

KNOW THYSELF :
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PRAXIS AND CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM

BY

KEVIN GERARD SPICE

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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*for the ones I love the most
Florence, Mike and Cindy*

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ABSTRACT

This thesis provides an anthropological perspective of multiculturalism through an examination of multicultural terms and concepts, the political history of multiculturalism, and the implementation of a survey with a multicultural organization. This is done by building on Barth's and later Eriksen's concepts on ethnicity, Goodenough's position on the nature of culture and his ideas that multiculturalism is a normal human experience, and Greenbaum's ideas on the realities and implications of what it means to live in a multicultural society. An historical analysis of the events that led to the introduction of Canada's Multiculturalism policy and its subsequent development provides a diachronic understanding of the historical context and relationships between Canadian groups. Examination of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and other writings provide insight into the many influences that have constructed multiculturalism and the contemporary relationships between Canadian groups. A microlevel study is completed to provide a complementary understanding of multiculturalism at the local level. A strategic planning technique called the Delphi survey was designed and implemented with a local non-profit multicultural organization called the Manitoba Multicultural Resources Centre. The analysis of the goals and problems of the voluntary organization provides both qualitative and quantitative data for a unique insight into the organizational culture of a multicultural organization. The Delphi survey also provides an understanding of the problems often experienced by voluntary organizations. An argument is made that Canadian institutions have been

ineffective at establishing goals for multiculturalism and at resolving conflict among Canadian groups.

Enveloping this examination of multiculturalism is an examination of anthropological praxis as an analytical framework to understand, develop and influence multiculturalism. An argument is made that anthropology can be developed as a discipline to address social issues through social policy. The literature on anthropology as a policy science and anthropological praxis is examined. Attempts are made to understand the current environment of values, politics, processes and concerns in which multiculturalism operates. The argument concludes that massive socio-political changes have led to a situation in which Canadians must come to terms with what it means to live in a plural society. Knowing ourselves is the first step. Only a disciplined process of research, debate, negotiation, implementation and compromise will effectively address multiculturalism issues.

CHAPTER ONE

Multiculturalism Through the Anthropological Lens

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.0.0 The Problem with Multiculturalism

Canada's Multiculturalism policy has been at the centre of much public, academic and government debate since its creation in 1971. These debates have used terms and concepts such as "culture" and "ethnicity" to express varying points of view on multiculturalism policy. The meaning and understanding of these comments have varied greatly depending on the opinions and positions of those expressing their points of view. Consequently fundamental concepts are misused and dialogue is obfuscated to the point that "nobody knows what multiculturalism is supposed to become"¹. However, anthropologists can effectively contribute to the understanding and development of multiculturalism due to the discipline's critical study of the root of multiculturalism; namely culture. The meaning of Canada's multiculturalism policy has become clouded through years of ambiguous discourse, ignorance of historical influence on contemporary issues, and political management of conflict between Canadian groups; consequently making implementation of the policy ineffective. Through the application of anthropological tools of analysis I will sort out some of the concepts, terms, assumptions and values behind the multicultural debate.

¹This was expressed to me from a high ranked civil servant who implemented Canada's multiculturalism policy.

Multiculturalism policy is a matter of pursuing complex ideals that are becoming a part of Canada's national identity. In pursuing ideals within a plural society, a society composed of several cultural or ethnic groups, people are seeking to alter or reinforce existing distributions of power (Goodenough 1978:86). Often the dilemmas and political positions in which Canadian groups find themselves seem insurmountable, confirming the difficulties of political restructuring. Much of this is because ambiguity, miscommunication, and the prevalence of various political agendas, both hidden and explicit, obfuscate discourse on multiculturalism issues. Because many Canadian groups find themselves mired in political dilemmas and because significant discourse and action on multiculturalism policy are clearly ambiguous, many people conclude that multiculturalism is a failed social policy. However, multiculturalism, like all other socially defined concepts, can only become a viable social concept if it is constructed and integrated into daily life. Yet, "bound up in the concept of 'multiculturalism' are deeply seeded beliefs about race, ethnicity and culture that first must be examined before we can proceed to implement changes ..." (Greenbaum 1992:25). I would add that power struggles, value differences and challenges to existing power structures are an intrinsic aspect of Canadian multiculturalism. It may be difficult to sort out the concepts, reconcile political developments, and construct a sound theoretical and practical multiculturalism policy but it is not impossible.

1.0.1 Statement of Objectives

The objective of this thesis is to examine the theoretical, historical, and contemporary issues of Canada's multiculturalism policy through an anthropological perspective. Anthropological concepts and methods will be used to gather information pertinent to Canadian multiculturalism. This information will then be analyzed and presented so that it may be used by microlevel or macrolevel decision-makers to make effective policy and implementation strategies when addressing Canada's multicultural reality. A consistent model of multiculturalism will then be constructed by providing a theoretical foundation to discuss multiculturalism using Barth's (1969) concepts of ethnicity, Goodenough's (1978) concept of the nature of culture and his understanding of multiculturalism as a normal human experience, and Greenbaum's (1992) ideas on the realities and implications of living in a multicultural society. In order to provide a solid theoretical foundation I will define terms, develop a consistent theoretical model of multiculturalism that reflects the ever-changing reality of a multicultural society, and examine the process of culture.

By exploring the historical socio-political relationships between Canadian groups I will attempt to provide insight into the development of the relationships between Canadian groups and subsequently provide an historical understanding of the current problems and issues facing multiculturalism policy. I will provide an account of the events that led to the creation of Canada's multiculturalism policy, explore the development of multiculturalism issues and the relationships that Canadian groups have

with each other and with the Federal government. This will be accomplished through an examination of the literature and an analysis of The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1965).

A micro-level perspective of multiculturalism will be provided to develop insight into the daily workings and concerns of a voluntary multicultural organization. An examination of the goals, struggles, problems, concerns and adaptation of this organization is provided through ethnographic research and an analysis of a survey I conducted with the organization in 1994. The survey provides both quantitative and qualitative information for understanding the organizational culture and the issues that concern the organization. This microlevel understanding complements the macrolevel understanding of multiculturalism that is outlined in the first two chapters.

Another objective of this thesis is to understand and develop anthropology as a policy science by applying anthropological theory and process to social issues; particularly multiculturalism policy. The literature will be explored to indicate how anthropological knowledge can inform decision-making and become relevant and effective within the realm of social policy science. As well, I intend to show the reader that this thesis is itself an example of applied anthropology in the sense that anthropology can contribute to the grounding of the discourse on a social issue or phenomena, provide a historical context for understanding relationships between groups, and provide direct, first-hand knowledge of a social issue within its current context.

1.1 DEFINING SIGNIFICANT TERMS AND CONCEPTS

1.1.0 Race

"Race" is not an adequate term to use in understanding social phenomena. The term often invokes the idea that people with certain physical characteristics tend to behave in distinct ways; implying that physical characteristics produce distinct social behaviour. Ashley Montagu points out that Buffon introduced the term "race" into the literature of natural history in 1749. It "merely represented an extension of the Aristotelian conception of species; that is to say, it was a subdivision of a species ... the term assumed a classificatory value, [and] it was understood that that value was purely arbitrary" (Montagu 1969:64). The term "race" has become meaningless in understanding social phenomena for two main reasons. First, there has been so much interbreeding between human populations that it would be meaningless to talk of fixed boundaries between races. Second, the distribution of hereditary physical traits does not follow clear boundaries. In other words, there is often greater variation within a so-called "racial" group than there is systematic variation between two groups (Eriksen 1993:4). "Race" is meaningless on the basis that it corresponds to nothing in nature; it is inapplicable to anything real (Montagu 1969:68). Racism, then, is the belief that certain physical characteristics (such as skin, eye or hair colour) are directly and irrevocably associated with non-physical characteristics such as social behaviour and intelligence. From an anthropological perspective, racism rests on a false premise, yet it does exist as a social phenomenon. For this reason, "race" must not be used when describing segments of the

human population or in a social policy but "racism" must be used when describing a particular social phenomenon.

1.1.1 Culture

The predominant concept in any anthropological work is the concept of culture. The most widely accepted definition of culture is E.B. Tylor's, in which he posits that culture "is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man [sic] as a member of society" (Tylor 1871:1). Culture is learned in the context of group interaction; it enables communication, conformity, coordination and invention of solutions to problems that arise and, as it passes from one generation to the next, it changes in the transmission (Greenbaum 1992:15-16). For the purpose of this work, the nature of culture is identified as a continual process of negotiation whereby people orient themselves in relation with others through a continual construction of reality; a reality based on simultaneous mechanisms that both maintains and transforms identity for the individual, society and segments of it.

1.1.2 Ethnicity

The seminal work on ethnicity and culture in plural societies is Barth's Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (1969). In it, Barth indicated that most of anthropology had characterized culture as a closed unit built up by aggregates of individuals who share a common behaviour. This concept proposed that there were discrete categories of people

that correspond to each culture; a concept that represents culture as a static and homogenous object. Conceptualization of culture as a closed unit is currently inadequate to account for major cultural processes such as culture change and revitalization of ethnicity and nationalism. Moreover, prior to Barth's essay, works had focused on differences, histories and the cultural characteristics within ethnic boundaries, yet the constitution of ethnic groups and the nature of boundaries between them, an area with which Barth was primarily concerned, had *not* been investigated (Barth 1969:9). Barth broke this tradition by exploring the fundamental characteristics of the nature of culture and ethnic groups, which he identified as the boundaries between groups.

Boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. Categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an *absence* of mobility, contact and information, but *do* entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained *despite* changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories (Barth 1969:9-10; emphasis mine).

Stable, persisting and often vitally important social relations are maintained across ethnic boundaries and are frequently based *precisely* on the dichotomized ethnic status. Ethnic identity and distinction do not depend on an *absence* of social interaction and acceptance; rather, interaction of social systems is often the very foundation on which ethnic identity and distinctions are constructed. Interaction does *not* inevitably lead to dissolution, change and acculturation; rather, cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence (Barth 1969:10).

Barth expounded the idea that ethnic groups are categories composed through processes of ascription and identification by two parties: the actors themselves and by

those that compose the audience. This is further complicated by the fact that the members of the "audience" are also actors themselves. Accordingly, ethnic groups have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people both within a group and between groups. Yet individuals form groups in various contexts this accounts for variability *within* groups as well as the variability *between* groups. For example a child born in a family where the parents differ in ethnicity may be able to articulate equally well in two or more ethnic contexts thus adding variability (through individual experiences) to the group's context. A processual perspective facilitates understanding of the construction and maintenance of ethnic groups. Anthropologists needed a shift of focus; from the study of internal constitution and history of separate groups, to the study of ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance as well as interaction between groups. Barth introduced this shift of anthropological perspective.

1.1.3 Plural Society

Goodenough's understanding of the nature of culture and ethnic groups is similar to Barth's. Both authors focus on ethnic group boundary maintenance and they acknowledge that the mechanisms of boundary maintenance and transformation exist as part of the process of culture. It is important to highlight that "culture" can be discussed in two senses: that which corresponds to a general theoretical human phenomenon and that which is the manifestation of specific behaviour and ideological patterns. Barth and Goodenough refer to the nature of a universal human phenomena called culture as opposed to a specific culture, for example Canadian culture. Goodenough (1978)

provided a clear framework for understanding the complexities of group characteristics and dynamics of plural society, and culture. To Goodenough multiculturalism is "the normal human experience" and this experience is directly responsible for social cohesion and culture change. To begin to understand multiculturalism, then, it is primarily important to examine the mechanisms of normal on-going, human experiences that perpetuate identity and introduce changes within human groups.

Goodenough, echoing Barth, argues that anthropologists have traditionally assumed that for each society there is but one culture; for most anthropologists, multicultural societies are products of urbanism, economic specialization, social stratification and conquest states (Goodenough 1978:80). Such a view of culture, Goodenough continues, is *inappropriate* for a theory of culture, because it treats culture as a bounded and static product rather than a process of simultaneous cultural variability and uniformity, while ignoring the role of culture in other types of societies. Goodenough presented a concept of culture as such:

If, by culture, we contextualize things and behaviours of ourselves and others so that expectations and understanding are shared by members of a society, then a theory of culture must consider the processes by which individual members arrive at such sharing. In this regard, the differences, the conflicts and the misunderstandings that arise from human interaction also become noteworthy in articulation with mechanisms that construct unity (Goodenough 1978:81).

Goodenough suggests that all cultures, have mechanisms for sharing, developing unity and identity, but also have mechanisms for creating difference and conflict and initiating societal changes. Goodenough's definition of culture implies that all societies

are multicultural to some extent; the difference between complex and simple societies, concerning multiculturalness, is merely one of degree, not of kind (Goodenough 1978:81). If we accept the view that multiculturalism is a normal human experience then we can explore these foundations on which societies are constructed.

1.1.4 The Mechanism of Cultural Identity and Uniformity

Two distinct strands of thought emerged since Barth's significant work: ethnicity as a "primordial" sentiment embedded in human nature; and ethnic identification as a strategic axis around which groups and individuals organize competition for resources and power (Greenbaum 1992:7). Both perspectives recount that "ethnic divisions are a permanent force in modern society" (Greenbaum 1992:7). It is a force that will continue to exist, despite previous theories that suggest that groups will eventually assimilate or become extinct, and it is a matter of how we come to terms with this reality that is at the heart of the issue on how multiculturalism policy develops. Groups and divisions will not become extinct because processes of identification exist in perpetuity within culture;

identification arises first out of familial sentiment and socialization, subsequently reinforced and reinterpreted by external social definitions effecting both constraints and opportunities. Ethnicity is both voluntary and imposed. Both elements reflect a continuum, and divided ancestry represents choice as well as ambiguity. Ethnic diversity cannot be understood simply as the product of discrimination, nor as primordial attachments extinguishable only through generations of intermarriage (Greenbaum 1992:8).

