—of different ethnic origins, writing in both English and French. Louis Dudek is a well known poet of Polish origin and the author of several volumes of verse as well as numerous critical studies. Alain Horic is of Croatian origin and is one of the foremost figures in the new-wave poetry of Quebec today. Dudek writes in English, Horic in French.

575. Any discussion of the contribution of cultural groups other than the British and French to Canadian literature should include some note of works by those of British and French origin. Their work often indicates the degree to which sensitive and articulate people have been aware of the role of other cultural groups in Canadian life. Such works also indicate the impact of Canada's linguistic and cultural diversity upon the art of the authors. In many cases these factors have been a source of inspiration for novelists and poets of both British and French origin. The role of the Ukrainians in Margaret Laurence's novel *A Jest of God,* is one example, as are the Negro, Ukrainian, and Italian characters in *Rue Deschambault* by Gabrielle Roy. Other examples are *L'incubation* by Gerard Bessette, in which the character Weingerter is an Austrian; and *Aaron* by Yves Thériault, which describes the Montreal Jewish community. A complete analysis of these and other works would involve retracing much of the history of Canadian literature.

2. In other languages

576. It may surprise some to learn that Canada has produced creative literature in many languages other than English and French. Imaginative writing flourishes in all literate societies, and its volume and aesthetic qualities are subject to various factors and circumstances. Emigration and the strangeness of a new land undoubtedly have a detrimental effect, but this does not necessarily lead to a total disappearance of literary pursuits among those isolated from their native cultures.

Post-war immigrants

577. The various cultural groups in Canada have developed literary traditions with different degrees of intensity, generic diversification, and volume. These are not directly correlated with either the numerical size of the group or its length of residence in Canada. There is almost no cultural group without at least a few works written in Canada, but in the past such works were often by individuals continuing to

practice an art that they had followed before their immigration. Some have been attempts by the barely literate to express deep emotions in poetry and prose. These writings, although poignant, were often crudely expressed. Now there is vigorous activity in many cultural groups because of the number of writers who immigrated in the post-war period. For example, excellent poetry is now being produced in Czech, Polish, and Magyar by poets including Jiri Skvor, whose pen-name is Pavel Javor, Zofia Bohdanowiczowa, Waclaw Iwaniuk, Bogdan Czajkowski, and Stanislas Michalski.

578. Of special significance and interest are works by members of several cultural groups, including the Jewish, Ukrainian, and Icelandic, that have evolved a Canadian tradition and are represented by a large and diversified literary output. The themes of these works reveal a deep involvement with Canada.

579. The vast majority of writers using languages other than English and French are, of course, foreign born. Post-war immigration has substantially strengthened the vitality of certain groups and resulted in new levels of excellence and diversity, particularly in Jewish and Ukrainian literature. In general, literary activity in the ancestral languages of different cultural groups relies on immigration. A total or near curtailment of the inflow of fresh talent usually forecasts a diminution or even disappearance of literary works in the ancestral language.

a) Yiddish and Hebrew

580. Literature in Yiddish and Hebrew, particularly the former, has frequently acted as a germinal agent in the development of future writers and poets who themselves write mainly or only in English. It stimulates their creative urge and serves as a rich source of material. Many writers have acknowledged their debt to Yiddish literature and its influence is evident in even a perfunctory analysis of their work. Some eminent Jewish poets have also translated Yiddish poetry into English.

581. A bibliography of Jewish writers in Canada lists 76 writers of whom 69 work in Yiddish, six in Hebrew, and one in both.[1] Yiddish literature in Canada has a long tradition. As early as 1900 Montreal enjoyed the reputation of being an important centre of Yiddish culture, with many established writers, poets, and scholars. The increasing rate of immigration and the arrival of the survivors of the European holocaust has further invigorated many aspects of Yiddish culture in Canada. Literature in particular has gained a number of accomplished men of letters and Montreal has retained

[1] David Rome, *A Selected Bibliography of Jewish Canadiana* (Montreal, 1959).

its reputation, as evidenced by a score of international literary awards.

582. There are talented artists in all branches of Canadian Yiddish and Hebrew literature, but poetry deserves particular mention because of both its quality and quantity. The list of poets is headed by the Polish-born Jacob I. Segal, who published 12 massive volumes in the space of four decades, and includes Ida Massey, Melech Ravitch, and many others. Unfortunately, the treasures of Yiddish literature can only be appreciated by the steadily shrinking number of members of the Jewish cultural group who speak Yiddish.[1] Few of these works have been translated into either French or English. Poetry

583. Yiddish literature written in Canada is a continuation of European tradition in more than a thematic sense. Its imagery, motifs, and moods reflect the past, and the authors' countries of emigration. Their tendency to write about old worlds has been strengthened by the events of World War II. Canadian themes are not completely absent among the work of post-war immigrants but are more general in the works of the generation that has been born or raised in Canada. Many Yiddish novels are autobiographical in character, while Hebrew literature appears to be represented, in the main, by scholarly and theological works.

b) Icelandic

584. A small and hardy group of Icelandic settlers, who faced the hardships of pioneer life, transplanted into the new world their rich literary tradition, especially their love of poetry. In relative terms, no other cultural group, including the British and French, has produced so many poets writing in such volume. Although a large portion of this work may have no lasting literary value, it demonstrates that the Icelandic appreciation of poetry has survived in Canada despite adverse conditions. In 1937, approximately 70 authors of Icelandic origin were writing poetry which appeared in numerous periodicals. Poetry

585. There is likely no more prolific poet than Stephan G. Stephansson, whose literary work fills 1,800 pages of a six-volume collection. He was one of a considerable number of Icelandic poets who were self-educated farmers. Born in Iceland, he emigrated to North America at the age of 17 and supported a large family by farming; yet he became one of the foremost modern Icelandic poets. The range of his poetic vision is unusual, encompassing past and contemporary worlds, love for his native land and adopted country, religious and social

[1] The percentage of those reporting Jewish as their ethnic origin who gave Yiddish as their mother tongue in the census was 95 per cent in 1931; 76 per cent in 1941; 51 per cent in 1951; and 32 per cent in 1961.

radicalism, pacifism, and a pervasive communion with nature. His command of his mother tongue, intellect, and poetic talent are all reflected in the formal aspects of his poetry. He was no mere follower of established conventions; he enriched the Icelandic language and pioneered new forms and novel modes of expression. Nature is a frequent theme, lyricism a dominant mood. The prairies and the magnificent panorama of the mountains were the inspiration for much of his poetry. "No other Canadian poet in any language presents a comparable picture of Western Canada."[1]

