CANADIAN CULTURAL POLICY IN TRANSITION

Edited by
Devin Beauregard and Jonathan Paquette

Canadian Cultural Policy in Transition

This book offers a comprehensive overview of Canadian cultural policy and research, at a time of transition and redefinition, to establish a dialogue between conventional and emerging foundations. Taking a historical view, the book informs insights on current trends in policy and explores global debates underpinning cultural policy studies within a local context.

The book first acknowledges what Canadian cultural policy research conventionally recognizes and refers to in terms of institutions, values, and debates, before moving on to take stock of the transformations that are continuing to reshape Canadian cultural policy in terms of values, orientations, actors, and institutions. With a focus on all levels of government – federal, provincial, and local – the book also centres on Indigenous arts policies and practices.

This systematic and inclusive volume will appeal to academic researchers, graduate students, managers of arts and culture programmes and institutions, and in the areas of cultural policy, public administration, political science, cultural studies, film and media studies, theatre and performance, and museum studies.

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Introduction: Policy and perspectives in transition – Canadian cultural policy

Devin Beauregard and Jonathan Paquette

Of all the fields of public policy one could study, few would describe "cultural policy" as the sexy option. Rather, it is often economic, healthcare, national defence, energy, and even environmental policy that hold the spotlight in most policy discourse and research. This assertion comes with the acknowledgement that few outside of those who actually operate within the realm of public policy research find the study of public policy particularly fascinating. Fewer still would find the study of public policy in the context of Canada – a country known for its maple syrup, fervent love of hockey, and for being the world's Lisa Simpson – all that engaging at the best of times. So it may raise a few eyebrows that we have decided to devote an entire book to the study of cultural policy … in Canada, no less. In other words, a book devoted to the study of a sub-field that is often overlooked within its academic discipline, which itself is often overlooked by researchers and scholars in other disciplines (never mind the public at large), with a focus on a country that can easily be described – even by its own citizens – as boring. Yet, if we move past this pretext, we begin to see that far from being a boring or painful subject to engage with, Canadian cultural policy can offer us a unique perspective on Canadian culture, heritage, and identity, and on the trends that inform it. And there are, indeed, many trends in Canadian cultural policy that portend to a discipline and field that is quite active and dynamic.

Historically, Canadian cultural policy has typically been focused on questions of identity (Andrew et al., 2005; Paquette, 2019; Beauregard, 2018; Zemans, 1995). The 1951 report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Science was telling in this respect; it revealed how public support of the arts was a matter of national sovereignty in Canada, and stressed that maintaining control over cultural affairs was paramount in protecting Canadian culture and identity from the influence of long and penetrating shadow of American culture (Zemans, 1994; Mulcahy, 2002). Identity is also at play in many provincial cultural policies (Gattinger & Saint-Pierre, 2008), and was certainly an important factor in the development of a ministry of culture in Québec in 1961 (Saint-Pierre, 2007). Identity has also been ritually evoked in local cultural policies whose objectives are often aimed at using arts and heritage as tools to preserve the local social fabric, and create a sense of place and identity (Baeker, 2002). With this being said, and especially over the last two decades, Canadian cultural policy has entered a phase of transition and redefinition. While issues of identity certainly remain essential, the main practices and values sustaining

arts and heritage in Canada are being challenged and contested by new and emerging practices. New experiments in cultural administration (Duxbury & Jeannotte, 2012; Jeannotte, 2016), new cultural actors and the contestation of Canada's cultural elites and institutions (Goff & Jenkins, 2006; Nieguth & Lacassagne, 2012), not to mention the vivid social clashes and protests against certain established practices (Gunter, 2017), all point to an emergence of important new social forces expressing new cultural aspirations (D'Andrea, 2012; 2017; Paquette et al., 2017). By beginning to engage with these forces, federal, provincial, and local institutions have entered a phase of redefinition. In this light, these social forces have taken root as much in social movements as they have in the arts world.