For Barth, self-ascription and ascription by others are the most important features of ethnic boundaries around which identity forms, he states, "ethnic identity implies a series of constraints on the kinds of roles an individual is allowed to play, and the

partners he may choose for different kinds of transactions" (Barth 1969:17). These constraints provide the range of roles that an individual may enact. It is these constraints that are ascribed to individuals within a group. Goodenough proposes that the sharing aspect of culture is a matter of attribution; a process of defining and formally structuring group identity. The validity of this attribution is measured by its practical utility for effective interaction with group members in group-defined situations (Goodenough 1978:81-82). Ethnic identity is paramount in defining individual identity within the context of the macroculture. The continual process of self-ascription and ascription by others can not be disregarded and temporarily set aside in social interactions. Furthermore, the identity of ethnic groups is not necessarily based on occupation of territory, nor by some previous grouping, "but by continual expression and validation" (Barth 1969:15). And it is precisely this continual expression and validation through self-ascription and ascription by others that is the focus for further understanding of identity. However, it must be stressed that "while selective *objective* criteria (key symbolic and behavioral attributes) are important, the critical variables underlying processes of boundary maintenance are *subjective* in nature" (Kallen 1982:61). In other words, it is the individuals' perception of herself and others that constructs identity; it is the emic perspective that is important in understanding boundary maintenance.

When defined as an ascriptive and exclusive group, the continuity of an ethnic group is dependent on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural features may change but the maintenance of dichotomization between members and outsiders keep the

continuity (Barth 1969:14). Again, it is the continual validation and expression of a boundary between "us" and "them" that maintains ethnic continuity. Thus the ascription of ethnic identity is based on the "Other" and on restrictive criteria. In other words, identity is defined by what is "not me" or "not us", again, the "Other". To create the "me" or the "us", there needs to be the "Other" to which comparisons and contrasts are continually made and expressed. The actual characteristics that define "me" or "us" may, in fact, change over time, and may not be objectively observable, yet the fact remains it is the process of comparison and contrast that is the essential element of identification. One example of this pattern is provided by one anthropologist's insight into ethnic identity in Winnipeg neighbourhoods that "were not ghettos, although they usually had identifiable boundaries. They were crucibles where ethnic definitions and identities were forged - in part self-consciously developed attitudes but also responses to outside and imposed definitions of stereotypes" (Matthiasson 1989:16).

1.1.5 The Mechanism of Cultural Transformation and Variability

Through experience and learning, people inevitably find that they cannot generalize the same expectations to everyone. Goodenough states that "there are different role-expectations that coincide with different social relationships and different social situations. Each of these different expectations constitutes a different culture to be learned" (Goodenough 1978:82). This is because culture and culture learning are processes composed of identity markers, conflicts, supported values and changes that continually shift and mould culture.

Goodenough goes on to propose that the process of learning a society's culture, which he terms "macroculture", is one of learning numerous different or partially different microcultures and their subcultural variants. The process includes learning how to discern the situations for appropriate behaviour and appropriate grouping. As he states,

Because such cultures are situation-bound and thus ordered with respect to other situation-bound cultures, we may think of them as subcultures or microcultures, reserving the term "culture" for the larger, ordered system of which these are a part; in this sense, culture ceases to refer to a generic phenomenon of study and refers instead only to some level of organization of that phenomenon (Goodenough 1978:82).

According to Goodenough, all human beings, then, live in a multicultural reality in which they must be aware of a variety of contexts; contexts in which, they are currently performing and in which others attribute to them (Goodenough 1978:82-83). For Goodenough, the range of variance for any given group comes from group member's individual construction through interaction; this, in turn, constructs the group's culture. Interaction networks and groups overlap in membership and/or come together in larger networks or groups; this creates the character of the "macroculture". The "cultural pool" of a group's variance is the total range of knowledge and competence in various microcultures and macrocultures.

1.2 EXPLORING THE MULTICULTURAL EXPERIENCE

1.2.0 Living in a Multicultural Society

What, then, does it mean to live in a complex plural society? As was previously addressed, in any society groups are constructed through processes of self-ascription and ascription by others. In a complex plural society members experience a greater number

of situations in which people may question their identity and values. The potential to raise issues of identity are increased within a complex plural society because ethnicity is an added variable in group categorization. The features of these situations are dependent on the organization of a variety of inter- and intra-group activities and interaction.

Groups often form for principally adaptive purposes; to gain access to resources for the accomplishment of common goals. Consequently, symbiotic relationships evolve between groups as they adapt to each other, resulting in a society of relative ethnic stability. The "other" ethnic groups in the region, then become part of the natural environment. The articulation of groups within society creates an environment in which there is a broad range of inter-ethnic relationships; from symbiotic or even exploitive relationships to relationships where groups are quite irrelevant to each other (Barth 1969:19).

The sectors of activity where populations articulate are niches to which the group adapts. Greenbaum suggests that the persistence of *stratified* plural systems is structured so by the presence of factors that continually generate and maintain categorically different distributions of assets among groups; factors that maintain the structure of unequal access to resources, which includes actions and ideologies that marginalize groups (Greenbaum 1992:16). This was explored in detail by John Porter in The Vertical Mosaic (1965), a seminal work on ethnicity and the stratification of social power in Canada.

While the force of pulling and pushing groups into niches is powerful, it must be remembered that there is variation within these groups. As Barth points out,

the ethnic label subsumes a number of simultaneous characteristics which cluster statistically but which are not absolutely interdependent and connected. This leads to variations between members; particularly when people change identity. It creates ambiguity since ethnic membership is at once a question of source of origin as well as of current identity (Barth 1969:29).

Barth explores what happens when characteristics between groups in a complex plural society become similar. He states "a drastic reduction of cultural differences between ethnic groups does not correlate in any simple way with the reduction in the organizational relevance of ethnic identities, or a breakdown in boundary-maintaining processes" (Barth 1969:32-33). Thus, ethnicity is maintained even while differences between groups may be indistinguishable by outside observers.

In attempting to incorporate themselves into wider social systems, members of ethnic groups may attempt incorporation into the dominant cultural group. Individuals may, in fact, accept "minority" status in which they practice cultural characteristics in sectors of more private non-articulation, such as personal activities. Simultaneously these people may practice larger system characteristics in other more public sectors of activity, such as employment and political sectors. Thus alternately emphasizing or minimizing ethnic identity to develop a broader access to positions within the larger plural society. Barth suggests "the fact that contemporary forms of ethnic organizations are prominently political does not make them any less ethnic in character. Such political movements

constitute new ways of making cultural differences organizationally relevant" (Barth 1969:34).

When groups express their value orientations that are different to the prevailing, dominant value orientations in terms of ethnic criteria, it affects the direction of cultural change. In communicating various concerns to the dominant society, a political confrontation can only be implemented by making groups similar and comparable enough to create effective and meaningful discourse. If a group is unable or refuses to engage in discussion with those of the dominant group at the same level of discourse as set out by the dominant group, they will be ineffective in communicating and directing change. Once the groups are in communication, this will affect every new sector of activity that is made politically relevant (Barth 1969:35).

1.2.1 Socio-political Power

Barth argued in 1969 that ethnic identification reflects neither cultural inertia, nor the incomplete process of integration in modern nation states, rather, persistent ethnic distinctions are an essential feature of such political systems (Greenbaum 1992:7). Greenbaum suggests that "economic organization, political mobilization, a sense of community, and preservation of cultural traditions have global and intrinsic significance for all human beings" (Greenbaum 1992:9). If ethnic distinctions are inevitably persistent and the compulsion for self-determination and preservation is intrinsically significant for

all humans then it is inevitable that cultural groups will attempt to gain socio-political power as a means to determine their own lives.

Of particular interest to anthropologists, is the relationship between pluralism and power in a complex plural society. To Goodenough, social power is a function of two variables: the extent and intensity of people's wants; and the extent to which people are able to facilitate or impede the gratification of one another's wants (Goodenough 1978:84). No human society distributes social power evenly; dependency of young, old, sick and infirm guarantees unequal power relationships. Differences in knowledge and skills and in physical and personal attractiveness compound such inequalities. Growth in the number of specialized skills and bodies of knowledge creates more power in the social system and increases the consequent possibilities for inequalities of power. Much of social power and inequality comes from the construction of identity and what is needed or wanted for such a power position.

Management of social power involves the manipulation of access to knowledge and skills: mental and physical aptitudes to develop skills and comprehension; perception of self and self-goals that make developing the skills seem appropriate or desirable; freedom from emotional blocks with the skills and knowledge in question; and access to situations in which there is opportunity to rehearse the skills and acquire feedback until desired proficiency is achieved (Goodenough 1978:85). Again, the pursuit of ideals

within a plural society means that people are seeking to alter or reinforce existing distributions of power, thus,

the social rules that serve to control such access, usually multiple and mutually reinforcing, become a prime target for reform in times of change, with accompanying changes in personal aspirations (Goodenough 1978:86).

The problems of pluralism are differential access to and knowledge of various microcultures within macrocultural systems. As plurality becomes more pronounced and elaborated and the field of power becomes greater with increasing social complexity, pluralism becomes an ever more important consideration in the management of power relationships. It then becomes an increasingly serious problem in politics, education and all other institutions; the instruments by which people control access to more specialized microcultures and to the power and privilege they confer (Goodenough 1978:86).

1.2.2 Resolving Conflict in a Multicultural Society

Another area that is of particular interest to anthropologists studying multiculturalism policy, is the ways in which various microcultures come to terms with differing values to come to a level of sharing at the macrocultural level (Goodenough 1978:83-84). Although ascription serves the purpose of constructing both expected norms and unacceptable behaviour and ideas, as well as defining interaction boundaries within specific groups, it "is found entirely wanting when the bases for interaction are expanded" (Goodenough 1978:82); expanded to group interaction within a plural society. These interaction boundaries define the rules for inter-group as well as intra-group interaction. The ethnic boundary defines the criteria for determining membership and

signal's membership and exclusion. In a plural society this leads to the exclusion of large groups of people based on ascribed membership to an ethnic group. If the dominant group of the society defines the exclusion then certain groups are ghettoized and are systematically prohibited access to social power. This happens systematically because this is a normal part of any groups' (even the dominant groups') construction of identity. This process of exclusion comes from two natural social mechanisms: ethnocentrism and enculturation.

The enculturation process operates to condition the belief that ones own values and practices are correct and, by extension, superior to all others. Ethnocentrism, then, may not be pathological, but in a complex plural society it can be quite dysfunctional. For example,

when someone who has been taught to behave in a particular manner observes someone else whose behaviour is different, reactions are likely to be negative regardless of the intrinsic significance of that difference...Taken collectively, all the divergent patterns of behaviour, beliefs, values and customs that distinguish one group from another create a climate of misunderstanding and diminish the likelihood of empathy (Greenbaum 1992:14).

But what if we think of culture, and by extension "multiculturalism" as Goodenough uses the term, as an adaptive process? Greenbaum does this by expanding Barth's position that culture is the primary mechanism by which humans adapt, the basis for developing new knowledge and transmitting current knowledge; our most prominent survival mechanism. Cultural variety (i.e., knowledge and abilities) enhances the fitness of a society but if populations lack diversity, they also lack the capacity to adapt

(Greenbaum 1992:16-17). Canada is a society composed of a vast series of partially overlapping social and institutional networks -- the pathways by which pluralism operates and reproduces itself. Groups within this type of society freely borrow ideas from each other, but often reinterpret them within the framework of distinctive values, beliefs and needs. Greenbaum suggests that the challenge put to a plural or ethnically diverse society "is to balance the advantages against the problems and conflicts, to overcome the destructive aspects of ethnocentrism without suppressing the differences on which it is based" (Greenbaum 1992:17).

Other areas of investigation that are of interest to anthropologists who wish to resolve issues that have developed out of complex plural societies are the constructions and reconstructions of the histories, the concepts, the values and the understandings of various groups of people. Historical events and our perception of historical events continually shape contemporary issues establishes the current relationships between groups. However, it is often the case that

information and analysis on the history of exploitation and malevolence of dominated groups on smaller groups is avoided. To omit information and analysis of these events is both misleading and inaccurate. Unpleasantness perpetrated against immigrant and non-Europeans has contributed to a distorted understanding of history and an inability to interpret contemporary problems and issues (Greenbaum 1992:4).

By deleting some information while expounding other information we overlook major influences of current events and glorify aspects of the past. However, as subordinate groups achieve more social and political power, the ideas of history and their

influences on contemporary issues will be re-examined and reconstructed within the dominant society.

1.3 THE APPLICATION OF ANTHROPOLOGY TO SOCIAL POLICY

1.3.0 A Unique Product

Applied anthropologists are often concerned with contemporary social issues that confront particular societies and the world. There are many social issues that are within the scope of concern for applied anthropologists. However, applied anthropologists are particularly interested in increasing the influence that anthropology has on contemporary social issues through social policy (Chambers 1977, Cochrane 1980, Geilhufe 1979, Heighton and Heighton 1978, Hinshaw 1980, Kimball 1978, Wallace 1976, Weaver 1981, and Willner 1980). According to Rein, the scope of social policy is the "integration of values, the principles by which these values are translated into policies and programs, assessments of the outcomes of implementing these principles in terms of the values asserted, and the search for strategies of feasible change which promise a better fit between values, principles, and outcomes" (Rein 1971:297). What can anthropologists contribute in the field of social policy? Some authors suggest that anthropologists must provide an anthropological understanding of social issues to inform those organizations responsible for initiating and developing social policy:

Indeed, one of the most important contributions that anthropologists can make to the policy field is to articulate existing as well as potential policy alternatives with particular issues (Pelto and Schensul 1978:507).

Furthermore, Margaret Mead illustrates the unique product that anthropologists can offer to the field of social policy:

...I wish to emphasize the unique qualities of anthropologists, which make it possible for them to make a contribution that is distinct from the contribution of other theoretical and applied human science disciplines...; it may be useful to define anthropological activities ...as those activities in which the investigator, research worker, or cultural modifier, comes from one culture, subculture, occupational group or class to study another in collaboration with the members of that other group, *to produce a product that neither of them could produce alone*...Other social sciences deal with "subjects", "objects," and "consumers"... (Mead 1977:146; emphasis in original).

1.3.1 A Discipline in Flux

Anthropological influence into social policy is not only desirable it is inevitable for at least three reasons. First anthropology must have an aspect of applied work to deal with societal issues if it is to survive as a discipline within a complex society that is increasingly concerned with domestic problems and less oriented toward seeking knowledge for the sake of knowledge. This is inevitable because academic positions are currently rare and are continually decreasing forcing many anthropologists into non-academic employment positions. Second, anthropologists are recognizing a responsibility and experiencing pressure by the people whom they study to contribute meaningfully to their quality of life. And third, government agencies, voluntary organizations, and businesses are beginning to recognize the value of anthropological information in policy and organizational management. However, these organizations do not often recognize this information as "anthropological" information.