586. Icelandic prose has had a much smaller following but has included a wide range of writing—fiction, short stories, plays, memoirs, and fairy tales for children. Icelandic literature serves as a cultural bridge between the old and new worlds. The few Canadians not of Icelandic extraction who can appreciate it give it unqualified acclaim. For example:

> It is the glory of the Icelandic settlers that in their first generation among us they have created a poetry, based on Canada and their experience of it, that is worthy of challenging comparison with the best that three centuries have produced in their foster-country.[2]

c) Ukrainian

587. Prior to World War I, there were few intellectuals among the Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. However, the foundations for Ukrainian literature in Canada were laid. A number of periodicals and books were published in the Ukrainian language. The publication of *Immigrant Songs of the Old Land and the New* by Theodore Fedyk in 1908 was particularly important. This book went through several editions, totalling more than 50,000 copies. Other works included poetry, plays, and some fiction. The most frequent themes were longing for home and complaints about the loneliness and hardship of life in Canada.

588. Between the two world wars a number of Ukrainian artists and scholars immigrated to Canada and the literary work produced began to have greater sophistication and versatility. The first Canadian-born generation also matured, and the first efforts were made to use Canadian themes, sometimes combined with Ukrainian themes. The quantity of poetry decreased in favour of prose, including sketches, short stories, and a number of ambitious novels. Outstanding was Ilya Kiriak's trilogy, *Sons of the Soil,* which has been described as: "a great epic of the Canadian West, and as such it is to be accepted not only by those of Ukrainian extraction, but by Canadians as a

[1] W. Kirkconnell, "Canada's Leading Poet: Stephan G. Stephansson, 1853-1927," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, V, No. 1 (January, 1936), 272.
[2] W. Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones* (Winnipeg, 1935), 15.

whole."[1] Kiriak's work was translated into English by another noted essayist and writer, Michael Luchkovich, and was abridged by Laura Salverson.

Post-war developments

589. Since World War II it is estimated that some 50 established Ukrainian poets, writers, and scholars have settled in Canada, and many of them have continued to publish many works in the Ukrainian language, including books, brochures, and pamphlets. The amount of poetry produced is particularly notable. M. I. Mandryka is one of the leading poets. Various organizations have instituted awards for outstanding achievement in the literary field and there are at present four active Ukrainian literary clubs in major Canadian cities. This period may be characterized as one of intense activity, assessment of past achievements, consolidation, and the breaking of new ground. The Ukrainian cultural group in Canada has supported more extensive literature in a language other than English or French than any other cultural group in Canada. This is unusual since so many members of this group were born or raised in Canada. The literature originating in the Ukrainian language in Canada is only exceeded by that originating in the Ukraine.

d) Translations

590. Canadians of origin other than British or French occasionally undertake to communicate their own cultural heritage, or to draw on the traditions of the two main cultural groups, by means of translations. *Poésie du Québec contemporain* is an anthology of the works of 18 Quebec poets translated into Ukrainian. *Sub Signo Sancti Hyacinthi,* a brief history of the Polish community in Ottawa, was published in 1963 in Polish, French, and English. Publications of this nature generate an interchange among Canada's different cultural groups which is worthy of encouragement.

B. Music

591. Until a century ago, only folk music, church music, and band music in the French and British traditions were widely available to the majority of the Canadian population. A small minority enjoyed secular music from Europe, much of it German and Italian. Many German immigrants and those of German origin performed as bandmasters, choirmasters, soloists, teachers, importers of instruments and printed music, and founders of musical libraries and professional associations. In addition, German craftsmen established the Canadian piano-making industry. Only about the time of Confederation did musicians of British and French origin assume leading roles.

[1] C. H. Andrusyshen, "An Epic of Western Canada," in *Ukrainian Year Book*, F. A. Macrouch, comp. (Winnipeg, 1952), 16-17.

Historical background

592. Toward the end of the 19th century musical culture in Canada acquired diversity and a degree of sophistication which attracted famous touring performers. In addition, a few Canadians who went abroad for training rose to international fame. Essentially, though, Canada was still an importer of talent and a consumer of music originating abroad. This situation did not change substantially during the first two decades of the present century, although Canadian themes were introduced and Canadian-born musicians began to enter the field in greater numbers. The children of music-loving immigrants who had arrived at the turn of the century were ready to take up careers in music by the 1920's. From then on, "Canadian orchestras in particular would be unthinkable without players of Ukrainian, Jewish and Italian origin."[1]

593. In the 1930's, some young composers were influenced by modernistic trends from abroad, notably those associated with Schoenberg, Prokofiev, Stravinsky, and the British, French, and American schools. However, it was not until about 1950 that their efforts resulted in any notable awareness of new developments among conductors, teachers, and the Canadian musical public at large.

594. Since World War II, music in Canada has moved forward rapidly. It has shown amazing vitality and diversity and has found a steadily growing audience. Artists who have received much of their training in Canada have achieved success in some of the most famous concert halls, opera companies, and orchestras of the world, and music by Canadian composers has begun to form part of the repertoire of international artists.

595. Many of these developments involved artists born or educated in Canada, but often of neither British nor French origin. These include some of the country's best-known musical families, such as the Adaskins, Agostinis, Brotts, and Masellas. The work of some Canadian composers shows the influence of their non-British, non-French origin. For example, such compositions as John Weinzweig's sonata, "Israel," for cello and piano, and Alexander Brott's "Chassidic Dance," make direct use of Jewish thematic material.

Influence of immigrants

596. Those born or educated in Canada could not have made their contribution to music without the stimulus of musicians born and trained abroad, who have been coming to Canada since the second decade of the century, especially from Europe. They have emigrated from countries with old and renowned musical cultures and traditions and have brought diverse musical gifts and skills, as composers, orchestra conductors, instrumentalists, vocalists, scholars, teachers, and critics.

[1] Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada*, 202.

597. A vast majority of Canada's immigrant musicians arrived here when still young and at the peak of their creativity. Most had either just embarked on a career or were about to do so. Many had been trained in excellent schools under recognized masters, and some had been exposed to the latest developments in European music. Their qualifications opened doors to Canadian musical circles, facilitated communication with Canadian-born musicians, and often won them advantageous positions where they could influence the development of music in Canada.