With these new social forces in mind, this book has two main objectives. The first objective is to acknowledge "the old" – to acknowledge what Canadian cultural policy research conventionally recognizes and refers to in terms of (Canadian cultural) institutions, values, and debates. The second objective of this book is to take stock of the transformations that have and are continuing to reshape Canadian cultural policy in terms of values, orientations, actors, and institutions. From an academic perspective, this book aims to explore the new characteristics and values of cultural policy in Canada. In other words, the aforementioned social forces are not simply emerging; they are actively defining cultural policy in Canada. Thus, this book seeks to engage with these new foundations and establish a dialogue between the "old" and the "new". To this end, this volume is divided into three sections, each comprised of six chapters. The first part – "Situating Canadian cultural policy" – offers a thorough look into the foundational aspects of Canadian cultural policy. Chapter 1, by Carl Dholandas and Jonathan Paquette, charts the historical development of "Canadian" cultural policy, from pre-Confederation up to the 1950s. Chapter 2 explores the development and legacy of the aforementioned Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, while Chapter 3 engages with the narratives surrounding national identity through the case study of Expo '67. Chapter 4 introduces an institutional perspective to Canadian cultural policy and Chapter 5 engages with many of the underlying debates that have influenced and informed Canada's approach to cultural policy in recent decades. Rounding out the first section, Chapter 6, by Aurélie Lacassagne, explores the relationship cultural policy has with Indigenous arts and culture.

Part II of this volume – "Social justice and Diversity" – tackles a number of the challenging issues and developments that have impacted Canadian cultural policy from a variety of perspectives. Chapter 7, by Lowell Gasoi, kicks off this section by examining the implications the #MeToo movement have had for cultural policy and for the artistic community in Canada, more broadly. Chapter 8, by Christopher Gunter, shifts gears and explores the question of representation of marginalized groups through a case study of ecomuseums, and examines to what degree these institutions can facilitate participation in policymaking processes. Similarly, Chapter 9 – by Guillaume Sirois, Nathalie Casemajor, and Guy Bellavance – looks at how digital technologies have broadened the possibility for cultural participation, but have also created new and unique challenges for cultural governance. Chapters 10 and 11, by Ivana Otasevic and Clémence Varin respectively, both engage with the impact the

UNESCO Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions has had for Canada's cultural policy landscape – one from the perspective of migrants and the other from the perspective of access and inclusivity. The final chapter of Part II, Chapter 12 by Geneva Alexandria Nam, analyses the role and place of third language media in Canada, and the degree to which it provides a diversity of content for minority groups in Canada.

Part III of this volume – "Cultural and creative industries" – explores the ways in which industries have fuelled cultural policy innovation in Canada in recent decades. This section opens with a piece by Mariane Bourcheix-Laporte that interrogates the Creative Canada initiative in relation to the Canada Council for the Arts' Digital Strategy Fund. Chapter 14, by Taeyoung Kim, delves into provincial cultural policy to explore the ways in which creativity is being instrumentalized for economic purposes. Chapter 15, by Mary Elizabeth Luka, touches on the emergence of creative hubs and networks, and the ways in which they can (and have) contributed to cultural and economic development. In Chapter 16, Richard Sutherland uses the Foundation Assisting Canadian Talent on Record (FACTOR) to explore industry shifts – and their broader implications – in music production. Chapter 17, by Robin Nelson, provides a thorough account of museum sector governance in Ontario through a study of the Ontario Museum Association. Finally, closing out the volume, Kate Mattocks offers an examination of recent experimentation by the Department of Canadian Heritage that has sought to enhance programme design and delivery.

It is through this assortment of contributions and perspectives that we hope to offer our readers a new understanding and appreciation of Canadian cultural policy. Far from being the wet blanket it is sometimes characterized as, the contributions collected in this volume demonstrate that Canadian cultural policy is an exciting and dynamic area of research and study. The field of Canadian cultural policy has undergone – and is continuing to undergo – a significant transition in recent years – one that represents a prominent paradigm shift for scholars and policymakers alike. Simply put, this book seeks to offer a window into this transition, one that illuminates just how unique and special Canadian cultural policy can be.