Baba points out that both applied and academic anthropology are essential for the survival of the discipline as she states, "in general, public support for a discipline is based on the public's perception of the benefit that the discipline brings to society -- the greater the perceived benefit, the greater the support. In turn, practice cannot stand for long without a vital and thriving intellectual academic community to give it birth and provide it with unique capabilities that allow it to add value to society" (Baba 1994:179). Thus, Baba is calling for a strong professional anthropology to complement academic anthropology.

1.3.2 The Value of Anthropology to Social Policy

Willner considers the point that if an essential quality of the anthropological enterprise is the relationship of trust between anthropologists and the people they study, "it follows that anthropologists face special responsibilities and special problems in bringing their knowledge to bear on issues of public policy" (Willner 1980:80). Hinshaw indicates that many practitioners and some academic anthropologists "insist on persistent interaction with the public, and share the expectation that anthropology has at least as much to learn from this involvement as the public stands to gain" (Hinshaw 1980:501).

Hinshaw goes on to state that, "from the marketplace, however, the valuation of anthropologists' contribution to policy studies emphasizes our data-gathering skills more than our values of relativity and holism" (Hinshaw 1980:501). However, an ethnographic collection of customs and taxonomic categories is not enough for the involvement of

anthropology in policy studies (Kimball 1987:386). The researcher must observe individuals engaged in a variety of situations that are characteristic of that group. From this data we can indicate the detail of the systematic arrangements by which a group meets its problems. This is the organization's culture and it is this type of knowledge that is useful for addressing social issues through social policy. But many policy-makers fail to see problems in systematic terms or in understanding the processes of change. They do not reckon with the link between values, social context, and behavioral patterns (Kimball 1987:386-387). Yet, anthropologists often lack this understanding themselves. Of course it is important to determine and understand power relationships but it is vital for applied anthropologists to understand the processes of power; how decisions are made, who makes these decisions, and what is appropriate and inappropriate behaviour within a power structure.

Eddy and Partridge speculate on the future direction of anthropological contributions to social issues as they state, "the development of anthropology as a policy science will require a greatly expanded research emphasis on contemporary complex societies and a vigorous development of applied anthropology so that data may be provided for the better understanding of the consequences of strategies used to achieve programmatic goals and to test theories of change" (Eddy and Partridge 1987:383).

One area of social policy that is currently of particular interest to applied anthropologists is the policy of multiculturalism in pluralistic societies. For instance,

Goodenough began writing his article on multiculturalism by "thinking about the contributions [that] anthropology can make to programs for social and cultural change" (Goodenough 1978:80). Many anthropologists emphasize that anthropology can effectively contribute to contemporary social issues that are meaningful to all members of society. Anthropologists can contribute not only to the exploration of theoretical issues of multiculturalism but also to the reconciliation of societal conflicts arising in plural states. One area for reconciliation of social conflicts and the development of programs for social and cultural change in a complex plural society is through intervention in social policy.

Recently, there has been focus on multiculturalism and the rise in nationalism both academically and as a global social concern. Eriksen indicates that ethnicity and nationalism "have become so visible in many societies that it has become impossible to ignore them" (Eriksen 1993:2). Because of the increased importance of ethnicity and nationalism, complex plural societies must develop multicultural policy and planning. And, "what is particularly interesting here is the possible opportunity for social science data and principles of interpretation to be treated by various agencies of government as part of their standard informational input" (Wallace 1976:13). Yet informational input is a very small part of the decision-making process. Cognizant of this, Chambers is optimistic about the anthropological pursuit of policy culture and praxis theory² as he

²The concept of praxis will be explored in chapter four. Suffice it to say that praxis is a form of knowledge based on the application of knowledge.

states, "I consider policy research and contract work to be one of the most promising areas in anthropology...In my view, it has been our reluctance to pay closer attention to these settings (to the "culture of policy", if you will), that leads us to study interesting social problems while only rarely confronting differences between theory and practice" (Chambers 1977:419). If anthropologists are concerned with affecting social issues through social policy they must examine the socio-political processes of power, the culture of policy, and explore the relationship between theory and practice.

This is evident to some authors who are concerned with the lack of attention anthropologists are receiving from scholars and administrators on the concept of multiculturalism (Perry 1992; Greenbaum 1992). Greenbaum has urgently called out to anthropologists, "especially those with applied proclivities, to take up the challenge of defining multiculturalism and its implications" (Greenbaum 1992:408). She goes on to explain that this request is not a plea for anthropologists to take a political stand, but rather to:

make use of the basic concepts and data of anthropology to strip away the demagoguery and correct the rampant misuse of terms like culture and ethnicity, which the legions of our discipline have so painstakingly devised and refined over the course of many decades... Cultural diversity and the concept of relativism are under fire. Basic tenets of anthropology command an uncommonly and uncomfortably central position in this debate. At stake in the outcome of this struggle is the very core of what the discipline is all about. Also at stake is the ability of our ideas to find currency in the real world of policy (Greenbaum 1992:408).

By understanding multiculturalism and influencing such social issues through social policy, anthropologists can contribute to the professional development of anthropology.

The starting point of influencing social issues through social policy is the clarification of goals. As Lasswell indicates, "the starting point [of goal clarification] is self-observation of conscious and unconscious value perspectives" through an understanding of the problem's social context (Lasswell 1968:182). As was stated earlier, anthropologists can make a contribution to social policy by providing a social context to administrators and by identifying and articulating values and existing goals of a social policy that may be vague. Many authors (Tator and Henry 1991; Greenbaum 1992; Perry 1992; Berry 1984; Stasiulis 1980; Keefe 1989; Fleras and Elliott) have strongly called out for the social sciences to influence multicultural policy for the sake of the practical development of multiculturalism. A vigorous practical effort will develop a clear conception of a multiculturalism policy and address many social issues concerning multiculturalism.

1.3.3 Summary

This first chapter describes the current situation of anthropological thought on multiculturalism, suggests a general problem, sets up the theoretical background employed in the thesis, and provides legitimacy to the idea that anthropology can and is addressing issues of multiculturalism; theoretically and practically. The terms, assumptions and values implicit in the discourse on multiculturalism are in need of a contextual understanding and resolution. In other words, Canadians must define the terms used in discussion of multiculturalism; they must understand the context of Multiculturalism; and develop a process of resolving differing values within a single society. A framework is

required to categorize and operationalize the terms and concepts used in this arena. Anthropology is useful here because anthropologists can provide descriptions of current situations; a starting point of observation and analysis for meaningful discourse and reconstruction. The strengths of anthropological discourse are its dependence on long-term, intimate, first-hand interaction with the people of study. It is at this level that anthropologists can provide a frame of reference to understand the social processes that are maintained and constructed daily. Anthropology contributes to policy and multiculturalism issues by providing a conceptual background as well as a description and analysis of the workings of a multicultural society. But anthropologists need to develop the discipline beyond providing information for decision-makers that may or may not be used. Anthropologists need to understand the process of power and become influential within this process. Throughout this thesis it will be stressed that,

ethnicity emerges and is made relevant through social situations and encounters, and through people's ways of coping with the demands and challenges of life. From its vantage point right at the centre of local life, social anthropology is in a unique position to investigate these processes. Anthropological approaches also enable us to explore the ways in which ethnic relations are being defined and perceived by people... The significance of ethnic membership to people can best be investigated through that detailed on-the-ground research which is the hallmark of anthropology. Finally, social anthropology, as a comparative discipline, studies both differences and similarities between ethnic phenomena. It thereby provides a nuanced and complex vision of ethnicity in the contemporary world (Eriksen 1993:1-2).

It is with these assumptions that I will explore Canadian multiculturalism. Since terms and definitions are culturally constructed, we need to continually understand the context of history, the current context of people's values, and the possibilities of multiculturalism policy to provide effective applied multiculturalism. By using the tools

of anthropology, anthropologists can assist in the construction of terms and in the efforts to reconcile a variety of multicultural issues. This, then, is anthropologically informed multiculturalism. In later chapters I will present data on an organization involved in working towards implementation of the multiculturalism policy in Canadian society.

CHAPTER TWO

An Historical Context of Canadian Multiculturalism

2.0 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Anthropological research provides useful qualitative and quantitative information; it develops a contextual framework for analysis and provides insight into a variety of broad interrelated and complex issues. In studying social policy, the purpose is "to construct effective strategies of action used to achieve desired goals" (van Willigen 1986:143). However, it is necessary to gain a contextual understanding of the social situation and understand the goals of a society before constructing strategies to achieve these agreed upon goals. This is where anthropological knowledge is vitally important in contributing to social policy. Moreover, anthropological knowledge can provide contextual knowledge on the issue of multiculturalism. To gain a contextual understanding of Canadian multiculturalism in the mid-1990s it is necessary to examine the genesis and series of events that comprise the history of multiculturalism in Canada.

2.0.0 International Context

The idea of multiculturalism in Canada emerged from a variety of influences and events some of which were directly related to global events. After World War II the world experienced profound changes. There occurred a massive relocation of peoples and a new power structure emerged in which the United States and the USSR assumed a twin dominant status in the world and accordingly greatly influenced world affairs. Consequently, these world powers displaced the United Kingdom as the dominant nation,

hence the U.K. assumed a lower political status with the rest of the world. With the decrease in the power of the United Kingdom and the new political order, there came movements of decolonialization in many countries (Vadney 1987:87). This resulted in a variety of conflicts and out-migrations from countries where groups were vying for political power, particularly in eastern European countries. Consequently, the combination of war, refugees and discriminatory immigration policies of Western countries stimulated international recognition of these socio-political disasters and prompted efforts to manage the aftermath. The rise of decolonialization and massive relocation of peoples influenced the international community to become increasingly concerned with human rights, specifically the rights of minorities particularly during the 1960s (Hawkins 1988:12).

2.0.1 Domestic Context

In Canada, the war initiated massive and rapid change; a change that turned Canada into an international presence. Before World War II, Canada was "a small, conservative and relatively isolated country" (Hawkins 1988:12). Following World War II Canadian governments have worked to make Canada a modern state. Canada experienced a great increase in immigration levels since World War II; it doubled in population admitting "over 5 million immigrants and refugees" (Hawkins 1988:11 & 12). A massive influx of immigrants from Europe prompted those in Ottawa to rethink the role and status of the "other ethnics" within the evolving dynamic of Canadian society during the mid-1960s (Fleras and Elliott 1992:71). By the late 1960s events occurred that provided the milieu for the appearance of political confrontations;

Pressures for change stemmed from the growing assertiveness of Canada's aboriginal peoples, the force of Québécois nationalism, and resentment among the ethnic minorities restive about their place in society. The situation in Quebec was particularly critical. Drawn to their own collective identity, the Québécois resented their exclusion from the central political institutions and symbolic order of Canadian society (Fleras and Elliott 1992:71-72).

During the early 1960s Quebec underwent an internal revolution known as the Quiet Revolution; it changed Quebec's internal structure and its external relationship with the rest of Canada. As well, an aboriginal nationalistic movement arose in reaction to the 1969 White Paper proposal of the Federal government to revise the Indian Act (Weaver 1981:5). The environment in which the 1960s Canadian government operated, was one in which the issues of national unity, ethnic diversity, and the rise of various ethnic political movements were of paramount concern to Canadians. Civil rights and anti-poverty movements in the United States and the youth movement and activism on Canadian campuses enhanced this environment (Weaver 1981:15). Given the international and domestic environment of the 1960s, "it is not surprising ... that Canadian politicians and administrators were open to new ways of managing this great increase in population" (Hawkins 1988:12).

2.1 THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

2.1.0 Origin

In 1963, Ottawa commissioned a report to reconcile the emerging Quebec nationalism with Canadian federalism. The mandate of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, hereafter referred to as the B & B, was to:

inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution (Canada 1965:151).

The phrase "two founding races" in this quotation is quite problematic in that "race", as it is used in this sense, does not denote that the French and English are separate species, rather the phrase connotes the two distinct nations that negotiated Canadian Confederation in 1867; namely the British and French colonies.

2.1.1 The Quiet Revolution

Many authors consider the increase in Quebec nationalism of the 1960s a consequence of the "Quiet Revolution" that originated in the late 1950s. The phrase "Quiet Revolution" refers to "Quebec's movement of reform, technological advance and modernization which found its origins in the later years of the Duplessis regime and burst forth in the sweeping reforms of Jean Lesage's Liberal Government from 1960 to 1966" (Bennett and Jaenen 1986:495). With the rise of Quebec nationalism, Québécois increasingly expressed sentiments of independence and separation from the rest of Canada. The explicit mandate of the B & B, then, was to inquire into and report on the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada that was at a point of crisis between the British-Canadians and the French-Canadians. The commission placed the foundation of this crisis at the confederation of Canada. Furthermore, the commissioners

were instructed to recommend steps to develop the Canadian confederation and to establish the place and role of these previously separate nations.

With the initiation of the B & B, the federal government primarily saw only one mandate; address Québécois' concerns. Many other Canadians viewed Quebec nationalism as a threat that would undermine the primarily Anglo- dominated power base of Canada. In fact it would. Quebec's political power was fundamentally important to Canada since "Quebec's secession would destroy Confederation" (Weaver 1981:14). Moreover, the B & B Commissioners explicitly recognized that "Canada, without being fully conscious of the fact, [was] passing through the greatest crisis in its history" (Canada 1965:13). The Commissioners also indicated that Canada had "come to a time when decisions must be taken and developments must occur leading either to its break-up, or to a new set of conditions for its future existence" (Canada 1965:133). This crisis emerged because although Quebec had considerable political power since confederation it was only after the "Quiet Revolution" that the Québécois began using this power. The government appeared to react in a way that would appease Québécois anti-Anglo sentiments and keep Quebec in Confederation as a powerful voting constituency; the B & B was intended to be that appeasement.

2.1.2 The "Other Ethnic" Groups

When the Terms of Reference for the B & B were formed in July of 1963, the commissioners were instructed to take into account "the contributions made by other

ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada" (Canada 1965:173). This statement may have come from political pressures applied by ethnic groups to recognize and include **their** own interests and contributions to the new "equal partnership" character of Canada. Yet the commissioners perceived this statement as a minor part of the fundamental mandate that was to report and recommend steps to develop the Canadian Confederation on an equal partnership between the two founding races (sic) (Canada 1965:173).