598. Especially noteworthy are the musicians who arrived in the late 1930's and 1940's. They found Canada ready for new musical enterprises, and many have made conspicuous contributions by setting up schools of music, orchestras, and opera and ballet companies. Their successors have maintained and expanded their work. Never before "have musicians from the Germanic and Slavic countries figured so prominently in Canadian musical development."[1] Notable contributions have also been made by musicians from the three Baltic states, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania.

Composers

599. Especially striking are Canada's gains in the field of composition. Both critical and popular acclaim have been accorded the works of many composers including Oskar Morawetz, Otto Joachim, Udo Kasemets, Talivaldis Kenins, George Fiala, and Sonia Eckhardt-Gramatté, who already had an established reputation in Europe before immigrating. Morawetz joined the teaching staff of Toronto's Royal Conservatory of Music in 1946 and soon won awards in competitions held by the Canadian Composers Association. His works have since been played by some of the best known European orchestras, as well as Canadian ones. While Morawetz works with more traditional techniques, the compositions of Istvan Anhalt and Udo Kasemets are more avant-garde, using Schoenberg's atonal technique.

Orchestras

600. Directors and conductors of Canada's symphony orchestras have frequently been either immigrants of ethnic origin other than British or French or members of a mobile fraternity of conductors that knows no national boundaries. Immigrant conductors and directors have been responsible since the end of World War II for the establishment of professional, semi-professional, and amateur symphony orchestras and chamber orchestras in many Canadian towns and cities. These orchestras have not always endured, but their effects upon the musical life of the country have been considerable. One example is Mateusz Glinski, a conductor, musicologist, and authority on Chopin, who came to Canada from Poland in 1956. He is today conductor of the Niagara Falls orchestra. Mobile conductors, such as Walter Susskind, Thomas

[1] John Beckwith, "Music," in *The Culture of Contemporary Canada*, 157.

Mayer, Zubin Mehta, and Seiji Ozawa, have often brought glamour, excitement, and international attention to the Canadian musical scene during their sojourns here. Many orchestral musicians have also been recruited from among immigrants of non-British, non-French origin.

Musical education

601. In the past, many Canadian musicians went to Europe for their advanced musical education. This is less true today. Many European artists and educators now teach in Canada and music students are now able to complete their musical education here. Immigrants who arrived in Canada during the last three decades form the core of the teaching staffs of music departments in many universities and private schools. In addition, immigrant musicians have done considerable work in the field of musicology.

602. Some of our foremost soloists, vocalists, and instrumentalists have arrived in Canada more recently. Among them are Walter Joachim, the cellist, Greta Kraus, the harpsichordist, and Jan Rubes, the basso. Other immigrant musicians are radio and television producers, composers, and musical directors, and they participate in almost every branch of the musical arts and musical entertainment.

Folk and church music

603. Many cultural groups have orchestras and choirs dedicated to familiarizing their members with the classical and folk music of their homeland. These vary in quality, but the best are excellent. They nurture a love of music and encourage the development of talent, thus making an important contribution to the musical education of both artists and audiences. On occasion, they have forged links of appreciation and understanding between an otherwise highly isolated group and its neighbours. Church music has also played an important part in the music of various cultural groups in Canada, and church organists and choir-masters have played a vital part in developing both artistic talent and music appreciation.

C. The Performing Arts

1. Ballet

604. Opera and ballet are frequently considered the two aristocrats of the arts, and are often regarded as indicative of the level of a society's artistic sophistication. Both combine music with stage performance and thus require a synthesis of two artistic media. They are costly, and usually appeal to a relatively small audience. In Canada they developed slowly at first, but since World War II they have shown rapid development. Immigrants and Canadian-born artists of origin other than British and French have played a vital part in this development.

Development of ballet

605. Any review of those engaged in ballet in Canada shows an unusually large number of immigrants, especially during the earliest period of development. Boris Volkoff, the Russian-born founder of the first professional company in Canada, Celia Franca of the National Ballet, and Ludmilla Chiriaeff of the Grands ballets canadiens, are all artistic pioneers of outstanding talent, training, and dedication. In recent years, the number of Canadian-born artists has increased, particularly among the dancers. Many immigrants now work as teachers, artistic directors, stage and costume designers. In these crucial positions they transmit their creative ideas and accumulated experience to a new generation of young Canadian artists.

606. The achievements of Canadian ballet in recent years are considerable. Canadian ballet companies have made several successful tours outside Canada and individual dancers have won coveted international trophies in competition with members of long-established and renowned ballet companies. For example, Galina Samtsova, who came to Canada from the Ukraine, won acclaim in the international festival in Paris. In 1966 another international trophy was brought home by the Dutch-born Martine Van Hammel. Within a quarter of a century, Canadian ballet has moved from an amateur level of performance to one which can, on occasion, equal the best professional ballet in any country in the world. The ease with which artists from Canada are accepted by non-Canadian companies, especially in the United States, indicates the quality of teaching in Canada's ballet schools, although it is a sad indication of our country's inability to retain its young talent. Ballet is now an integral part of Canadian cultural life and immigrants of many different ethnic origins have contributed much to its artistry.

2. *Opera*

Development of opera

607. The development of opera is dependent on the simultaneous presence of several conditions: the availability of talented and highly trained artists, those with rare production skills, appropriate physical facilities, an appreciative public, and generous sponsors. Several of these essentials did not exist in Canada before 1945; some are still scarce. There are at present only five cities that offer professional operatic performances on a regular basis: Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver. There are also operatic presentations in Stratford, Ontario each summer as an adjunct to the Shakespearian Festival.

608. Occasional operatic performances have been presented in Canada since the late 18th century. These were usually staged by touring companies and presented in buildings designed for almost everything

but opera. The few attempts at Canadian productions were unsuccessful and short-lived. However, during the last 25 years the requirements for the production of professional opera have been developing.

609. Like the other arts, opera had originally to rely on a supply of artists and professionals drawn from countries with established operatic traditions. This dependence has gradually decreased, as immigrants with suitable training, talent, and experience established a firm Canadian base for opera.