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Part I

Situating Canadian cultural policy – Classic and conventional conceptions of Canadian cultural policy

1 Arts policy, heritage policy, and the construction of a Canadian identity (1840–1949)

Carl Dholandas and Jonathan Paquette

Introduction

Canada is not alone in benefiting (and suffering) from certain founding myths. At least three myths of Canada, as it is known today, have had a significant impact on the reading of its cultural policy. The first myth is that Canada was discovered by European explorers and, ultimately, settled some four centuries ago. This myth ignores the Indigenous peoples, traditions, and cultures developed on the North American continent since time immemorial. The second myth is that the British (and French) colonies that now comprise Canada had little existence to speak of – and little in the way of public policy beyond war and basic subsistence – until 1867, when they became a federation under the narratives that better cooperation between the colonies was needed to expand east–west trade to resist American political, cultural, and economic encroachment. Like Australia before its federation (in 1901), British North America was previously characterized by self-governing colonies predating confederation. Finally, the third myth is that Canada, as a country, only truly began during the 1960s. Proponents of this view and their many unconscious adherents believe that Canada truly became the peaceful, tolerant country it seems to be today either during this period – understood as a time of increasing diversity and moral liberation – or in the 1980s, when these achievements were constitutionally entrenched through the adoption of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Exaggerated watershed moments, misperceptions of civilization and savagery, fashionable self-hatred, and troubling ancient hatreds: all of these compete for the modern Canadian imagination, and structure the narratives and symbolism of our current debates. Why identify and take on these myths? The able reader will see through them, but it helps to know where to look, and to identify them in the discursive fabric of contemporary discourse on Canadian culture and identity.

In introducing the history of "Canadian" cultural policy, our purpose is to trace the origins and development of today's official government programmes. These inevitably find their origins in colonization. The political entity now known as Canada has not yet had – in any significant measure (except for the Métis provisional government of Louis Riel et al.) – a government primarily originating from a tradition other than the French colony, the British colony (and later Dominion), or the contemporary Western constitutional democracy in the form of a federation with

Westminster-style national and subnational legislatures, bureaucracies, and courts. In other words, Canada is rooted in the European legal and philosophical traditions of sovereignty (Macklem, 2001; Pratt, 2004; Barker, 2015). For many Europeans, Canada was, more or less, a *terra nullius*. This perspective on land occupation and ownership did little to favour Indigenous populations who had cared for the land for centuries. In fact, it should be said that Canada's existence and survival owes much to Indigenous traditions and *métissage* (Saul, 2008). Canada owes a significant part of its exploration, economic, and trade heritage to Indigenous peoples, not the least of which is the fur trade. Yet, Indigenous peoples have suffered considerable human rights abuses at the hands of Canada's governments – some of which have left profound and enduring trauma to this date. The residential school system is undoubtedly one of the darkest chapters of Canada's history. Under this system, the Canadian state – and its police – removed Indigenous children from their families to send them into a boarding school system, wherein they were humiliated and abused. The purpose of these schools was to instil Western language, ways, and habits – though many saw in this system an instrument for cultural genocide (MacDonald & Hudson, 2012; Woolford, 2013). Perhaps most surprisingly – in light of the progressive image Canada tries to convey to the world at large – the last residential schools in Canada only closed in the late 1990s. Today, this difficult past is a contemporary issue, an ethical and institutional challenge to Canadian policy.