2.1.3 Ideas on Ethnicity

During the initial stages of the B & B, the prevailing understanding of culture held that ideologies that were marginal to a society's dominant ideology would assimilate to the dominant culture or would fade out of existence. This was the case in Canada when considering aboriginal peoples as it was when considering people of non-British descent. Accordingly, many academics (i.e. anthropologists) assumed a position that they were in a race against time to record various minority cultures before they became subsumed under dominant cultures. Although the Canadian government indicated their support for the expression of various cultures, it was in the context that people assumed that these ethnic groups would inevitably assimilate. Barth's ideas on the permanence of ethnicity had not yet been written. It is with this understanding of ethnic groups that the character and philosophical foundation of multiculturalism was established.

2.1.4 First Reference to Multiculturalism

The working paper developed by the commissioners, in December 1963, built upon the terms of reference and consequently developed the meaning of the phrase "taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution" (Canada 1965:173). The commissioners created a working paper to assist those who were preparing briefs for the Commission and although this paper placed some emphasis on other ethnic groups, the commissioners still saw this contribution as something partial to the essentially Bicultural character of Canada. The commissioners immediately and explicitly rejected any official recognition to the other ethnic groups of Canada yet also rejected the idea that other cultures were something to transform. This placed the other ethnic groups in a liminal state because the Federal government intended Canada to become a country of bilingual and bicultural character. Evidence for this position is found in a section of the working paper entitled The "other" cultures. The Commissioners concluded this section by rejecting "two extreme positions: ...that which proposes to forget the other cultures or sees them above all as something to transform; [and] that which would see them given official recognition" (Canada 1965:187). This gave "other ethnic groups" a symbolic recognition but not official status.

It is also in this section of the 1963 working paper, that the first government reference to the term "multiculturalism" may be found:

In summary we can say that the mainspring (l'idee-force) of the terms of reference is the question of bilingualism and biculturalism (i.e. English and

French) adding immediately that this mainspring is working in a situation where there is the fact of *multiculturalism* multiculturalism that must not be suppressed as quickly as possible (the proverbial melting pot), but on the contrary, respected and safeguarded despite not being given official recognition (Canada 1965:187; emphasis mine).

This sentence provided the context for the "other cultures" to voice their concerns to the Canadian government and created an opportunity for the genesis of multiculturalism policy in Canada. This initial reference to the term "multiculturalism" legitimized and further promoted the idea of multiculturalism. It also may have stimulated the idea that the B & B commissioners would entertain and address issues that were on the periphery of the primary focus; that is bilingualism and biculturalism.

2.1.5 Commissioners Reject Official Multiculturalism

In 1965 Ottawa published A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and although the commission listened to the positions and demands of the other ethnic groups, they still maintained the French/English dualistic structure of Canada and rejected a multicultural approach to Canada (Canada 1965:187). Moreover, the report's conclusions reaffirmed the priority status of Canada's bilingual and bicultural framework.

2.2 POLITICAL FACTORS OF THE LATE 1960s

2.2.0 Canadian Identity

Canadian society had undergone many changes since 1945; accordingly, Canadians experienced a re-evaluation of values and goals throughout the 1960s and beyond. The

demography of post-war Canada began to drastically change in 1962 with the abolishment of discriminatory immigration policies. Many groups experienced historical reassessment and strengthened their own sense of Canadian identity; stimulated by the commemoration of the 1867 Canadian confederation. People frequently questioned national unity, the media was rife with news of the civil rights movement in the United States and many Canadians began to develop a concern for their own minority status and rights to cultural and linguistic expression. As a result, "many ethnic groups found the dualist image conveyed by the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism offensive and sought official assurance that their own aspirations and interests would not be overlooked" (Jackson 1986:106).

For its part, the B & B did fulfil its mandate; it presented the concerns of the Québécois and the concerns of other Canadians. The report outlined Quebec's rejection of Ottawa's paternalism and the Québécois desire "to participate actively in determining the political, social, economic and cultural arrangements that would best fulfil their aspirations" (Jackson 1986:99). Consequently there has been a change in the relationship between English and French Canada; the relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada has become one in which there is "a remarkable degree of convergence between the political attitudes of the citizens of that province and the rest of Canada" (Jackson 1986:100). However, the federal policies of the late 1960s and early 1970s failed to satisfy Quebec nationalism. Moreover, these and other federal policies sparked conflicts among other Canadian groups. For example, the enactment of the Official Languages Act

in 1969 declared Canadian federal institutions officially bilingual. This Act addressed some of Quebec's concerns but it became vigorously contested in Canada, particularly in western Canada. Later, the announcement of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework addressed the concerns of the "other ethnic" communities, those mainly in western Canada, but sparked opposition from Quebec.

2.2.1 Political Pressures of Other Canadian Groups

Although the government reacted to the greatest political crisis in Canada's history, Quebec nationalism was only one of many emerging ethnocultural movements demanding identity recognition and changes to the Anglo- dominant power structure in Canada. For example, in 1969 a Canadian aboriginal nationalistic movement ignited in reaction to the governments' proposed changes to the Indian Act (Weaver 1981:9). As well, in 1969, Canada was not only ethnically more diverse, but also much more sophisticated in that the ethnic communities held the capacity to bargain with the government (Hawkins 1988:15). The Ukrainian-Canadian community was a highly vocal and organized ethnocultural group. The high proportion of presentations made to the B & B commissioners by representatives of this community compared to the proportion of presentations made by other communities illustrates the assertive voice of the Ukrainian-Canadian community during the 1960s.

2.2.2 The Shift in the Desired Vote

As was previously stated, government reaction to Quebec nationalism was the B & B report initiated by Pearson's Liberal government. It is important to note that traditionally, the Liberal party's "most important element [for] success ... was the capture and maintenance of Quebec support" (Jackson 1986:509). However, during the 1960s, the population base of Quebec began to substantially decrease. This resulted in a decrease of political power for Quebec. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian community in western Canada displayed a strong political voice in their efforts to obtain policies of cultural retention. As well, factors such as the regionalization of the federal parties' support and the fact that the Liberals held minority governments from 1962-1968 led to increased attention to and efforts to gain an alternative vote; the ethnic vote (Bociurkiw 1978:101).

2.2.3 Shift in the Concept of Ethnic

During the late 1960s new academic writings introduced alternative understandings of ethnicity and group development. Barth's essay on ethnic boundaries, as I outlined in chapter one, is the seminal work of this period. The revitalization movements and reaffirmation of ethnic identity of the 1960s challenged the idea that ethnic groups would eventually assimilate or become extinct. Barth's ideas drastically altered the perception of ethnicity and culture, yet they became widely accepted by the academic community. Due to the changes in Canadian demography; a re-evaluation of Canadian identity; a shift in the desired vote; and changes to the relationship between Canadian groups, attitudes toward ethnic groups changed and accordingly the government had to address this new

political environment. The question is: did they address this new environment with substantial policies and action?

2.3 INTRODUCTION OF CANADA'S MULTICULTURALISM POLICY

On October 8, 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau rose in the House of Commons to announce government support for a policy of multiculturalism and stated the following:

It was the view of the royal commission [on Bilingualism and Biculturalism], shared by the government and, I am sure by all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is *no official culture*, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly (Hansard 1971:8545; emphasis mine).

In fact, there is an official culture of Canada; it is based on British culture. It is impossible for a society, particularly a complex state society, to exist without an official culture. Although Canadian culture is based on British culture, it is *not* British culture, rather Canadian culture evolves as its own culture. This evolution of culture; the give and take of various influences on Canadian culture is precisely the directive that the multiculturalism policy must pursue.

2.3.0 The Initial Purpose of the Multiculturalism Policy

The multiculturalism policy was to have four objectives: "to preserve human rights; to develop a Canadian identity; to strengthen citizen participation; and to encourage cultural diversification within a bilingual framework" (Hawkins 1988:16). The

government intended to implement multiculturalism policy by providing support in four ways:

First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance, the small and weak groups no less than the strong and highly organized. Second the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society. Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian groups in the interest of national unity. Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society (Canada 1971:8546).

Federal multiculturalism initially focused on the needs of European immigrants, that is, "cultural preservation and sharing as reflected in festivals, organizations, heritage language classes, and dance troupes -- 'celebrating diversity'" (Fleras & Elliott 1992:74). These objectives most likely originated from the strong influence of the Ukrainian-Canadian community in composing the character of the multiculturalism policy.

2.3.1 Ukrainian Community Influence on Multiculturalism

Although the Ukrainian-Canadian community was numerically smaller than the German-Canadian and Italian-Canadian communities, the "Ukrainian Canadians have undoubtedly played the leading role in the development and dissemination of the ideas and policy demands that eventually crystallized into the policy of multiculturalism" (Bociurkiw 1978:100). This leading role was rooted in Ukrainian immigrants' political motives underlying Ukrainian emigration from Ukraine; "a strong sense or collective responsibility for the preservation of the group's ethnocultural values in Canada while

these values were being suppressed by the alien rulers of Ukraine" (Bociurkiw 1978:101). This attempt at preserving Ukrainian culture within Canadian hegemony corresponds to a phenomenon that Linton identified as "perpetuative nativism" (Linton 1943:231). Perpetuative nativism is a social phenomenon in which groups "have developed elaborate and conscious techniques for the perpetuation of selected aspects of their current culture and are unalterably opposed to assimilation into the alien society which surrounds them". (Linton 1943:231). The Ukrainian-Canadian community's bias toward cultural preservation combined with their instrumental role in defining the character of multiculturalism policy greatly directed the initial purpose of multiculturalism policy toward cultural preservation.

2.3.2 Multiculturalism as a Response to Political Pressures

Why did Trudeau, in 1971, propose a government policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework"? The Commissioners rejected multiculturalism outright; the "other ethnic groups" had expressed their concerns and affected minor changes to the report yet had failed to obligate the commissioners to discuss and develop multiculturalism. Québécois still felt that Ottawa failed to address their concerns; furthermore, Quebec strongly opposed multiculturalism. Most of the rest of Canada, particularly western Canada, rejected official bilingualism with much hostility. Yet in 1971 Canada had an official policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. Given this hostile environment, how did this policy emerge?

Many authors (Brotz 1980; Hawkins 1988; Burnet 1984; and Burke 1984) indicate that the introduction of multiculturalism policy was partly accidental and partly done in response to a shift in political pressures. Multiculturalism emerged, in part, as a response to the "ethnic reaction" and its political pressure on the Federal government. Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework also emerged as an intentional method for the Liberals to diffuse politically tense situations and to secure new political support. The Liberal government needed to defuse the crisis of Québécois pressure on federalism (the original mandate of the B & B); it needed to neutralize the impact of the Official Languages Act; it needed to strengthen Liberal electoral power in the West where opposition to bilingualism was the strongest; and it needed to fill a void in Canadian cultural identity that came with the weakening of Anglo-conformity as a central ideological construct for Canada (Fleras & Elliott 1992:72). Perhaps political maneuvering is still the intention of contemporary federal and provincial government policies and actions concerning multiculturalism

Political support for the Liberals in Quebec had been drastically decreasing during the 1960's, and the Liberals saw a new source of political support in the "ethnic vote". Furthermore, the Liberal government opted for a superficial policy full of hidden agendas with no intention for change, power-sharing, or even consultative public participation in Canadian politics (Hawkins 1988:16-17). Perhaps the ambiguous and deficient nature of the multiculturalism policy was not due to accidental construction as it was a purposeful superficial effort by the government to exploit the ethnic vote. This original superficial

construction of multiculturalism consequently resulted in many problems for implementation and much animosity between Canadian groups.

The emergence of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework came from three events. First, the initial pressure by the "other ethnic groups", of which the Ukrainian-Canadian community applied the most pressure, to include reference of their contribution to Canada in the B & B. Second, the legitimization of the multicultural character of Canada by the Commissioners, yet the simultaneous rejection of official recognition of this multiculturalism. Third, the Liberals' attempts at exploiting a new voting constituency (the "other ethnics") and simultaneous partial accommodation of Québécois concerns and opponents of official bilingualism.

2.3.3 Conflict Among Canadian Groups

Quebec immediately regarded the idea of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework as an insult to the Québécois. Quebec immediately rejected multiculturalism because,

it implied equality among groups, and equal status, and that is something that Quebec, as one of Canada's founding nations, would never accept. The Trudeau government was aware of this and if they forgot, the Premier of Quebec [Robert Bourassa], sent a strong letter indicating Québécois disapproval (Hawkins 1988:18).

Bourassa stated that "the multicultural policy ... clearly contradicts the mandate of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as defined by the Government of Canada ... Quebec does not accept your government's approach to the

principle of multiculturalism" (Palmer 1975:152). This policy and other federal policies created an environment in which the Québécois, British-Canadians, the various ethnocultural groups and the aboriginal people were politically hostile toward each other in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Although the multiculturalism policy was intended to compose national unity, Canada was greatly fragmented. The multiculturalism policy did not create fragmentation of Canadian society; fragmentation had been developing for over one hundred years since Canadian Confederation. However, the multiculturalism policy also did not effectively contribute to national unity; an objective in the original mandate of the multiculturalism policy. Multiculturalism did provide a vehicle with which Canadians could express their dissatisfaction with the socio-political structure of Canadian society and a venue to play out inter-group hostilities. Part of the ineffectiveness of the multiculturalism policy was due to the Trudeau government's effort to gain power from a new base, namely the ethnocultural community. Yet the Liberals did not ignore Quebec because it was still a valuable constituency. While the Trudeau government seemed to be making efforts at reconciling conflict between the various groups of Canada, it was maintaining the status quo and perhaps exacerbating conflicts between groups. As Fleras and Elliott state "on the surface, Trudeau's multiculturalism appeared to encourage the retention and promotion of ethnic groups and communities. But a closer reading reveals the exact opposite ... The policy dissuaded minorities from establishing organizations and institutions at variance with French or English structures" (Fleras & Elliott 1992:73). Canadian groups began to

work against each other's interests in competition for official recognition and political power. This animosity between various groups is still quite prevalent in Canadian society. If it had not orchestrated the animosity between groups the federal government had certainly fostered it due ineffective policies and management.