First opera school

610. The founding of the first regular opera school in 1946 was an important step in the history of Canadian music. Its establishment was largely due to Arnold Walter, an Austrian-born musician, scholar, and educator, along with several other European immigrants, including Nicholas Goldschmidt and Felix Brentano. The Opera School, now part of the University of Toronto, can already claim a substantial measure of success. Some of its former pupils have performed in the world's foremost opera houses. Teresa Stratas, the celebrated Canadian-born soprano of Greek origin, is only one example of the quality of Canadian musical education. Another institution which has done much to develop an appreciation of opera in Canada, the Banff School of Fine Arts, has had Italian-born Ernesto Vinci as head of its singing and opera division.

611. Herman Geiger-Torel, of German origin, arrived in Canada in 1948 and since then has been associated with the fortunes of the Canadian Opera Company. He has been described as "the life and soul of this company from its beginning and it is due to him, more than anybody else, that a distinctive style of production is already making itself apparent."[1] Another leading participant in the Toronto-based company is its conductor and director, Ernesto Barbini, who is of Italian origin.

3. Folk-dancing

612. Many cultural groups encourage their young people to learn folk-dancing as an art form, to be performed for the enjoyment of the group and the wider community. The folk-dances of many lands, performed in costumes of varying authenticity, have long been favourite items on the programmes of concerts, rallies, and festivals. Innumerable dancing ensembles of varying degrees of competence have emerged. Schools have grown up to teach folk-dances and to maintain standards of performances and costume. The more talented pupils have sometimes entered schools of ballet or modern dance, and have become professional dancers, instructors, and choreographers.

[1] Boyd Neel, "Opera," in *The Arts in Canada*, 63.

613. Recent interest in folk-dancing as an art form led to the founding of the Feux-Follets of Montreal. Canadians of many origins are included among its dancers, singers, and musicians. The company's repertoire is based on the folk-dances from many lands that have become part of Canada's heritage. The Feux-Follets have won considerable acclaim on their recent local and international tours.

4. Drama and the theatrical arts

614. Theatrical performances were presented in Canada since the very earliest times. The first theatrical events were sporadic amateur activities. Commercial performances by touring companies, which came later, enjoyed their greatest success during the late 19th century and in the years just before World War I. In the 1920's the touring system failed. There were promising local developments, but these were quickly stifled by the Depression. Since World War II, theatre has flourished in Canada. Professional theatre has improved steadily, as evidenced by the growth of a number of professional companies, the inception of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, the founding of the National Theatre School, and productions in drama on radio and television, particularly by the CBC. Amateur theatrical activity has also increased.

615. Immigrants have certainly played a part in the development of Canadian drama but, because of the dependence of this art form on language, these performers have usually been from English- or French-speaking countries. Those of other mother tongues have contributed as producers, directors, designers of costumes and sets, and technicians of various kinds.

Amateur theatre

616. Amateur theatre in languages other than English and French tended to flourish among the various cultural groups shortly after their arrival in Canada. Literacy was not necessary and the theatre provided a means of expressing the hopes and fears of immigrants in a bewildering and exciting world. In the larger cities there was even professional or semi-professional theatre, with touring companies supplementing local efforts. Later these theatres declined although some cultural groups, for example the Ukrainians, still support theatrical companies.

New experiments

617. The increasing tendency among immigrants to concentrate in the urban areas of the country has led to two interesting experiments. The first is the New Canadian Theatre in Toronto. Since 1963 this theatre has been presenting plays performed by immigrants whose accented English would prevent them from performing in other English-language theatre companies. This novel venture gives former professional actors from Europe a stage on which to practise their art in the English language, and gives audiences a chance to see seldom-produced European plays. In this way the Toronto groups exploits some of the

talents of immigrant performers and offers programmes very different from the regular repertoire of amateur Canadian tours. The second experiment is Montreal's La Poudrière, the only multilingual theatre in Canada. Since its inception in 1958 it has presented plays in French, English, German, Spanish, and Italian.

D. The Visual Arts

1. Painting

618. Until the early years of this country, the development of painting in Canada was slow, and dominated by immigrants who had received their artistic training before they came to Canada, such as Cornelius Krieghoff, William von Moll Berczy, William Raphael, and Otto Jacobi, and by Canadian-born artists who had gone abroad for training, such as Paul Peel, James Wilson Morrice, and Maurice Cullen. Tom Thomson, the Group of Seven, and their associates introduced a Canadian spirit into painting. This spirit is well summarized in the Group of Seven's official statement, made in February 1933:

> The Group of Seven has therefore always believed in an art inspired by the country, and that the one way in which a people will find its own individual expression in art is for its artists to stand on their own feet, and place.... It has also always maintained for themselves and others of new and untried themes, to produce works in terms of its own time and place.... It has also always maintained for themselves and others the right of freedom of expression, believing that only in diversity of outlook will there ever be a widespread interest in the arts of this country....[1]

Much of this spirit still endures, although it does not now find expression in a national style as much as in regional styles, shared by American as well as Canadian painters.

619. Canadian painting has been receptive to all kinds of influences, both native and foreign. Artists of origin other than British or French who have been born or educated in Canada include among many others Louis Mulstock, Bruno Bobak, Aba Bayevsky, Takao Tanabe, Kazuo Nakamura, Roy Kiyooka, William Kurelek, Carl Schaefer, and Guido Molinari. Artists who have immigrated to Canada after receiving their training abroad include Fritz Brandtner, John Korner, Paraskeva Clark, Herbert Siebner, and Jan Menses.

620. In some instances, the influence of the cultural background of the artist on his work is not readily apparent; in others it is clearly visible. In the paintings of rural life in western Canada by William

[1] Quoted in *Royal Commission Studies*, A Selection of Essays, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Ottawa, 1951), 410.

Kurelek, born in Alberta of Ukrainian immigrant parents, the influence of folk-art and religious tradition is unmistakable. The work of several Canadian-born Japanese artists frequently recalls oriental art in its delicacy of line and colour. The tendency of Jewish artists to continue to produce representational art in spite of the general trend towards non-objective art is sufficiently characteristic to lead critics to speculate about its cultural roots.