Few would assert that the formal Canadian state has developed any dominant cultural policy of recognizably Indigenous inspiration. To this day, so much of Canada's policy suffers from a lack of conscious and subconscious representation of Indigenous traditions beyond the occasional symbolic gesture. Researching Canadian cultural policy in these conditions represents a unique intellectual and ethical challenge. From an intellectual and academic perspective, one may find Indigenous cultural policy in oral traditions, looking back at the normativity and cultural prescriptions that derive from these important narratives. These traditions could help us trace Indigenous ways of governing the arts and culture. An additional challenge to this path comes from the fact that Indigenous populations in Canada are extremely diverse in language, traditions, customs, and situations. There are, in other words, many Indigenous populations. Trying to synthesize an Indigenous cultural policy would amount to a terribly reductionist point of view on the subject. Additionally, trying to reconcile, in a single chapter, the rich diversity of Indigenous populations into the long history of Canadian cultural policy may prove to be ethically problematic – especially in an era where many Indigenous populations articulate demands for self-governance. Are pre-colonization cultural governance practices "Canadian" cultural policy? The delineation of our object of study, thus, requires caution. This chapter acknowledges dissenting views and will, respectfully, not force the integration of populations into the grand narrative of Canadian cultural policy – a narrative that is subject to its own contentions and challenges. As a result, this chapter also acknowledges its limitation; its historical overview and the conversations on culture that arise from it are rooted in Canada's colonial histories.

Colonial Canada: From the French regime to United Canada

The French presence in Canada dates back to the colonial aspirations of King François the First. In 1534, French explorer Jacques Cartier set sails westbound on the Atlantic Ocean, explored the Gulf of Saint-Lawrence and anchored on the shores of Gaspé on July 24th 1534, where he claimed the land in the name of the king of France. After a number of exploratory voyages, a permanent settlement – Port-Royal – was established in 1605, and a second, in the territory that would become Québec City, was established in 1608. French King Henri IV officialized the colony as la *Nouvelle-France*. The city of Montréal originates from a settlement that began in 1642. The French colony expanded its territory to encompass a large portion of contemporary Canada and the United States, including land ranging from Hudson Bay to the actual Louisiana (Desbarats & Greer, 2011).

Historians made a number of observations about cultural life and its regulation under the French regime. Culture was then inextricably linked to religious orders and their missions, and to the military. The first French-language play in North America was performed in Port-Royal on November 14th 1606. The *Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France* was written by Marc Lescarbot, performed by and for colonial administrators and militaries; it was meant to cheer up and galvanize the soldiers stationed in the colony (Bibliothèque nationale et archives du Québec, 2020). The 243-verse play is also said to have been written to honour the King and France's colonial project in the Americas (Wright, 2013).

Plays were an important part of the cultural life under the French regime. Jesuit and Ursuline religious orders introduced theatre and plays into the religious education they offered in the colony as early as 1640. By the mid-1640s, there was a growing cultural life in the colony, in an increasing amount of ballets and plays performed by French artistic companies. French tragedian Pierre Corneille's plays were amongst the most popular at the time. On December 31st 1646, Corneille's most famous play – *The Cid* – was performed in Québec City (Bourassa, 2003, p. 148). Some of Corneille's other plays were frequently performed in the late 1640s and early 1650s. In general, religious plays were favoured; and, while most were made and performed in French, others were performed in Latin or in Huron and Algonquin languages (pp. 148–149). Theatre thrived in the French colony until a certain clash occurred between religious authorities and the governor. In 1694, Governor Frontenac promoted the production of Molière's *Tartuffe* in Québec City. Molière's comedy was extremely critical of religious and political authorities; it was not well received by the French royal court. Performances were banned in France in 1672, and it is said that Frontenac was well aware of the ban. The colony's Bishop, Saint-Vallier, exerted important pressures on Frontenac to stop the production, and was successful in his efforts to halt Frontenac's project (p. 150). This was probably the first act of censorship in the French colony, and it speaks to the weight of the religious orders in the social and cultural life of the colony (Belmessous, 2004). The controversy surrounding the performance of Molière's comedy slowed the steady progress that theatre had made over the previous 50 years in la *Nouvelle-France*.

Similarly, silverwork – for household items or for objects of devotion – as well as bronze sculpting, was first introduced by the military to the French colonies. French soldiers were the first craftsmen to bring European sculpture to the colony. Québec's rich tradition of silverwork and bronze work takes its roots from this era. As for other visual arts, in addition to collecting and commissioning works from European artists, priests also engaged in their practice (Morisset, 1933). Religious orders were also the first to develop natural history and art collections in the colony.