2.4 CHALLENGES TO THE MULTICULTURALISM POLICY

Although a policy of multiculturalism existed in Canada, there was a general confusion about the status and uses of multiculturalism in Canadian politics that had many politicians asking "what was it meant to achieve and which constituency was it primarily intended to serve?" (Hawkins 1989:224). A question that has yet to be addressed by politicians, the civil service or by Canadian citizens.

2.4.0 Immigration and Changing Demography

According to Fleras and Elliott, "Canada's demographic composition has altered dramatically in the last 125 years. Only 8 percent of Canada's population was not British or French at the time of Confederation in 1867" (Fleras and Elliott 1992:44). There were three identifiable waves of immigrants from central and eastern Europe. The first wave of immigrants came between 1896 and 1914 to settle the West. A second wave of eastern European immigrants came to Canada during the 1920s. The post-Second World War period resulted in the third wave of refugees and immigrants to Canada from war-torn Europe (Fleras and Elliott 1992:44). However, between 1971 and 1986 immigrants from

non-European countries became more common. Major changes were happening in immigration; for example:

Between 1945 and 1970, European countries were the largest source of countries of immigration to Canada. Between 1971 and 1980, although Europe was still the single largest source of immigrants, immigrants from non-European countries became more common. Between 1981 and 1986, Asia was the largest single source of new immigrants to Canada (Canada 1990:64; a graph illustrating the changes in immigration from 1945 to 1986 is presented in Appendix I).

In the late 1960s, immigration regulations went through changes that eventually affected the development of the multiculturalism policy. In 1967, the Immigration Regulations contained an important provision, Section 34, that permitted visitors to apply for landed immigrant status from within Canada. The same year saw the passing of the Immigration Appeal Board Act. These policy changes resulted in a great flood of immigrants coming to Canada who would, if rejected from landed immigrant status, apply to the Appeal Board on humanitarian and compassionate grounds. By 1972 the Liberal government decided to revoke Section 34 of the 1967 Immigration Regulations. However, immigration between the years 1967 and 1986 greatly altered the demography of Canada and indirectly affected the mandate of the multiculturalism policy. Consequently many immigrants to Canada during this time were from non-European countries; countries from which immigrants to Canada were not traditionally accepted.

2.4.1 Mandate Shift of the Multiculturalism Policy

Originally, Multiculturalism funded food fairs, carnivals and other such events. As well, multiculturalism was originally intended to solely apply to "the other ethnic

groups", mainly Canadians whose ancestry originated in eastern Europe, but over the years it increasingly came to be applied to the ethnic groups from non-European countries and eventually to all Canadians; aboriginals, British, French and others (Burnet 1984:21).

The mandate of the multiculturalism policy originally focused on cultural preservation, but this soon had to be altered as Fleras and Elliott indicate that,

the architects of the 1971 policy had perceived barriers to social adaptation and economic success largely in linguistic or cultural terms. But rethinking was in order with the first major increase in the flow of visible minority immigrants ... Race relations policies were put in place to discover, isolate, combat and purge the country of racial discrimination at personal and institutional levels (Fleras and Elliott 1992:74-75).

By the late 1980's "demographic, political, and social forces bearing down on the government magnified the need for modifications to the multicultural agenda" (Fleras and Elliott 1992:75). Consequently, the areas that tended to get funding in the 1980s were education, research, conferences, and heritage language classes. With the changes in immigration and demography of Canada, many ethnocultural communities were unconcerned with cultural preservation, rather they were concerned with racism and socio-economic inequality in Canada. Due to the political pressures of these communities, Canadian multiculturalism policy has been gradually shifting from a focus of preserving and enhancing cultural heritage to instilling positive attitudes and behaviours towards all ethnic groups and to eliminate unfair discrimination and prejudice. But as Fleras and Elliott point out,

the establishment of multiculturalism as an official doctrine is not likely to have originated from the mere presence of demographic diversity. The growing awareness of this diversity followed by its subsequent expression at social and political levels is crucial ... while nonvisible minorities have long been a part of Canada, the percentage of visible minorities has

expanded dramatically in response to changing immigration patterns and policies. People of colour now amount to more than 6.3 percent of Canada's population, with anticipated totals of nearly 10 percent by the year 2000 (Fleras and Elliott 1992:48 &52).

2.4.2 Academic Challenge

As the field of multiculturalism grew in Canada, academics became concerned about its theoretical validation. According to Friesen, John Porter saw multiculturalism as a fraud perpetuated by the British descendants upon all other Canadians to maintain the social order; the "vertical mosaic". Other academics were critical of the policy and suggested that it would result in fragmenting Canadian society (Friesen 1985:5). Some social scientists have enunciated four propositions on which the field of multiculturalism rests:

That there are greater differences between individuals within any racial or cultural group than there are between groups themselves. This discredits the concept that there are self-contained, pure groups that are readily distinguishable from one another and that the differences between these groups are unbridgeable. Second, the social sciences have contributed toward the definition of the "good life" and it was found that the characteristics of the good life - decent living conditions, respect for one's fellows, and equality before the law - find almost complete unanimity among peoples of almost any ethnic background. The establishment of a new emphasis on the concept of "individuality" and a de-emphasis on the individual's particular background. And finally that generosity and goodwill are indicative of healthy personal adjustment (Friesen 1985:6).

Berry proposes that "a central question is whether the [multiculturalism] policy intends to encourage the maintenance of numerous and full-scale cultural systems ... or whether it is designed to be supportive of some lesser phenomenon (such as various aspects of ethnicity which are derived from a full cultural system)" (Berry 1984:355). In other words, is multiculturalism intended to create an environment where there are

separate self-maintained ethnic enclaves or is it intended to work within a single self-sustaining cultural system in which the groups find themselves? In essence, there are three challenges: the changes to Canada's demography and the consequent value changes and conflicts; the development of a political will to respond effectively to these changes; and the development of an adequate understanding and application of the characteristics and nature of a multicultural society.

2.5 THE MULTICULTURALISM ACT

How do those in government understand multiculturalism? The Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988 explicitly outlines Canada's policy of multiculturalism. There is a twofold framework of the policy stated in the Act. First, it is the responsibility of the federal government to promote issues of social and economic integration and adaptation; second, it is the responsibility of the government to deal with issues of heritage preservation. It is interesting to examine the language of the Multiculturalism Act because it illustrates the government's intentions for the implementation of multiculturalism policy.

There are only two defined terms in the Multiculturalism Act; "federal institution" and "Minister". It does not define multiculturalism, ethnocultural groups, or heritage. Next, the Act describes the relationship between the Canadian government and Canadian society with reference to the government's multiculturalism policy. Essentially, the Multiculturalism Act purports that the government acts passively in its relationship with

society on multiculturalism matters. The government will take on the responsibility of promoting multiculturalism to the members of society but will not take on any responsibilities of ensuring or enforcing multiculturalism *on* the members of society. Two of the strongest statements in the Act are found in section 3. First, section 3(1)(e) states that the government will "ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity" (Canada 1988:4). Second, section 3(1)(i) states that the government will "preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada" (Canada 1988:4).

The statements on the government's relationship with its institutions are stronger than the statements on the relationship between the government and society. In this relationship, the government has more control and responsibility concerning its institutions than to society. For example, Section 3(2) of the Multiculturalism Act indicates that the federal institutions shall *ensure* that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions. In contrast, Section 3(1) indicates that the policy of the Government of Canada is to *promote* the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and *assist* them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation. My point is that the language is different in each section; where the government states its relationship with federal institutions, the wording is strong: "the federal institutions *shall ensure* ... equal opportunity" but the relationship

between the government and society is stated through weaker terms such as "*promote*" and "*assist*" in elimination of barriers. Furthermore, although several statements in this section are strong, they exist without penalties; if the government fails to fulfil its obligations there is no legal recourse to make the government accountable. The government is not obligated to create or initiate any programs to address multicultural issues. However, the government is responsible for setting an example to be followed by Canadian society. The result of these stated relationships and an impotent implementation strategy without a mechanism for enforcement is a weak and disappointing Act that lacks substance in addressing any multiculturalism issue. However, if the onus of responsibility for daily implementation of multiculturalism rests with society, then the efforts made by communities at the local level are primarily important to examine and develop to those committed to effective implementation of multiculturalism policy.

2.6 CURRENT PROBLEMS IMPLEMENTING MULTICULTURALISM POLICY

In 1990 I conducted interviews with six public servants who implement multiculturalism in Winnipeg, Manitoba. This section presents their view of multiculturalism and the problems or obstacles that are encountered when attempts are made at implementing multiculturalism.

According to those I interviewed, the most obvious and largest problem confronting multiculturalism is that the concept itself is unclear to both policy makers and the general public. The ambiguity of the concept of multiculturalism leads to many

problems in the implementation and evaluation of this social policy. One of the most widely held perception of multiculturalism is that its sole purpose is to promote ethnic arts and entertainment. The majority of Canadians see multiculturalism as a forum for song and dance. They experience various cultures through exposure to costumes, exotic dances, and different kinds of beer. Another view of multiculturalism is that it is a policy that only addresses the concerns of a minor segment of Canada's population; the so-called "other ethnic groups". This view purports that official bilingualism and separatist issues are for people of French descent, aboriginal self-determination is for aboriginal peoples, and multiculturalism is for those who are not part of these two groups nor mainstream Anglo-Canadians. Furthermore, the concerns of "other ethnic groups" are often perceived to be accommodation issues whereby Canadians feel that they must buckle under the demands of immigrants. These views and misinterpretations of the multiculturalism policy, held by a majority of Canadians, create obstacles for the implementation of a much broader view of multiculturalism.

The ambiguity, the variety of views and the misconceptions of multiculturalism are some of the reasons why it is such a sensitive and controversial issue. In fact, any evaluation of the multiculturalism policy, that is essential for development, is often viewed as an attack on multiculturalism. Consequently criticisms of multiculturalism policy are met with a backlash from many ethnocultural groups, the government and many other Canadian institutions.

2.6.0 Conclusions

The convoluted history of multiculturalism rests upon political pressures exerted from various groups across Canada and a hidden agenda from Ottawa. Those in government, by their actions, positioned various groups against each other while they maintained a policy of paternalism toward all these groups in a bid to maintain power and the status quo. Multiculturalism emerged from many influences: an increase in the political awareness of the ethnocultural communities in Canada; the liberal Post-War changes and developments of immigrant and refugee policies and programs; and the international climate toward human rights and minorities. However, Multiculturalism has never had well-defined policy goals. The result of this absence of well-defined goals is the development of a perception that society is being reshaped to acquiesce to the so-called trivial wants of minority groups and that money is being spent in areas of marginal need. A perception that is viewed as a threat to the unity, success, and development of Canada.

Regardless of the original intentions of the multiculturalism policy, this policy has been gaining a momentum of its own and has evolved from its original state toward maturity through the works of qualified politicians and academics, continual political pressures by communities and dialogue between groups. Hawkins states that although much has been written on multiculturalism in recent years, the topics rarely proclaim the virtues of multiculturalism to a wider audience. What must be done is a concentrated effort in the examination of what multiculturalism means to Canadian society as a whole

and reach the general public (Hawkins 1989:227). The true mission of multiculturalism seems to be to create a more just, accepting and caring society and to contribute to the field of ethnic relations and political conflict resolution between the various cultural groups that constitute Canadian society.

Anthropology *does* provide insight and understanding of social issues and provides a broad range of expertise that is unique in the social sciences; it is an expertise that is unquestionably relevant to policy research. This chapter outlines the historical context of the relationship between Canadian groups that resulted in the development of the Multiculturalism Act. Examination of the Multiculturalism Act and a description of the challenges and problems facing multiculturalism provides a current context in which Canadian groups find themselves. If the onus of responsibility for daily implementation of multiculturalism is with members of society, rather than the government, then efforts made by local communities are pertinent to both examination and development. An examination of the microlevel is essential for adequate understanding of the organization of a complex plural society.

CHAPTER THREE

A Microlevel Case Study of Multiculturalism

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters I examined multiculturalism from an essentially macrolevel approach. I explored various concepts such as ethnicity and culture in a general sense and conducted a macrolevel analysis of the history of Canadian multiculturalism. However, a microlevel analysis of a local multicultural organization complements the overall analysis of multiculturalism. Pelto and Dewalt state that, "good socio-cultural theory requires a consideration of and integration of microlevel and macrolevel approaches" (Pelto and Dewalt 1985:7). Since multiculturalism is simultaneously a community and national experience, an examination of multiculturalism at the local community level is pertinent to this thesis. To this end, a survey was conducted with a non-profit community group called the Manitoba Multicultural Resources Centre, hereafter referred to as the MMRC. The survey and subsequent analysis provide the microlevel component that complements my macrolevel analysis of multiculturalism.

3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

3.1.0 Definition of The Voluntary Association

Smith and Freedman define the voluntary organization as "a nonprofit, nongovernment, private group which and individual joins by choice" (Smith and Freedman 1972:viii). Moreover, Smith and Freedman categorize voluntary organizations

on the basis of Arnold Rose's position that there are only two basic types of voluntary organizations. Rose identified hobby clubs, sports associations, and scientific societies as "expressive groups since they act to express or satisfy interests which the members have in relation to themselves" (Smith and Freedman 1972:4-5). "Social influence groups" are identified by Rose as those which "concentrate their efforts on the society in order to bring about some condition in a limited segment of the social order" (Smith and Freedman 1972:5). However, while many sociologists employ the concept of an expressive group, they generally contrast expressive groups with "instrumental" ones rather than employing the term "social influence" groups (Smith and Freedman 1972:5).

3.1.1 Function

Kluckhohn (1947) quickly reviews the general circumstances that led to social instability in 20th Century American society, and this could be just as well be attributed to 20th Century Canadian society. Kluckhohn states,

Mass economic upheaval following upon unprecedented economic growth; lack of attention to the human problems of an industrial civilization; the impersonality of the social organization of cities; the melting pot; transitory geographical residence; social mobility; weakening of supernatural sanctions - all these trends have contributed to make individuals feel unanchored, adrift upon a meaningless voyage ... The tendency toward associationalism is usually explained as a defence mechanism against the excessive fluidity of American social structure (Kluckhohn 1947:113-114 & 116).