2. *Sculpture*

621. Although sculpture has a long history among native Indians and Eskimos and in Quebec, it did not receive much attention in the art world of Canada until quite recently. Since then it has shared in the general upsurge of interest and activity in the arts, and in addition has benefited from a growing association with architecture. Immigrant sculptors have played a significant role, both in the period of public indifference and in the more recent period of greater acclaim. Emmanuel Hahn, who came to Canada from Germany, was an influential early sculptor who also designed many Canadian stamps and coins. More recently, it was noted that

> Many Europeans, among them such artists of stature as the Deichmanns, Dora de Pédery-Hunt, Kopmannis, Leonard Osterle, and a good dozen others, have brought to Canada old traditions and draftsmanship and new images and forms, and those who teach are contributing greatly to the establishment of standards of international validity.[1]

Among the other immigrants who have contributed to the development of sculpture in Canada are Marcel Braitstein, Leo Mol, Anne Kahane, Yosef Drenters, Sorel Etrog, and Augustin Filipovic. Canadian-born sculptors of origin other than British and French have also won renown for their work.

3. *Architecture*

622. Many of Canada's non-British, non-French cultural groups have modelled their houses, churches, and public buildings in Canada on those they knew at home, and thus made familiar to Canadian eyes a variety of different types of architecture. Examples can be seen in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal. Their first buildings were usually modest. When members of the group became more affluent they replaced them with larger and more ornate structures, often hybrid in style and less aesthetically pleasing than their predecessors. A new generation of architects of many different ethnic origins has adapted traditional European architecture and modern concepts and materials

[1] Alan Jarvis, "Sculpture in Canada," *Canadian Art*, XIX, No. 4 (July/August, 1962), 269.

to the Canadian environment. Architects of many different cultural heritages other than British and French have designed many of Canada's outstanding new public buildings, including churches, cultural centres, airports, city halls, and educational institutions. Although architects from many cultural groups have contributed to their field, those of Ukrainian and Japanese origin deserve special mention for their contributions.

4. Graphic arts

623. Graphic arts encompass many of the crafts employed in different industrial fields, such as engraving, lithography, print-making, book illustrating, and photography. Graphic design for advertising, television, books, and magazines is perhaps Canada's strongest art in this area. Immigrants have again made a great contribution in this field and have won a number of international awards. Often their work has established a new level of professionalism and sophistication.

Prints and photography

624. One of Canada's foremost printers and etchers was Nicolas Hornyansky, born and trained in Hungary. His prints are highly valued today and his work has had a great influence on a younger generation of artists. For many years he held a teaching position at the Ontario College of Art, and was instrumental in organizing the Society of Canadian Printer-Etchers and Engravers. Other artists in these fields include Lithuanian-born Viktoras Bruckus and Telesforas Valius, the top prize winner of the 1958 exhibition of the Canadian Society of Graphic Arts. Vera Frankel is another artist whose prints show a rich thematic and technical diversity. Photography has also reached a high artistic level in the hands of those of neither British nor French origin including Yousuf Karsh, Malak, Roloff Beny, Henri Rossier, John de Visser, and Kruer Taconis among others.

5. Crafts

625. There is considerable disagreement regarding the position of crafts in relation to fine arts. Some people regard them as falling between the work of the artist and that of the artisan. Others, especially craftsmen, reject this dichotomy.

Contribution of immigrants

626. A massive influx of European craftsmen, especially since World War II, has invigorated the existing crafts and established a number of new ones. The skills, training, experience, and inherited traditions of designs and techniques which these immigrants brought to Canada have helped to make Canadian crafts a flourishing industry. Their impact on the quality and the direction of development of Canadian crafts is indisputable and it is therefore particularly hard to choose examples from the long and varied list of those who have contributed to the

growing excellence and diversity of the crafts in Canada. Polish-born Krystyna Sadowska has won international awards for her weaving, as has Lidia Stolfa for her ceramics, pottery, and tapestries. Also well-known are the ceramics of Dora Wechsler, the terra-cotta figurines of Hilda Bolte, Bronka Michalowska's decorative porcelain, Ernestine Tahedl's stained glass, Jan Petrik's floral china, Antje Lingner's book designs, the copper enamel work of Tutzi Haspel Seguin, and the pottery and ceramics of Roman Sadowski, Dorothy Midanik, E. Drahanchuk, and Rose Truchnovsky, to name but a very few. Many European craftsmen also teach arts and crafts or have established their own schools, galleries, and shops.

E. Voluntary Associations

627. Many of Canada's ethnic associations are now vitally interested in the preservation and promotion of arts and letters related to their cultural groups. Originally many such associations were established to help maintain a particular style of life, and only later became self-conscious about maintaining their language, literature, arts, and crafts. However, since World War I, and to a much greater extent since World War II, many of the newer ethnic associations have from their inception been concerned with fostering arts, letters, and crafts among the members of their cultural group.

Artistic awards

628. Voluntary associations directly concerned with the arts and letters are of two major types: one devotes most of its efforts to fund-raising, the other includes those that carry on a variety of cultural and scholarly activities. In the first category are foundations offering scholarships and rewards to deserving students who usually share the donor's cultural background. Frequently proficiency in the appropriate ancestral language and active participation in the cultural group's activities are required for eligibility. These awards can vary from 25 to several hundred dollars.

Student hostels

629. This practice of offering awards for academic accomplishment is of relatively recent origin; initially most funds raised by ethnic associations were directed to maintaining student hostels in cities. The provision of living quarters was an important factor in raising the educational level among immigrant groups, particularly in western agricultural communities where school facilities were usually inferior to those in urban centres. Student hostels were also important centres of ethnic activity, which brought rich cultural dividends to the sponsoring group. The alumni of such hostels includes many of the present leaders—jurists, teachers, politicians, and professional people—of the different cultural groups. The number of such hostels has now diminished and their character has changed significantly.

Other organizations

630. The second category of voluntary associations noted above includes a wide variety of literary, musical, drama, and university clubs, research institutes, associations of university teachers, book clubs, libraries, museums, and archives. These organizations carry on a wide variety of programmes: organizing lectures, discussions, exhibitions, and concerts; sponsoring individuals' efforts and new ventures; and seeking contacts with other cultural groups or the Canadian public at large.

631. Their administrative structures are as diverse as their activities. Some are part of larger associations, and others are independent but maintain informal ties with the organizations of other cultural groups. For example, the Canadian Polish Congress, with general offices in Toronto brings together almost all the organizations of those of Polish origin across Canada, while the chain of Goethe Houses maintains close contact with similar institutions in other parts of the world. Some associations remain in touch with the homeland, either through government cultural agencies or through government subsidized institutions.