The history of Nouvelle-France ends in two acts. The first is related to the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, signed in the aftermath of the Spanish Succession War, pursuant to which Port-Royal and portions of Acadia – a French colony on the Atlantic coast – were handed over to the British. Decades later, as of 1755, on the orders of Lieutenant-Governor Charles Lawrence, the British troops began to expel the French-speaking population from the territory that corresponds to today's New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. French-speaking inhabitants – Acadians – were deported to the British colonies in America or to France (many ultimately settled in Louisiana). Houses and churches were burned and the resistance was brutally crushed. The second act which sealed the fate of the French colony in North America is linked to the Seven Years War. In 1758, the British troops began their invasion of Nouvelle-France (Allaire, 2007; Veyssières & Fonck, 2012). In 1763, the Treaty of Paris formalized the end of the First French Empire, the end of Nouvelle-France, and the handover of the colony to the British crown.

Ultimately, the end of the American Independence War in 1783 provoked a dramatic shift in the demographics of the former French colony. British subjects who sided or fought with the British crown – known as Loyalists – were offered to resettle in the recently conquered Province of Québec and in Nova Scotia. The loyalist notion has served to shape, and is probably still shaping, the narratives supporting English-Canadian identity. Canada, it is sometimes argued, was after all created by a determination to resist becoming American; it was driven by a desire to maintain roots with Britain.

Until 1780s, the Province of Québec was predominantly populated by French and Indigenous peoples, and the British presence was limited to military troops, colonial administrators, and to a number of British merchants. The migration of Loyalists drastically altered the make-up of the population, leading to frictions. As a result, the territory of the Province of Québec was divided into two self-governing colonies through the Constitutional Act of 1791: the predominantly Anglophone Upper Canada (later Ontario) and the predominantly Francophone Lower Canada (Québec).

Under the French regime, libraries belonged to the scholars from religious orders. The libraries that developed after the British Conquest were developed on the model of paid memberships (Bruce, 2018). Merchant Germain Langlois developed Québec City's first "circulating library" in 1764, and was followed decades later by Thomas Cary in 1797 (Gallichan, 1991, p. 35). These libraries were strictly private operations, requiring pay for usage. In 1779, Governor Frederick Haldimand created Québec City's Library, a system that was more of a club than a commercial operation (p. 37). The Library of the Parliament of

Québec, reserved to the Members of the Parliament, is thought to have sustained the importance of libraries, and to have popularized the idea amongst the elite in ways that would later facilitate the development of a public library system.

As of the 1820s, both Upper and Lower Canada began to experiment with new approaches to public culture, art, and heritage. This is the era in which the idea of a museum germinated in the Canadian society and psyche. The first museums were largely inspired by private "cabinets of curiosity". The very first museum experiences in Canada can be ordered in two distinct logics (Gagnon, 1996). The first logic has to do with amusement, wonder, and leisure. In 1824, in Montréal, the Italian Museum opened – a small institution with 130 items managed by innkeeper, Thomas Delvecchio (Poulot, 2001, p. 93). In Upper Canada, the Niagara Falls Museum, developed by Thomas Barnett, opened its doors in 1827. These museums were private operations, and were made primarily for amusement purposes. In contrast, the second logic of museum development followed principles and political ideals. In 1824, in Lower Canada, Pierre Chasseur developed a collection that was later acquired by the legislature in order to have a better knowledge of the territory, but also as a tool for public education (Paquette, 2019, p. 132). This period also coincides with the will to develop a cultural and intellectual life in cities. Following the pattern of European learned societies, the Literary and Historical Society of Québec was created in 1824, followed by the founding of the Montréal Natural History Society in 1827.

In Lower Canada, presses and publishing houses developed in the early years of the 19th century. The end of the Napoleonic wars made trade with France secure and possible. In 1815, Québec City merchant, Augustin Germain, set sail for France and established trade relationships in France – thus, establishing a permanent and flourishing book business in Lower Canada (Gallichan, 1991, p. 32). The growing appetite for books, public discussion, and learned societies might very well have contributed to the life of political ideas in Upper and Lower Canada.