Rose describes the origin and function of the voluntary association phenomenon in modern society; he states, "the declining influence of the community (and the extended family and the church) resulted in psychological insecurity, segmentalization of personal

relations, reduction of intimacy, and alienation from once-powerful values. The voluntary association is a new kind of institution ... established to fill the gap left by these social changes" (Rose 1967:231). Furthermore, Rose indicates that "because of the tension of continual struggle for social place, people have tried to gain a degree of routinized [sic] and recognized fixity [sic] by allying themselves with others in voluntary associations" (Rose 1967:231). Thus the general function of the voluntary organization is to,

contribute to the stability of modern societies by providing social units intermediate between the individual and the community. They seem especially effective as institutions supportive of social change. Yet voluntary associations are vehicles of change, not motors of change. They function to adapt the social structure for modern requirements. They function to adapt individuals for modern participation (Anderson 1971:218).

Voluntary associations are mechanisms whereby individuals may gain some socio-political power and personal identity within a fragmented and seemingly unstable society. Specifically, Rose details six main functions of voluntary organizations, they distribute power; orient individuals to understand complex social mechanisms and political processes; provide a mechanism for social change; provide social cohesion; allow the individual to gain a degree personal identification and influence over a small group; and serve as a way for social and economic advancement (Rose 1967:247-251).

3.1.2 Power Distribution

Power in Canadian society is unequally distributed in several ways; class and ethnic group affiliation have long been among the most important traits associated with holding power. Moreover, the link between ethnicity and inequality has been widely

recognized in Canadian Society. John Porter (1965) described Canada as a system of stratification in which charter members occupied elite structures and higher income status while ethnocultural minorities were relegated to marginal positions in society. Power in society is also very often concentrated in political institutions, occupational or industrial groups, and instrumental associations. However, it is,

through the voluntary association [that] the ordinary citizen can acquire as much power in the community or nation as his free time, ability, and inclinations permit him to, without actually going into the government service ... Pressure groups or lobbies are prime examples of voluntary associations functioning to distribute power. The purpose of these groups is to influence legislation and executive action either directly or indirectly (Rose 1967:247 & 248).

3.1.3 Orientation

Members that participate in the activities of a voluntary association often learn aspects of the social, political and economic processes of their society. Anderson indicates that this is an important aspect of voluntary associations as he states, "[voluntary associations] function to adapt individuals for modern participation" (Anderson 1971:218).

Members of a voluntary association learn these processes because,

the voluntary association informs its members on matters occurring in the society at large which affect the association's purpose ... By working in voluntary associations, people also learn exactly what is wrong with the power structure of the society, from the standpoint of their own values, and this gives them something definite to work toward, rather than leaving them with a vague and delusive feeling that ... "something" is wrong (Rose 1967:248).

In other words, a voluntary association provides a structured environment for an individual so that he may orient himself with society and work toward some definite goals.

3.1.4 Social Change

Rose indicates that voluntary associations offer a powerful mechanism for social change because, "as soon as a felt need for some social change arises, one or more voluntary associations immediately spring up to try to secure the change. Not only do they operate directly on the problem, but their attention to it also makes the government concerned about the problem, [since] a democratic government has to pay attention to the interests of alert voters" (Rose 1967:249).

3.1.5 Social Cohesion

A fourth function of voluntary associations is to "act to tie society together and to minimize the disintegrating effects of conflict" (Rose 1967:250). While they sometimes challenge values and provoke conflict between groups, voluntary "associations practically never carry their conflicts to the extreme of tearing the society asunder" (Rose 1967:250). This is largely because some people belong to more than one association. For one association to initiate serious conflicts with another risks alienating and offending some of its own members who are members or are friendly toward the other group (Rose 1967:250).

3.1.6 Personal Identification

Rose indicates that an individual who lives in a complex society tends to feel anonymous. The voluntary association often gives individuals the feeling of identification with some smaller group that they can fully comprehend and influence in major ways.

Thus many members of voluntary associations find that their memberships and activities in the association help materially to give meaning and purpose to their lives (Rose 1967:250).

3.1.7 Social and Economic Advancement

Many people join clubs and other voluntary associations to enhance their social status. In some clubs, much non-association business occurs, which is important for the economic advancement of the members (Rose 1967:251). Moreover, offices in many instrumental associations are often considered a testing ground for young potential executives and managers (Rose 1967:251). Turning now from the nature of the voluntary organization we can examine the environment of a particular voluntary organization for which I conducted a strategic plan; namely the Manitoba Multicultural Resources Centre.

3.2 THE MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF MANITOBA

Manitoba's communities provide an ideal environment for the study of multiculturalism because Manitoba is rich in its diverse ethnic population. For example, forty-eight percent of Manitoba's population do not claim British or French ethnicity (Canada 1990:86). This percentage is higher than the national average in which thirty-one percent of Canadians do not claim British or French ethnicity (Statistics Canada 1992:12-26). In Winnipeg there are three prominent community-based multicultural organizations, the Folk Arts Council, the Manitoba Intercultural Council, and the

Manitoba Multicultural Resources Centre. The Folk Arts Council incorporated in 1975 to "promote, develop, preserve, maintain and recognize the understanding and acceptance of all cultures reflecting the mosaic found in Winnipeg in particular, and in Manitoba and Canada as a whole by responding to the needs of the multicultural community and to hold an annual festival called Folklorama" (Folk Arts Council 1995:1). In 1983 the Provincial Legislature adopted the Manitoba Intercultural Council Act, creating the Manitoba Intercultural Council (hereafter referred to as MIC). The MIC was an independent advisory body on all multicultural matters for the Province of Manitoba; thus it operated at arm's length from the government. However, before the legislation of the Manitoba Multiculturalism Act in 1992, a report of the Manitoba Task Force on Multiculturalism (1988) recommended that the role of MIC be expanded to "that of advocacy of the interests of the communities that it represents" (Manitoba Task Force on Multiculturalism 1988:75). However, the establishment of the Manitoba Multiculturalism Act led to the repeal of the Manitoba Intercultural Council Act and MIC lost its role as advisor to the government. A government office called the Manitoba Multiculturalism Secretariat replaced the MIC. Subsequently, the MIC re-incorporated "to carry on the objectives and functions of the original Manitoba Intercultural Council" (Manitoba Intercultural Council 1994:1).

3.2.0 Description of the Manitoba Multicultural Resources Centre

The Manitoba Multicultural Resources Centre, Inc. is a voluntary organization since it fulfills Smith and Freedman's definition; the MMRC is a nonprofit,

nongovernment, private group which individuals join by choice. Furthermore, the MMRC is an instrumental voluntary association because the MMRC's mandate incorporates activities that "bring about some condition in a limited segment of the social order" (Smith and Freedman 1972:5). The mandate of the MMRC, as outlined in its by-laws, is to "advocate, promote and preserve Manitoba's rich multicultural heritage and facilitate activities that advance multicultural understanding" (Manitoba Multicultural Resources Centre 1994:1). This mandate fulfills Smith and Freeman's concept of instrumental voluntary organization since the members of the MMRC concentrate their efforts on the local society (Manitoba) in order to preserve Manitoba's heritage and to develop multicultural understanding through planning and implementing various activities.

The MMRC was founded in 1984 and is currently located at the University of Winnipeg in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. In 1994 the MMRC had 145 members in its organization; of these members, twenty-eight were on the Board of Directors (hereafter referred to as the Board). Six institutions are currently represented on the Board: Brandon University, Institute of Urban Studies, Manitoba Federation of Labour, Winnipeg Public Library, West-Man Multicultural Council, and the University of Manitoba. The MMRC mandate is pursued through the following objectives outlined in the MMRC's by-laws:

1. to promote and advance studies into the history of all multicultural groups by members of the communities with cooperation from professionals.
2. to facilitate the collection and preparation of guides to [sic] materials relevant to the history of these groups.
3. to encourage the safe-keeping and accessibility of archival material and artifacts that are collected by the multicultural community.

4. to act as an informational centre for ethnocultural concerns, such as assessing the current needs and resources of multicultural communities and promote multicultural harmony.
5. to serve as a liaison between multicultural groups in order to facilitate the meeting of current needs.
6. to publicize the important contribution and promote the general appreciation of all communities to Manitoba's growth and development (Manitoba Multicultural Resources Centre 1994:1).

To achieve these objectives the MMRC functions as a resource centre and as a centre that initiates community activities. As a resources centre, the MMRC maintains an office that collects written materials on the topic of multiculturalism, for example, federal and provincial policies, and current and archival publications. The MMRC is accessible to the public, students, researchers, community organizations and government agencies. MMRC staff, which consists of one full-time person, one part-time person and occasional volunteers, offers assistance to visitors and direct researchers to useful information sources. The available resources of the MMRC include:

Publications related to multiculturalism, relevant journals and a current media file.

The MMRC Magazine that is published two times a year and contains articles on the multicultural community, government multiculturalism policy and informative pieces on current events affecting the community.

A monthly bulletin that announces MMRC activities and items that appeal to the general interest of the multicultural community.

The MMRC EthnoBank; a comprehensive computerized database that lists and profiles the ethnocultural organizations in Manitoba. Profiles consist of such information as: organization name, address, contact persons, and organization objectives, activities and publications. It is updated and published every second year and sold to libraries, government agencies, law agencies, community organizations and individuals.

Research projects that contribute to the knowledge of Manitoba's multicultural community.

The MMRC also coordinates many community activities. Community activities include: annual educational workshops; rural field trips to various Manitoba communities in an attempt to promote the services provided by the MMRC and to learn about other heritage activities; commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination; and organization of "Let's Get Acquainted Evenings" hosted by different community groups to encourage cross-cultural exchange and intercultural understanding.

3.2.1 Board of Directors

The Board of Directors is composed of individuals who come from various cultural backgrounds; they are diverse in ethnicity, occupation, and age. Their identity is partly constructed by their ethnicity; externally imposed as well as internally constructed, yet with this ethnic identification they are also, as one Board member stated, "multicultural individuals". This concept of "multicultural individuals" suggests that the Board members are often not solely interested in their own ethnocultural heritage; rather they are interested in the heritage and identity of other cultural groups as well as their own; i.e., the heritage of Manitoba and Canada. Many individuals on the Board have undergone experiences in which their identity has been influenced and shaped by a variety of cultures, traditions, philosophies and personalities. This illustrates the variability of ethnocultural groups. Ethnocultural groups and individuals find themselves within the context of a society where other cultural groups are also forming identity. This blurred context of identity in which identifiable groups affect each other is the reality of a

complex plural society. It is this experience of living within a diverse cultural environment and adapting to a variety of influences that is a Canadian experience.

One Board member indicated that many of the Board members are not often leaders of various ethnic communities. She continued to explain that ethnic leaders often have a specific political agenda that is not primarily oriented to intercultural expression, understanding and sharing; however, it is consistent with the construction of group identity and accumulation of political power. I must stress here that intercultural efforts and efforts to reinforce cultural identity and social power are equally important in the normal functioning of any group. The experience of participating in the MMRC is often described by the Board members as a learning experience in which personal and cultural information is shared. In fact, the structure of the monthly General Board meeting is often very open, friendly and relaxed; it is a reunion of friends who share a common goal; the development of multiculturalism. Board members greet each other warmly, photographs are exchanged, stories and jokes are told, and personal experiences are shared. Yet it is impossible to deny that tensions rise, disagreements occur, and political maneuvering underlies the surface of the organization but again this is part of the shared experience.

3.3 THE MMRC DELPHI SURVEY

In 1993 the MMRC Board of Directors, hereafter referred to as the Board, expressed to me a need for clarification of their goals. I informed them that I had

experience in the implementation of a Delphi survey that elicited both quantitative and qualitative data and that it would be useful in developing a strategic plan for their organization. A Delphi survey was initiated to provide the MMRC with information that would assist them in identifying and prioritizing specific goals and obstacles of the organization that are of particular concern to the Board. The results were intended to facilitate effective operation and coordination of MMRC initiatives based on the organizations' by-laws. The three questionnaires that were sent to the respondents of the survey are presented in Appendix II. The Delphi survey provided two opportunities: first, it provided an opportunity to collect primary data for this thesis and second, it allowed me to employ a project that would be useful to those I studied; i.e., the Board members of the MMRC. Prior to the conception of this survey I was a member of the Board and continued to be a Board member both during and following the implementation of the survey. As a member of the Board I attended committee and Board meetings for one year; this experience provided insight into the workings of the organization. I continue to attend committee and Board meetings because it allows me to examine the implementation of the survey results but also because I have a personal interest and commitment to the MMRC.

3.3.0 Methodology

The Delphi survey employs a method of eliciting and systematically organizing the diverse knowledge and abilities of decision-makers through the quantification of variables that are either intangible or shrouded in uncertainty. During the administration

of the Delphi survey I was able to conduct participant observation as a method of data collection. Participant observation helped me to understand the results of the survey in the organizational context and provided insight into the organization of the MMRC. An important aspect of the Delphi survey is its repetitious procedure for anonymously eliciting and refining the opinions of a group of individuals through a series of interlocking questionnaires. The structure of the Delphi survey provided an opportunity to collect qualitative data during the beginning of the survey. Subsequent surveys and analysis refined the data and produced both quantitative and qualitative data. This balance between qualitative and quantitative data is particularly useful because:

[the] Delphi can be used to help identify problems, set goals and priorities, and identify problem solutions. It can also be used to clarify positions and delineate differences among diverse reference groups ... [in essence] Delphi can be applied to a wide range of program-planning and administrative concerns (Delbecq et.al. 1975:84).

3.3.1 Respondents

Delbecq indicates that selection of the respondents of the Delphi survey is based on four criteria. To ensure effective participation in the survey the respondents must feel personally involved in the problem of concern, have pertinent information to share, be motivated to include the Delphi task in their schedule of competing tasks, and feel that the Delphi survey will produce valuable information to which the respondent would not otherwise have access (Delbecq et.al. 1975:87-88). The size of the respondent panel is variable depending on the purpose of the survey and the homogeneity of the participating group. Delbecq suggests that thirty respondents is often an adequate size for a respondent panel (Delbecq et.al. 1975:89). The MMRC Board fulfilled the selection criteria. The

Board members made decisions concerning the direction of the MMRC, had pertinent information, were motivated toward participation in the survey, and felt that the Delphi survey was a legitimate effort.