632. Invariably, the success of both types of association depends, to a large extent, on the generosity and financial strength of the sponsoring groups. Their methods of financing include endowments, special fund-raisings, campaigns, and regular subsidies.

Research

633. A substantial body of research, some of it of high quality, has been produced on the literature, history, and social life of the cultural groups other than British or French in origin. The Jewish group is the most extensively and intensely studied, and most of these studies are published in one of Canada's official languages, usually English.

634. Under the aegis of different cultural associations many scholars and specialists who immigrated to Canada, especially from central and eastern Europe after World War II, have continued to make use of their expertise and training in fields that are often of limited interest to our universities.

635. A recent project of some voluntary associations is the translation of literary masterpieces, including poetry, from their ancestral languages into English and French. These translations supply both group members who do not speak their ancestral language and the general public with a wider spectrum of literary experience.

636. Most ethnic organizations which promote arts, letters, and crafts, are dependent on recent immigrants for their leadership and much of their membership. Canadian-born members of the different cultural groups are attracted more strongly to organizations that include members of other groups. Ukrainian and the Jewish associations seem to have been the most successful in attracting Canadian-born members.

637. From the very beginning Ukrainians set up associations for the perpetuation of their folk arts. They sponsored choirs, dramatic groups, dancing ensembles, orchestras, craft activities, and libraries. In time, standards in these arts began to decline. Several cultural organizations grew concerned about this, and initiated a revival, which, aided by a strong sense of ethnic identity and pride, resulted in higher aesthetic standards being re-established. Native-born members of the Ukrainian cultural group, even of the third and fourth generations, still take an active and creative part in these activities. Ukrainian experience

638. Since 1949, both immigrant and Canadian-born Ukrainian scholars and artists of Ukrainian origin have contributed to the work of a unique institution in Winnipeg, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) which is probably the most important contributor to the scholarly, artistic, and literary development of the Ukrainian cultural group. UVAN's interests go beyond the purely academic and it exercises considerable influence on the leadership of the Ukrainian community. Its involvement in the educational field has raised the level of cultural life of Ukrainians in general. Directly and indirectly, UVAN has taken part in many cultural programmes: it has a flourishing and well-organized adult education programme; it has been responsible for extensive publishing, including nine publications, mostly biographical and bibliographical in character, as well as dictionaries, grammars, school manuals, and individual works in the major humanistic disciplines. Some publications include works by non-Ukrainians; for example, *Onomastica Canadiana,* is a forum for American and European contributors. *Slavistica Canadiana* compiles a bibliography of all material on and by those of Slavic origin published in Canada. UVAN

639. The diversity of the cultural life of the Jewish group is evident from a network of institutions encompassing almost every cultural area. The Jewish Public Library of Montreal, founded in 1914, the smaller Jewish public libraries in Toronto and Winnipeg, and private Jewish libraries in a number of other cities, the Keren Hatarbuth Organization, and the Cercle juif de langue française are only a few of the institutions involved. Social scientists have made ample use of the reports of the Research Bureau of the Canadian Jewish Congress, which between 1962 and 1966 had in progress or completed 15 research projects on demographic, historical, and economic trends in the Jewish community. Jewish organization

640. A cultural institution that embodies an exceptional generosity of spirit is the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre of Toronto. The Centre, housed in a building of great beauty, was dedicated in October 1963 not only as a meeting place for members of the Japanese com- Other associations

munity but as a gift to all the people of Canada. Its facilities are freely available and have been enjoyed by those of all ethnic origins. Other institutions are the Polish Institute in Montreal and the Polish Research Institute in Toronto; both have libraries and archives and have sponsored the publication of several books.

F. Recommendations

641. Special support and recognition in the arts, letters, and crafts for individuals or groups whose cultural origins are other than British or French are unnecessary provided their artistic contributions appeal to the Canadian population as a whole. Considerations of origin and background do not weigh heavily in making awards in the arts. However, some assistance is both necessary and desirable, for artistic contributions made within the cultural groups. Support should be given to organizations whose objectives are to preserve the traditions and foster the arts and letters of these groups. Historical documents and artifacts, the fine arts, and folk arts of all the people of Canada are part of Canada's heritage. They help to nurture love of beauty and respect for artists and scholars, and to further development in arts and letters. The arts and letters of the other cultural groups are also a source of variety in outlook, ideas, and talent. Finally, support for the arts, letters, and crafts of its people affirms our pride in Canada's diversity.

Recommendation 14

642. The provision of such support does not at present seem consonant with the policies of the Canada Council, although individual scholars do receive funds from the Canada Council for some projects initiated by such organizations. The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State is probably a more appropriate agency to provide such support. It already evaluates requests and allocates some funds for the promotion of arts, letters, and crafts among the other cultural groups as do provincial agencies in most provinces as well as some local agencies. These agencies serve all those who live in Canada, and we feel that they should have the means to give financial assistance openly, generously, and systematically. Therefore, **we recommend that the appropriate federal, provincial, and municipal agencies receive the financial means they require to maintain and extend their support to cultural and research organizations whose objectives are to foster the arts and letters of cultural groups other than the British and French.**

Recommendation 15

643. We also feel that support should be provided for the folk arts of the Canadian people. These arts bring colour and variety to Canadian life. The work done by the Canadian Folk Arts Council under the aegis of the Centennial Commission resulted in a new awareness and

appreciation of folk art. We feel that this work should be continued and expanded beyond the performing arts to the whole range of folk arts. Therefore, **we recommend that the administrative costs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council or a similar body be provided for out of public funds through the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.**

644. An important part of Canadian support for the arts and letters of its peoples must be the preservation of the history in which these arts find their cultural base. The history of those of origin other than British and French in Canada is unfortunately little known. Spokesmen for a number of cultural groups have complained that their participation in the development of the country has not been sufficiently recognized. They have stated in their briefs to us that public institutions have taken a greater interest in the historical records and objects pertinent to the French and British than to the other cultural groups, and that the groups themselves have had to gather, preserve, and display the documents and artifacts associated with their coming to Canada and their early settlement here. A number of cultural groups have established museums and archives of their own.

645. To some extent, these complaints result from a misunderstanding. Neglect of historical material in Canada has been general. There has not been sufficient interest in the country's past to insure that the National Museum of Man and the Public Archives were provided with adequate facilities and funds.[1] This situation is now changing. Largely as a result of the celebration of the Centennial of Confederation, Canadians have become more interested in their history and more aware of the value of historical materials.