In 1837 and 1838, rebellions emerged in Upper Canada and, with greater virulence, in Lower Canada. These rebellions were the result of dire economic conditions, but they were also motivated by liberal political ideals. Intellectuals and public figures who led these rebellions firmly believed in elected parliaments and responsible government, a concession that would only be obtained from the British crown in 1848. In the aftermath of the 1837 and 1838 rebellions, Lord Durham was appointed Governor General and sent to the colonies to prepare his *Report on the Affairs of British North America*. Released in 1839, Lord Durham's report is infamously known for its derogatory depiction of French Canadians, their lives, and their customs. According to Lord Durham, "the French are not so civilised, so energetic, or so money-making as a race" (Durham, 1839, p. 110). For Durham "the great mass of the French Canadians are doomed, in some measure, to occupy an inferior positions, and to be dependent on the English for employment" (p. 112). Durham tried to further advance his argument by suggesting:

> There can hardly be conceived a nationality more destitute of all that can invigorate and elevate a people than that which is exhibited by the descendants

of the French in Lower Canada, owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners. They are people with no history, and no literature. (p. 112)

Durham's antipathy towards French Canadians led him to recommend that, for strategic reasons (access to Saint-Lawrence River) and for political reasons, French Canadians should never occupy a position of majority in political institutions. As a result, Lord Durham recommended that union of Lower and Upper Canada, thusly creating the Province of Canada in 1840.

Cultural policy in the Province of Canada (1840) and in the first decades of the Confederation (1867)

The second half of the 19th Century was a prolific era for cultural institutions – particularly museums and galleries. In 1844, the Canadian Geological Commission opened its doors in Montréal to present some of the geological specimens Canadian scientists had acquired during their expeditions throughout the colonies. This institution is the organizational and administrative ancestor of many of Canada's federal museums: Natural History Museum, Civilization/History Museum, and National Gallery. Simply put, this collection laid the foundation for the federal museum sector. The collection was housed in Montréal, and later relocated to Ottawa. In 1860, the Art Association of Montréal opened the doors to become what is known today as the Montréal Museum of Fine Art. In 1866, l'Institut Canadien opened its museum with a collection that had ambitions comparable to those of the evolutionary museums; it presented natural history specimens, art collections, and historical artefacts (Gagnon, 1996, p. 356). These are just a few examples of the most important institutions that developed in Montréal during this era. According to Gagnon (1996), the development of museums in Montréal in the late 19th century was heavily driven by a progressive elitism (p. 374), and presented a certain ideal and aspiration for a young nation that would develop with the help of the art, sciences, and industry. In the late 19th Century, museums in Canada were also increasingly seen as educational institutions – as tools for public education. Superintendent of Education Egerton Ryerson for Canada West (now Ontario) had been a strong proponent of museum collections for educational purposes (Stacey, 2017). In a similar fashion, a Museum of public instruction was promoted and created in 1882 by the Government of Québec. In Toronto a provincial collection began in 1898 (Paquette, 2019, p. 133). This initial collection would later be used to create the Royal Ontario Museum in1912, one of Canada's most prestigious cultural institutions (Ashley, 2020 p. 25).

The growth of Canada – and, in particular, the establishment of the new federal Dominion of Canada in 1867 – was also an opportunity for cultural development. In terms of cultural institutions, the young federal Government of Canada was behind its provincial counterparts. Cultural institutions were needed and encouraged for nation-building purposes. The Royal Canadian Academy for the Arts and the National Gallery of Canada were created based on the initiative and political patronage of the Marquess of Lorne in 1880. In an effort to support the

development of strong cultural institution that would sustain Canadian culture and history, the Dominion Archives were developed in 1872. The institution is still in operation today, now known as Library and Archives Canada.