I presented a proposal of the Delphi survey to the Board of Directors. This presentation informed the Board members of the expectations and process of the Delphi survey. The Board as a whole agreed to participate in the survey through a simple majority vote but each Board member was free to choose whether or not he or she participated in the survey. The MMRC Board members were then approached individually and asked to participate in the survey; it was reinforced several times that participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymity would be maintained. Each of the 28 Board members received a proposal that outlined the purpose and methodology of the intended survey. The proposal also informed the Board members of the intended uses of the survey results and stressed that all responses would remain anonymous. Each Board member was contacted by telephone and 24 members of the Board agreed to participate in the Delphi survey.

3.3.2 Questionnaire #1

3.3.2.0 Development

Delbecq states that "the first questionnaire in a Delphi allows participants to write responses to a broad problem issue ... The first questionnaire can take several forms, but in program planning it would most likely be one or two rather open-ended questions"

(Delbecq et.al. 1975:90 and 91). An initial questionnaire introduces the theme and encourages participants to respond to broadly framed questions. The questionnaire is mailed to each participant. There are several benefits for the respondents by communicating information by mail:

- 1) Adequate time for thinking and reflection.
- 2) Avoidance of undue focusing on a particular idea.
- 3) Avoidance of competition, status pressures, and conformity issues.
- 4) The benefit of remaining problem-centred.
- 5) Avoidance of choosing between ideas prematurely.
- 6) Flexibility in allowing participants to respond at the most convenient time.
- 7) No travel time required.
- 8) Anonymity (Delbecq et.al. 1975:90)

The MMRC survey participants received all questionnaire packages by mail. The questionnaire package included a cover letter, instructions, the survey and a return address stamped envelope. Furthermore, the second and third questionnaires also included the categorized anonymous responses of other Board members from the previous questionnaire.

The first questionnaire included the following two broadly framed, open-ended questions: "What specific goals should the MMRC be working towards?" and "What, in your opinion, are the major obstacles to the achievement of a successful multicultural society?". Respondents were encouraged to list at least five goals and obstacles and to provide examples or comments that would illustrate their responses. The cover letter included a deadline date for the return of the questionnaire to the researcher. Each

respondent was contacted by telephone one week after the questionnaires were sent to remind respondents of the deadline date and to provide assistance to the respondents.

3.3.2.1 Analysis

After the questionnaires were returned, they were analyzed. Analysis consisted of compiling a list of the identified issues and the comments made in response to the initial questions. Delbecq states that "the list should reflect the initial opinions of respondents concerning key variables, yet be short enough for all respondents to easily review, criticize, support, or oppose [in the subsequent questionnaire]"(Delbecq et.al. 1975:94). The items and comments were sorted so that similar items accumulated under distinct categories. The responses in one category represented a distinct idea although they may have been expressed differently. Delbecq indicates that, "the essential criterion for establishing the list is to arrive at a mutually exclusive but exhaustive set of categories" (Delbecq et.al. 1975:94).

3.3.3 Questionnaire #2

3.3.3.0 Development

The questions posed to the MMRC respondents in the second questionnaire were slightly modified according to the purpose of this questionnaire; i.e., to complete a preliminary ranking of the importance of the responses from the first questionnaire. Consequently the two questions posed to the respondents in the second survey were slightly modified to, "What are the most important goals that the MMRC should be

working towards?" and "What are the obstacles that most hinder a successful multicultural society?". The categories established through the analysis of the first questionnaire were presented to the respondents in the second questionnaire. The respondents were asked "to review the items identified in questionnaire #1 as summarized [by the researcher], argue in favor of or against those items, and clarify items"(Delbecq et.al. 1975:96-97). During the second questionnaire, participants were asked to rank the items to establish the preliminary priorities among the items. The benefits of questionnaire #2 are as follows:

- 1) Areas of disagreement are identified.
- 2) Areas of agreement are identified.
- 3) Items requiring clarification are identified and discussed.
- 4) An early understanding of priorities emerges (Delbecq et.al. 1975:97).

Questionnaire #2 was the beginning of dialogue between participants. During questionnaire #2, respondents could raise questions, make statements of support or disagreement and provide an initial understanding of the importance of the items identified by the respondents through the researcher. Since the results of questionnaire #2 were relayed to all participants through questionnaire #3, the respondents could consider further clarifications and determine their vote based on the comments and information elicited from other Board members through Questionnaire #1. As Delbecq points out "the intent is to help participants understand each others' position and to move toward accurate judgments concerning the relative importance of items"(Delbecq et.al. 1975:97).

3.3.3.1 Analysis

The analysis of questionnaire #2 included tallying the votes for the items and summarizing the comments made about the items in a form that would be both thought-provoking and easy to understand (Delbecq et.al. 1975:100). A vote tally sheet indicated the total votes each item received and corresponded to the importance that the group as a whole attributed to each item. The comments were summarized and categorized in the same method as the analysis for questionnaire #1.

3.3.4 Questionnaire #3

3.3.4.0 Development

By the third questionnaire, there had been some comments made on the questions posed to the MMRC respondents. Respondents indicated that some of the issues focused on the goals and obstacles that were specific only to the MMRC, while other issues corresponded to broader societal goals and obstacles. It was suggested that the third questionnaire respond to the data emerging from the previous questionnaires and to clearly pose the questions in a way that reflects the concerns of the MMRC. Consequently, three questions were posed to the respondents in the third and final questionnaire: "What are the most important MMRC-specific goals for the development of the MMRC organization?"; "What are the most important obstacles to overcome that hinder the development of the MMRC?"; and "What are the most important goals for the MMRC to work towards for the development of a multicultural society?". The distinction between these questions was that questions #1 and #2 were concerned with eliciting

responses on the internal organization of the MMRC, whereas question #3 focused on the societal ideals with which multicultural organizations, such as the MMRC, are concerned. The goals and benefits of using the Delphi approach in all questionnaires and specifically the final questionnaire is summarized as such:

The original purpose of our Delphi study was to generate consensus on issues of importance. Toward that end, issues have been identified (Questionnaire #1), clarifications, supportive statements, and criticisms made (Questionnaire #2), and a preliminary indication of priorities obtained through rankings. This third and final questionnaire permits the participation to review prior responses and express their individual judgments as to the importance of each item. The benefits are as follows: it provides closure for the study; it suggests areas where diversity and judgment exists, but allows for the aggregation of judgments; and it provides guidelines for future research and planning (Delbecq et.al. 1975:103-104).

3.3.4.1 Analysis

Analysis of questionnaire #3 followed the same procedure as the analysis of questionnaire #2 but particular attention was given to ensure clarity in the final statement of results so that individuals that did not participate in the survey could understand the summary categories presented.

3.3.5 Final Report

A final report summarized the goals and process as well as the results of the Delphi survey. A final report often lends legitimacy to actions taken by decision makers. In any case, it was essential that the participants be given a summary of the results from questionnaire #3 to achieve closure to the Delphi process (Delbecq et.al. 1975:105-106). It must be stressed that the purpose of the Delphi survey was to identify areas of

agreement and to improve the decision-making process. This was accomplished by combining the views of the individual participants in ways that avoid the time constraints and psychological drawbacks associated with unstructured face-to-face exchanges.

3.4 OBSERVATIONS FROM THE MMRC DELPHI SURVEY

3.4.0 Executive Summary

The Delphi survey, used here, investigated three areas: the goals of the MMRC, the obstacles of the MMRC, and the constitution of a successful multicultural society. An executive summary of the results of the survey is presented in Appendix III.

3.4.1 Final Report of the Delphi Survey

During a meeting on November 13, 1993 of the MMRC Board of Directors, there was indication of a need to clarify and determine the goals of the MMRC. To effectively implement and integrate multiculturalism into the daily operation of an organization, the people who design or deliver its programs need to determine the priorities of the organization. What problems need to be addressed? How can the organization improve its services? The organization must take practical steps to develop a clear understanding of its goals; in other words, MMRC must find its niche. The Delphi survey provided one avenue to develop a strategic plan to accomplish this goal but continued program planning and concerted efforts are necessary to keep the MMRC vibrant and effective.

3.4.2 Purpose

The purpose of the Delphi study was to provide information to the MMRC that would assist in identifying and prioritizing their organizational goals. This information is intended to facilitate effective operation and coordination of MMRC initiatives based on its by-laws.

3.4.3 Anticipated Results

The Delphi survey addressed the identified need of the MMRC to recognize and prioritize the goals of its organization. The results provide a document that will focus on the coordination of time and energy to develop innovative programs and strategies for the implementation of these goals. This project should help the MMRC to identify its niche with other organizations such as the Manitoba Intercultural Council, the Folk Arts Council, and government agencies such as the Multiculturalism Secretariat. It will also provide a clear presentation of the goals of the MMRC to various ethnocultural organizations. Furthermore, the results clearly and strongly identify MMRC goals and initiatives; extremely useful information when applying for funding.

3.5 RESULTS

It is important to note that the survey results of the third questionnaire are presented in a consistent format: the questions and issues that were posed to the participants for voting are highlighted in bold lettering; the comments of the participants are highlighted by italic lettering within quotation marks. The results of the Delphi

survey are presented by listing the five highest priority issues that correspond to each question except when an issue is deemed important through commentary analysis, participant observation or when an issue provides a deeper understanding of the MMRC. For some questions, the priority of the issues is not clearly apparent by solely determining the quantitative value. In some instances the priority of the issues is made apparent through examination of the qualitative information; i.e., the corresponding comments.

3.5.0 Question 1 :

What are the most important MMRC-specific goals for the development of our organization?

The highest priority in response to this question is to **increase the promotion of MMRC services that are currently offered**. Those comments expressed in the survey clearly supported this issue. Many members felt that the programs, services and opportunities offered by the MMRC were not recognized and that this weakened the organization. For example one Board member stated, "*Let's become more visible and encourage groups to avail themselves of MMRC services*". Many of the comments provided strategies to accomplish this goal:

- *Prepare a handout pamphlet that outline the services offered and the mission statement of the MMRC,*
- *Increase membership by targeting individuals and groups that are not participating with the MMRC,*
- *Include 5 or 6 brief profiles from the EthnoBank in our newsletter,*
- *Create and maintain a cultural display at a permanent and visible location, perhaps at the Forks,*
- *Hold more workshops and conferences at low cost.*

Clearly, many respondents understood that increasing the profile and membership of the MMRC will strengthen the organization as a whole, thereby attract more funds and create more opportunities to offer services. It has been a predominant concern of the Board to effectively present themselves to the public. This is evident through the comments identified in the survey but also in the Board meetings. Discussions have often centred on the objectives of the MMRC and what multiculturalism means to the Board members. To many Board members the meaning of multiculturalism is shifting toward "interculturalism". Interculturalism consists of opportunities, activities and services that bring various Canadian groups together, such as the MMRC's "Let's Get Acquainted" evenings. Moreover, interculturalism consists of understanding and valuing ethnocultural groups' contributions to Canadian society, providing public education to eliminate the prevailing myths and misconceptions of multiculturalism, and to reduce the conflict between Canadian ethnocultural groups.

The second priority for the MMRC is to **establish MMRC "branches" in smaller communities**. The following comments indicate that this is a much desired goal: "*Do not become Winnipeg centred*" and "*we are too Winnipeg centred, we need to establish branches*". Yet, despite the concerns expressed by the respondents to establish MMRC branches outside Winnipeg, there were few strategies offered to accomplish this goal. Only one strategy addressed this issue: to "*organize 'Images of Our Past' again and try to get input from all parts of the province*". The "Images of Our Past" project was a portable display of photographs and text that presented the heritage of Manitobans. This

project succeeded in providing a very high profile for the MMRC. I recommended to the MMRC that they build on their previous successes with projects such as "Images of Our Past" to establish new community branches outside Winnipeg. This concern with the establishment of MMRC branches outside Winnipeg is consistent with an overall concern with the inclusiveness of the MMRC. Many MMRC Board members want to actively include members from various communities within and outside Winnipeg that have not participated in MMRC initiatives. The MMRC Board members understand multiculturalism as an encompassing concept that includes those of British, French and Aboriginal ancestry.

The third priority is to **target ethnic groups that are not participating in MMRC events**. Comments on this issue indicate that people are concerned with establishing close communication links between specific cultural communities. The following are examples of respondent comments and suggested strategies to achieve this goal:

- *"Build on our links with the aboriginal community and find out what services we can provide."*
- *"Invite ethnic groups to include a youth rep as well as adult reps to attend MMRC functions."*
- *"Encourage the community to initiate projects."*
- *"Encourage ethnic groups to send copies of their newsletters to our office."*

Again, this issue supports the fact that the MMRC is concerned with inclusiveness and illustrates the view that inclusiveness is an integral part of multiculturalism. The MMRC members also viewed multiculturalism as an opportunity for intercultural experience. At one Board meeting a discussion ensued that focused on using "Let's Get

Acquainted" events to increase intercultural opportunities with a special emphasis on including Canadians of British and French ethnicity.

The fourth priority was **to provide more services** but there were no comments that elaborated on this issue. Perhaps the Board members would like to see an increase in the frequency of the current services provided rather than the creation of new services. In short, this issue may be one that continually concerns the MMRC.

Work toward increasing membership received fifth priority status but perhaps this issue could be grouped with increasing public awareness of the MMRC, the first priority to the respondents. This issue could also be linked with the issue of inclusiveness; a predominant concern of the respondents identified throughout the survey.

The issue of **researching alternative funding resources** seemed to be a very important goal to Board members, yet surprisingly it ranked sixth in priority. It was clearly apparent in the comments made on this survey and throughout my participant observation that funding is an important concern for the Board and could be ranked higher than sixth based on this contextual information. This issue elicited quite a diversity of views among the respondents. Some comments indicate that alternative funding would be very difficult, while other comments provide strategies to develop alternative funding. The following comments are evidence of this diversity:

- *"It is not possible to be less dependent on government funding."*

- *"It is not likely that we can get more ethnic groups involved in MMRC fund-raising."*
- *"Obtain some start-up funds from the private sector (banks or large corporations) for a short-term period (3-4 years)."*
- *"Perhaps we could have a small membership fee for each ethnic group."*
- *"We could have the Board hold one fund-raiser, inviting representatives from each ethnic community. Each year we could work toward increasing ethnic input into an annual fund-raiser."*

The opinions on funding sources were divided into three areas: some respondents viewed government funding as an essential source, some did not put faith in community groups working with the MMRC as a funding source, and some advocated a partnership with the private sector for funding. This diversity of opinion suggests that government funding and community fund-raising avenues should not be ignored but that alternative funding should be actively explored. In fact, there has been much discussion among Board members concerning strategies to reduce MMRC's dependence on government funding since this funding has become reduced and quite unreliable.