646. The senior staff of Canada's public museums and archives recognize the essential part played by the other cultural groups in Canadian history and are concerned that it be made widely known.[2] The Museum of Man has for several years been carrying on an ambitious and imaginative programme of research and publication concerning the folklore of Canada's smaller cultural groups. The first publication of folk music concentrated on five cultural groups—the Doukhobor, Mennonite, Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Czech—chosen from among 33 covered by a preliminary survey.[3] The history division has also sponsored research on other cultural groups, and the museum has been delighted to accept artifacts for preservation and display from some groups. When conditions have been attached to gifts, however,

Recommendation 16

[1] See *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences 1949-51* (Ottawa, 1951), 98-9, 111-19.

[2] William E. Taylor, Jr., of the National Museum of Man and Wilfred Smith of the Public Archives were among those who discussed the situation with us.

[3] Kenneth Peacock, *Twenty Ethnic Songs from Western Canada*, National Museums of Canada Bulletin No. 211, Anthropological Series No. 76, (Ottawa, 1966).

such as continuous display or display in a special designated section, the result has sometimes been misunderstanding between the donor and the museum staff. The museum has been hampered in carrying out its aims by poor accommodations and lack of funds, but there can be no doubt of its keen and informed interest in cultural groups other than the British and French. Therefore, **we recommend that the National Museum of Man be given adequate space and facilities and provided with sufficient funds to carry out its projects regarding the history, social organizations, and folk arts of cultural groups other than the British and French.**

647. The staff of the Public Archives finds at times that its first responsibility, the maintenance of the permanent public records of the nation, leaves little time or money for its second interest, the collection of originals and transcripts of all kinds of historical materials related to Canada. Its activities may seem to favour the British and French since government records are in English and French, and since these two groups have been dominant in Canadian history. However, the archives' staff is fully aware of the diversity of the Canadian population and is eager to collect materials regarding cultural groups other than the British and French. The archives already include many records of first importance for historical research concerning the immigration and settlement of various groups, and the staff is keenly interested in making the collection more complete through books and other records of immigrant aid associations, colonization and settlement societies, and ethnic newspapers with letters, articles, and editorials about immigration and settlement. The benefits of having such materials available to scholars in one place are obvious. The provincial archives are also aware of the many different cultural groups in the Canadian population, and are anxious to obtain materials concerning their role in the development of the provinces.

648. The many languages employed by the other cultural groups in Canada present some problems for archivists. It is necessary for the archives' staff to select the material most likely to have permanent value for research. It has been difficult to secure staff members trained in Canadian history and archival practice; it would be impossible to find such people if they were also required to be fluent in English, French, and one or more other languages. Members of the different cutural groups could, therefore, provide useful advice in the selection of documents when requested.

649. Private museums and archives devoted to specific cultural groups will continue to exist, and to serve an important purpose by preserving records and artifacts and making them accessible to people who may never visit the national museums and archives, and to young

members of the groups whose past they commemorate. The materials in private museums and archives that are significant for Canadian history can also be important for our scholars. We therefore suggest that the Museum of Man and the Public Archives prepare inventories of the holdings of these institutions. In some cases precious documents in private collections may be inaccessible to scholars, or may be deteriorating because of incorrect methods of storing and handling. We also suggest that the Public Archives undertake a survey of documents in private collections and that those documents of significance for Canadian history be preserved on microfilm.

650. A striking fact which emerged from our research into the cultural groups other than the British and French in Canadian society is that so little is known about the subject. Certain groups which are sufficiently large, prosperous, geographically concentrated, and well organized to have research institutes and learned societies have sponsored some research on the history, folklore, or achievements of their groups in Canada. These reports are valuable additions to our knowledge. Our recommendation that cultural and research organizations receive support is intended to recognize and extend their efforts. Social scientists at Canadian universities have sometimes done research on particular cultural groups, or on topics such as immigration policy, the country's capacity to absorb immigrants, and the attitudes of Canadians toward immigrants. The bibliographies entitled *Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada* issued by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1960, 1962, and 1964 are valuable tools for scholars and policy makers. However, the vast opportunities for research that our population provides have hardly been touched.

651. As far as a sociology of ethnic relations exists, it is mainly American. Although much can be learnt from research carried out in the United States, the conclusions reached are frequently not applicable in Canada. Canadian society differs from American society in a number of respects that are of direct importance to immigrants and cultural groups. Among these are the greater social role of government, the existence of two linguistic communities, the idea of a "cultural mosaic" instead of a "melting-pot," the fact that large-scale immigration to Canada continued after the United States' policy became restrictionist, the low density of our population, and Canada's proximity to a more popu-

lated and more highly developed country. By studying the effects of these factors, scholars could make distinctive contributions to social science, and also help to develop the understanding which must underlie sound social policy in Canada. Since Canada is one of the most technologically advanced of the highly pluralistic societies, research on the Canadian experience could also offer other countries more understanding of complex societies.

652. Throughout this Book we have called attention to areas where further research is needed. In some of these we have reported the results of research carried out for us, including preliminary work on ethnic voluntary associations, ethnic schools, and the ethnic press. Some of the research needed could be done under the auspices of the cultural and research organizations of particular groups. Studies that concern a single cultural group (or at most a few related groups), that require an intimate knowledge of the group's language and culture, or in which deep personal involvement, if not an asset is at least no detriment, are some areas where such organizations could make a valuable contribution.

653. However, the research that is most vital should focus on relations between cultural groups. Such studies will require the use of the most sophisticated methods of research and also complete detachment on the part of scholars. Universities, especially the divisions of the humanities and social sciences, will necessarily be involved. We hope that there will be Canadian scholars of many ethnic origins in the universities who can use their training and personal experience for developing insights into Canadian society. We are certainly not advocating ethnocentrism in the study of ethnic relations in Canada, for to do so would be to desert the principles that have guided this study.

654. We urge Canadian scholars and learned societies to give high priority to research concerning immigration and ethnic relations and their effects upon our social, economic, political, and cultural life. Many specific measures might be taken to stimulate such research. A centre for studies in immigration and ethnic relations might be established at one of our universities, or a special section with a focus on such studies within an institute for Canadian studies. Learned societies might focus attention on this area of inquiry by making the cultural and linguistic diversity of Canada the theme of a special seminar, an issue of a journal, or a session at a regular meeting. They might also sponsor a series of publications on immigration and ethnic relations. The Social Science Research Council of Canada might undertake an inter-disciplinary research project in the field. We do not presume to specify the ways in which such research could be stimulated, but we stress the importance of this field for Canadian society.