In the early 1900s, there was an awareness of the importance of developing heritage institutions, and crafting a common narrative for Canadian history. In Canada, the early days of heritage-making meshed with the natural environment. According to Rodger Todhunter (1985), two of Canada's Governors General were instrumental in planting the seeds of a federal cultural policy: Lord Dufferin (1872–1878) and Lord Grey (1904–1911) (p. 141). Lord Dufferin's interventions to preserve the old walls of Québec City in 1875 were an important turning point for the valuation of heritage and heritage awareness in public discourse. While the city merchants felt that destroying the old city walls would facilitate more cohesive urban planning and commerce, Lord Dufferin argued against what would have been a profound change to the city's visual landscape. Dufferin emphasized the cultural value and uniqueness of the environment and its potential for cultural tourism (p. 147). The value of cultural tourism was already inspiring decision-makers. Later, Québec City was, once again, a turning point for the development of heritage policy in Canada. Inspired by American approaches to heritage preservation, and in particular by a visit to the Gettysburg Battlefield in 1907, Lord Grey thought that the preservation of Québec City's battlefield would be a fantastic project for the Tercentenary of the city's foundation in 1908. Following this project, a Dominion parks branch was created in 1911 – the institutional ancestor of Parks Canada (p. 159). The experience of Québec City's battlefield is a turning point. While land was set apart by the federal government for the purpose of national parks as early as 1885, the preservation and heritage interpretation practices that developed around that battlefield, the Plains of Abraham, evidences the advent of a greater presence of Canada's federal government in cultural affairs.

Over two decades (1900–1920), the federal Government of Canada created institutional capacities and policies to support its heritage. A federally supported park system developed throughout the country. It is often argued that "park development was an act of rationalized nationalism, an extension of a state-centre understanding of Canadian nature in more and more spaces" (Mortimer-Sandilands, 2009, p. 168). Parks were meant to contribute to a certain definition of Canadian identity around wilderness and rugged land (Youdelis et al., 2020). According to Janet Foster (1978),

> National Parks were to preserve the original landscape of Canada, to ensure that every Canadian, by right of citizenship, would own a share of unspoiled country. Indeed, parks had a truly patriotic mission to perform: instill in all Canadians a love of the country and pride in its natural beauty. (p. 79)

In addition to parks and the park system, the creation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1919 is the other important piece in a federal heritage policy.

From 1840 to 1920, the institutions that developed following the creation of the Province of Canada (1840) and then the Canadian Confederation (1867) focused on

artistic development and heritage. Cultural policy was then driven by patriotism and by a sense of cultural optimism. Culture built Canada; it built a nation. Cultural institutions were seen for their essential contribution to education and to the generation erudition of Canadians. It was also the period of a traumatic moment, the period during which the Great War (1914–1918) erupted. For countries of the Commonwealth, like Canada and Australia, military contribution to this international war in European soil represented an important moment in national history, one which was material for patriotism (Smith, 2013; Miles, 2017). The Great War has been and remains an event that serves many national heritage symbols.

Culture, media, and technology 1920–1949

In the 1920s and 1930s, heritage development remained a policy area of interest for the Government of Canada. National museums continued their developments in the capital. The National Museum of Canada opened its doors in 1927 as a fusion of many collections and with the ambition of being a renowned national and international institution, following universalist aspirations. In Québec, in the 1920s, the provincial government had an ambitious plan to develop a number of museums across the province. The Musée de la province de Québec – an arts and heritage museum – opened its doors in 1933 (Paquette, 2019, p. 135).

Further initiatives to support the arts were put in place. Some initiatives emphasized artistic education and professionalization in the arts. For instance, in Québec, the provincial government created the École des beaux-arts de Montréal in 1922 in order to foster excellence and talent in artistic education. In Nova Scotia, the Victoria School of Art and Design that had opened in 1887 became the Nova Scotia College of Art in 1925 following administrative changes. Many other provinces developed or sustained the development of professional education in the arts. Additionally, in the 1920s and 1930s, federal and provincial governments began offering awards to support artistic excellence. For instance, the Governor General of Canada introduced a literary award in 1937. In 1922, Québec provincial secretary Athanase David introduced literary and scientific merit prizes in recognition of talented artists and scientists of the province (Harvey, 2003).

In terms of cultural policy, the issue of culture and the mass media became the most salient issue of the 1920s in Canada. Canada had introduced the Radio-telegraph Act in 1913, and revised it in the 1920s in ways that would ensure that only the federal government – the government of the Dominion – would be responsible for the control of the sector. The federal government took other measures to curtail foreign influence in ownership of Canadian radio stations (Claxton, 1931). In 1928, the federal government tasked Sir John Aird to provide advice on the governance of radio broadcasting in Canada. In 1929, Aird and his fellow Commission members, Charles Bowman and Augustin Frigon, completed the *Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting* (often referred to as the Report of the Aird Commission) The Commission had surveyed experts and held 25 hearings in different cities in order to take stock of the radiobroadcasting challenges in Canada. According to the commissioners, there was a diversity of

opinions, but one fundamental perspective emerged as almost unanimous amongst the people who participated in the sessions: "Canadian radio listeners want Canadian Broadcasting" (Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, 1929, p. 6). Moreover, the Commission found that:

> At present the majority of programs heard are from sources outside of Canada. It has been emphasized to us that the continued reception of these has a tendency to mould the minds of the young people in the home to ideals and opinions that are not Canadian. In a country of the vast geographical dimension of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship. (p. 6)

The Commission saw in radio broadcasting a tool for identity construction and citizenship; a lack of intervention into this sector on the part of the federal government could constitute a cultural threat to Canada. The report identified challenges including the predominance of American content and the capacity of American stations to diffuse programming in Canada very easily. Additionally, the commissioners also saw how private operators were financially vulnerable. The Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting recommended a mixed system whereby a public operator would coexist with private stations. Building on the model of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Commission recommended the creation of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Company which could also be fit to address the geographical challenges of the country in its own structures of operation. The proposed structure included regional programming and regional representatives to contribute to the governance of the organization, and to ensure the value of national and local programming. An act of the federal parliament followed the recommendation to create the public broadcaster in 1932. In a similar fashion, the National Film Board was created in 1939 by the federal government in order to assist and develop filmmaking capacity in Canada.

During this era, while Canadian cultural policy was committed to artistic development and supporting the arts, the rise of new technologies raised new questions and challenges. The Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting heralded the beginning of a pattern in Canadian cultural policy, formulated as an attempt to ensure and maintain a form of cultural sovereignty. This Commission demonstrated, more clearly, the perceived American threat to Canadian culture and identity.

Conclusion

Canadian cultural policy is the result of a number of historical and social forces. Indigenous populations have developed their own cultural practices, art forms, and history that pre-date the idea of Canada. Similarly, French settlers organized for themselves a cultural life and cultural institutions – some of which have subsisted and grown over time. Where and when does Canadian cultural policy begin? These are relatively complicated methodological questions. Carefully considered, they questions reveal ethical issues. In this chapter, we have provided an historical

overview of Canadian cultural policy from the perspective of its European history and origins. After the Seven Years War, the Treaty of Paris ceded the northern land inhabited by French-speaking settlers and Indigenous peoples to the British crown. For a short period of time, colonial administrators, military troops, and English merchants were a minority in this land and governed a majority of French settlers. The end of the American War of Independence witnessed an influx of new English-speaking settlers that slowly began to reshape the demographics of the British colony. Cultural institutions and cultural policy were defined by a cultural optimism, and by the pursuit of artistic excellence. From Upper Canada/Lower Canada, to new federation after 1867, and during the period of the Province of Canada in between, cultural policy and cultural institutions were developed with a similar passion by English and French settlers.

The era of the new Canadian federation saw the rise of great Canadian painters, of artistic movements such as the Group of Seven or the Beaver Hall Group in the early 1900s. This was a great period for Québec visual arts with sculptors like Alfred Laliberté, or Louis-Philippe Hébert, not to mention a great period for literature. A progressive sense of cultural elitism characterized the arts and the cultural aspirations of Canadian cultural policy at the time. These ideals were maintained and well conveyed in cultural policy development all the way to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the National Development in the Arts, Letters and Science that was set up in 1949 (Upchurch, 2007; 2011) and which will be the focus of the next chapter.

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