655. In the past, research concerning immigration and ethnic relations was possibly of greater interest to Anglophone than Francophone scholars. Today it is of vital concern to both societies, and it will continue to be so in the future. The Francophone community now includes scholars of many ethnic origins and many mother tongues, and the research advocated here should, therefore, be conducted by members of the Francophone as well as the Anglophone society.

1. **We recommend that any provinces that have not yet enacted fair employment practices, fair accommodation practices, or housing legislation prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin, do so; and that this legislation be made binding upon the Crown and its agencies. We further recommend that all provinces make provision for full-time administrators of their human rights legislation. (§ 152.)**

2. **We recommend that the same conditions for citizenship, the right to vote, and to stand for election to public office be accorded to all immigrants, with no regard to their country of origin. (§ 233.)**

3. **We recommend that the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme, where there is sufficient demand for such classes. (§ 378.)**

4. **We recommend that special instruction in the appropriate official language be provided for children who enter the public school system with an inadequate knowledge of that language; that provincial authorities specify the terms and conditions of financial assistance for such special instruction; and that the federal authorities assist the provinces in mutually acceptable ways through grants for the additional cost incurred. (§ 383.)**

5. **We recommend that more advanced instruction and a wider range of options in languages other than English and French, and in**

cultural subjects related to them, be provided in public high schools, where there is sufficient demand for such classes. (§ 390.)

6. We recommend that Canadian universities broaden their practices in giving standing or credits for studies in modern languages other than French and English both for admission and for degrees. (§ 443.)

7. We recommend that Canadian universities expand their studies in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences relating to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages. (§ 458.)

8. We recommend that the CRTC remove restrictions on private broadcasting in languages other than English and French, except those restrictions necessary to meet the administrative and legal responsibilities of the licensees and those that also apply to English- and French-language programmes. (§ 538.)

9. We recommend that the CBC recognize the place of languages other than English and French in Canadian life and that the CBC remove its proscription on the use of other languages in broadcasting. (§ 539.)

10. We recommend that the CRTC undertake studies in the field of broadcasting in other languages to determine the best means by which radio and television can contribute to the maintenance of languages and cultures and that the CBC participate in these studies. We further recommend that these studies include pilot projects on either AM or FM radio in both Montreal and Toronto. (§ 542.)

11. We recommend that research be undertaken through the CRTC concerning the nature and effects of the portrayal of other cultural groups on both publicly- and privately-owned English- and French-language radio and television stations. (§ 546.)

12. We recommend that the National Film Board undertake to publicize the fact that it produces prints of many of its films in languages other than English and French, particularly in regions where there are concentrations of persons who speak languages other than English and French. In addition, we recommend that the voluntary associations of cultural groups stimulate interest among their groups in the use of these films. (§ 553.)

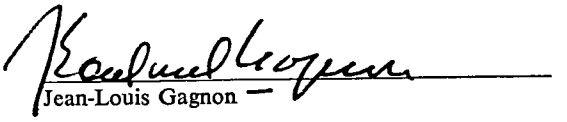
13. **We recommend that the National Film Board continue and develop the production of films that inform Canadians about one another, including films about the contribution and problems of both individuals and groups of ethnic origin other than British and French, and that the National Film Board receive the financial support it requires in order to produce such films. (§ 555.)**

14. **We recommend that the appropriate federal, provincial, and municipal agencies receive the financial means they require to maintain and extend their support to cultural and research organizations whose objectives are to foster the arts and letters of cultural groups other than the British and French. (§ 642.)**

15. **We recommend that the administrative costs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council or a similar body be provided for out of public funds through the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. (§ 643.)**

16. **We recommend that the National Museum of Man be given adequate space and facilities and provided with sufficient funds to carry out its projects regarding the history, social organizations, and folk arts of cultural groups other than the British and French. (§ 646.)**

ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR
YOUR EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION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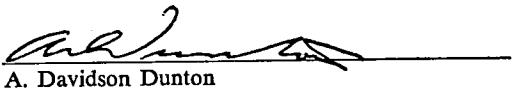
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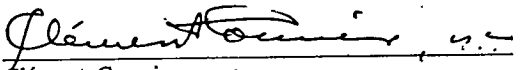
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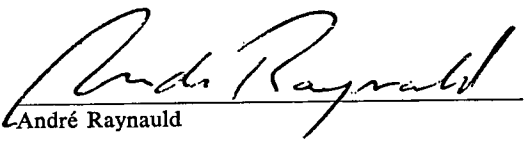
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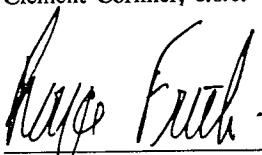
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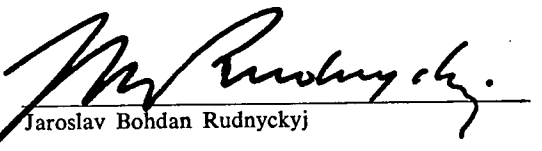
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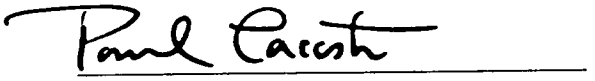
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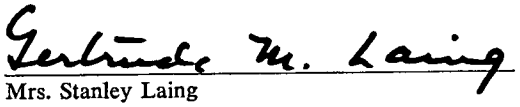
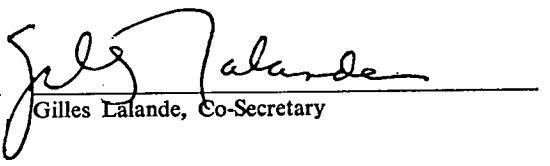
F. R. Scott


Mrs. Stanley Laing


Paul Wyczynski


Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary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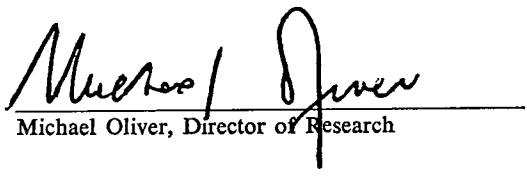
Michael Oliver, Director of Research


Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

October 23, 1969