3.5.1 Question 2 :

What are the most important obstacles to overcome that hinder the development of the MMRC?

The obstacle identified as the most important to overcome is: **the lack of ethnic group participation and input in the MMRC organization.** This obstacle corresponds to the MMRC goal to be inclusive, identified in question #1, but augments this point by indicating that a lack of ethnic group participation is in fact an obstacle to the MMRC. Although this was identified as an important issue there was disagreement among the respondents as illustrated by the following comments:

- *"It is not true that there is a lack of ethnic group participation and input into the MMRC."*
- *"It is necessary to do some fund-raising at least until ethnic groups find more support and take some responsibility."*
- *"A majority of ethnic groups need to be approached to participate in the MMRC."*

Although there is some disagreement, there is partial consensus, based on the high rank of this issue, that there is indeed a problem with a lack of ethnic group participation in the MMRC initiatives. Again this illustrates the MMRC's concern with being inclusive and developing intercultural opportunities.

The first issue received a raw score of 58 while the second most important obstacle received a score of 54, thus indicating that these issues are nearly equally important to the respondents. The second obstacle was determined to be: **there is not enough public knowledge about the MMRC and the services it provides.** The corresponding comments generally reiterated the first issue from Questionnaire #1 that the MMRC does not have enough publicity and that the office at the University of Winnipeg should be more visible and larger. One comment was a reminder that **Images of Our Past** gave the MMRC great public notice; a point that was also raised several times at Board meetings. There seems to be strong motivation to attempt this project or a similar project to gain more visibility. At the microlevel, community organizations such as the MMRC also suffer from a lack of public understanding; people do not seem to know what multiculturalism is, what MMRC does and how multiculturalism relates to Canadians. Evidence of this is found within this survey; respondents are concerned with the relevance, the implementation of activities, and the public visibility of the MMRC.

Both the third and fourth highest obstacles were funding issues; specifically, **there is not enough ethnic group involvement in fund-raising for the MMRC**, was ranked third while, **MMRC is too dependent on government funding** was ranked fourth. The following comments on funding reflect its importance:

- *"MMRC needs to lobby MP's and MLA's for greater funding to help the MMRC to promote its services and hire additional full-time staff."*
- *"Is there an alternative to government funding?"*
- *"Most ethnic groups are busy with their own fund-raising."*
- *"All organizations seem to accept bingo's for fund-raising and since our government is promoting gambling we might as well get into the act."*
- *"MMRC needs corporate sponsors for specific activities."*
- *"We need to encourage groups to share in funding."*
- *"It is necessary to do some fund-raising at least until ethnic groups give more support and take some responsibility."*
- *"Bingo is distasteful but necessary until other fund-raising avenues are in place."*

Funding concerns can be categorized into two groups, alternatives to government funding and the need to appeal to ethnocultural communities for funding or fundraising. Strategies to this end include expressing the needs of MMRC to government representatives and the development of partnerships between the MMRC and the corporate sector or ethnocultural communities. This illustrates the MMRC's interest in reducing dependency on government funding.

The obstacles that **the MMRC does not contact Members of the Legislative Assembly and Members of Parliament enough** and that **the MMRC is not easily accessible or visible by the public** received equal votes and were considered of equal rank; i.e., a rank of five. The concern for increased political lobbying may be related to the need for more funding opportunities, an increase in visibility, changes to Canadian

society and more political leverage. The concern with the accessibility and visibility may come from a concern that the MMRC may have a problem in its ability to be a resource if the office is inaccessible. However, there are few comments corresponding to these issues compared to the number of comments received on the issue that **there is a lack of commitment and professional expertise with the Board**; an issue that ranked tenth in importance. Although this issue was ranked very low, it received a relatively large number of comments, consequently raising its level of importance. The commentary indicates that many members did not agree with the statement. The following comments indicate that there is much interest about the responsibilities and character of the Board:

- *"How thin can we spread ourselves? How can we attend ethnic group meetings?"*
- *"I'm proud to be involved in MMRC, there are many well educated and knowledgeable on the Board."*
- *"We must not set too high a standard or we'll drive away those anxious to contribute."*
- *"Perhaps we in Winnipeg are too aloof, think we know it all. I am shocked to find out what our counterpart in Brandon does; it puts us in Winnipeg to shame."*
- *"We have representatives, let's rotate Board members as speakers/attenders to ethnic group meetings."*
- *"There is plenty of expertise on the Board."*
- *"Ethnic group members need to be told that they are needed -- there is a lack of encouragement by the MMRC to tap into the groups to get expert representatives to come onto the MMRC Board (why not get them in on some ad hoc committees?)."*

This seems to be a highly contentious issue; one that should perhaps be explored further by the Board members. This issue can be understood within the context of the comments and my observations. The skills, experience and talents of the Board members may not be effectively employed. Rather than an issue of a lack of commitment and professional expertise among the MMRC Board, it is a matter of recognizing the talents

of those on the Board and making full use of them. Perhaps a survey of skills, experience and talents of the Board will address this issue. When the goals and objectives of an organization are diffuse and ambiguous it is difficult to organize a solid plan of action; a situation that is frustrating to individuals who want to offer their expertise.

3.5.2 Question 3 :

What are the most important goals for MMRC to work towards for the development of a multicultural society?

This question relates to the intent or mission, as it were, of the MMRC as an organization working toward an ideal in Canadian society. It is here that we can get a pronounced perception of multiculturalism from the microlevel. However, it was difficult to clearly identify the importance of the first four issues since there was very little range between the priorities. For instance, the first priority and fourth priority received a score of 44 and 38 respectively.

	<u>Issues</u>	Raw Score
#1	<i>provide more intercultural opportunities</i>	44
#2	<i>provide more education opportunities to the public</i>	42
#3	<i>increase anti-racism efforts</i>	41
#4	<i>add the Canadian dimension of every activity</i>	38
#5a	<i>influence government action regarding multicultural needs</i>	30
#5b	<i>deal with public attitudes toward ethnic groups</i>	30

As I indicated, the raw scores for this final question are so similar that it is difficult to sort out the highest priorities. I consider the highest four goals as equal in priority.

The Board has indicated that there is a need to **provide more intercultural opportunities** to the general public in Canada. This was expressed through such comments as "*Promote the idea of a Canadian Multicultural society through research, community activities and workshops*". Intercultural communication and mediation were also introduced as strategies to deal with conflict among the multicultural community. Furthermore, it seems that the question of national unity and conflict among ethnic groups needs to be addressed as one issue; as some people stated "*Canadian unity must be addressed first but should go hand in hand with conflict among the multicultural community*". One respondent suggested that MMRC "*target more areas of conflict by organizing more workshops*". Thus attempts should be made to reconcile the conflicts of the various groups of Canadians and to provide opportunities for communication and mediation between these groups. This seems to be the direction that multiculturalism is moving; toward intercultural relations. One discussion at a Board meeting dealt with the direction of multiculturalism at the national level and how this related to the MMRC. During a Board meeting, the president of the MMRC indicated that MMRC events such as the "Let's Get Acquainted" evenings and public viewing of the Citizenship court during Elimination of Racial Discrimination Day were positive opportunities that MMRC should increasingly be developing and implementing. Moreover, Canadians of British, French and Aboriginal ancestry should be targeted for increased participation in these intercultural opportunities.

Since the goals ranked as #2 and #5b are very similar I will discuss these goals as if they cover a single issue. There is also sufficient overlap in the comments to justify this merger of the issues. The goals are to **provide more education opportunities to the public and to deal with public attitudes toward ethnic groups**. The comments provide some insight into these issues and suggest some ways of reconciling the problems. Many people referred to workshops as being useful in developing an understanding of multiculturalism. Thus many people suggest that there be "*more workshops and conferences; some local, some area, and some provincial*" and that "*public attitudes toward immigrants should be on the agenda at conferences and workshops*". As well, one suggested that the MMRC work with the schools by making presentations on various ethnic organizations. Two major areas of concern at the macrolevel are to resolve conflict between Canadian groups and to educate the Canadian public to eliminate the myths of multiculturalism.

One aspect of public awareness involves the issue of working with the media. However, there are some concerns with the media, as one respondent expressed, "*it is difficult to get press attention unless you are doing something wrong*". However, one respondent was positive on the role of the MMRC newsletter, "*the newsletter is doing well in promoting citizenship and nationalism*". Some respondents suggested ways of dealing with the media; among them, sponsoring more Let's Get Acquainted evenings (due to the visibility this creates for the MMRC), providing news releases on ethnic activity, reporting on community involvement and on-going programs, and developing

rapport with media by providing information briefs on a frequent and regular basis. One person suggested that MMRC "*study Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada book when conveying facts to groups and the media*". Special emphasis was placed on providing education opportunities to immigrants. Comments reflected the need for immigrants to hear stories of successful integration into Canadian society. The public must be educated on the contributions that various Canadian groups have made to the development of Canada.

There was only one comment on anti-racism efforts and it suggested that the MMRC anti-racism activities be more frequent than their annual event; the commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racism. Some issues raised comments of contention. The issue of **adding the Canadian dimension to every activity** motivated one respondent to comment, "*we don't need to add Canadian dimension to activities because everyone that lives here is aware of what Canada is about*". Yet another respondent stated that "*first and foremost we are Canadians; free to worship and carry on group traditions but learn more about Canadian society*". This suggests that there are some differences of opinion on the issue of adding the Canadian dimension to MMRC activities. Considering the issue that the MMRC **influence government action regarding multicultural needs**, one respondent indicated that government is already aware and sympathetic to the needs of ethnic communities; one respondent was distrustful of the government and suggested "*we must be wary of trying to influence the government unless we want them to start dictating to us*". However, most

comments on this issue suggested that the MMRC develop regular communication with government offices with a mandate to advocate community needs. This point is illustrated by such comments as *"we should advocate / mediate community needs by regular communication to government offices"*, *"communicate what the community needs to the government"*, and *"a report of every MMRC ethnic gathering should relay multicultural concerns to the Canadian and Manitoba government"*. However, if the MMRC is becoming increasingly interested in this area, perhaps they should stimulate discussion of how the MMRC relates to other organizations within Manitoba. It is a topic that is currently very contentious due to the political environment and given that the onus for multiculturalism initiatives rests with communities rather than with the government.

3.6 OVERVIEW OF OBSERVATIONS

The Delphi survey results were presented to the Board of the MMRC in October of 1994. Since that time, the Board has incorporated various issues identified in the Delphi survey at MMRC meetings. Furthermore, members at meetings refer to the survey results in attempting to address these issues. However, some issues have yet to be addressed and I am learning that a report that informs an organization is an important but only a single component in the process of effective development and implementation.

3.6.0 Analysis of The MMRC as a Voluntary Organization

It is important to understand the MMRC's organizational culture and management because the Multiculturalism Act has placed a significant amount of responsibility for the

development of multiculturalism on community and voluntary associations. To get a deep understanding of multiculturalism, it is important to focus anthropological investigation on the workings of community voluntary organizations and government institutions. Furthermore, anthropologists must investigate the relationship between government and community to develop a sophisticated understanding of the problems and issues that arise in the implementation of multiculturalism. This is not only the case for multiculturalism; it is also a necessary procedure for an applied anthropologist examining and intervening in any social issue. An applied anthropologist must examine the organizational culture of the groups involved in a social issue, so that interventions are effective, relevant and bridge community, public sector, and private sector organizations via their articulated relationships.

Earlier, I examined Rose's six main functions of voluntary associations: power distribution, individual orientation to social and political processes, social change, social cohesion, personal identification, and socio-economic advancement (Rose 1967:247-251). However, it is important to note that voluntary organizations often experience common problems, thus, "the voluntary association is often inadequate to fulfill the functions attributed to it, as it often does not incorporate many people and it often functions inefficiently and ineffectively" (Rose 1967:247).

3.6.1 Common Problems

Selle and Øymyr examined the main problems experienced by 2,231 Norwegian nongovernment organizations (Selle and Øymyr 1992:157). They found that "the four most serious problems - that is, those that had an impact upon the daily life of the organization - were lack of membership recruitment, problems with finding new leaders, poor economy, and low level of activity" (Selle and Øymyr 1992:157). Furthermore, they found that the problems of voluntary organizations are complex and often reinforce each other and therefore should not be examined in isolation (Selle and Øymyr 1992:159).

The organizational problems of the MMRC are consistent with these four common problems outlined by Selle and Øymyr. The results of the Delphi survey quite clearly illustrate that the respondents are concerned with membership, the low level of activity, poor funding and Board leadership. Moreover, the results indicate that the respondents are concerned with two other problem areas; public awareness of the MMRC and the lobbying power of the MMRC. Examination of the data shows that some of these six concerns are commonly found together under a single issue; thus illustrating the complexity of the issues. For example, the highest priority goal of the MMRC respondents was to "increase the promotion of MMRC services that are currently offered". The comments corresponding to this issue were as follows: "prepare a handout that outlines the services offered and the mission statement of the MMRC", "increase membership by targeting individuals and groups that are not participating with the MMRC", "include 5 or 6 brief profiles from the EthnoBank in our newsletter", "create

and maintain a cultural display at a permanent and visible location, perhaps at the Forks", and "hold more workshops and conferences at low cost". Under this single issue, the comments raise concerns about public awareness, the low level of activity, lack of membership recruitment, and partial reference to concerns about MMRC economy.

In their publication on the governance and management of nonprofit organizations, Young et. al. (1993) identified six key functions and responsibilities that concern nonprofit organization managers and leaders. Issues of organizational governance are prominent in the minds of those concerned with the proper functioning of nonprofit organizations; particularly the issue of sorting out appropriate roles for board and staff (Young et.al. 1993:4). This was a concern for the MMRC as illustrated by the comments raised in response to the issue "there is a lack of commitment and professional expertise with the Board". This issue seemed to be a matter of recognizing and utilizing the talents of the MMRC Board members. Nevertheless, the Board is concerned with the direction and governance of the MMRC as illustrated most obviously by the commissioning of the Delphi strategic survey.

A second concern is the management of human resources including recruitment, retention, participation, motivation, guidance and training of volunteers, paid staff, and board members (Young et.al. 1993:5). The respondents of the MMRC Delphi survey identified the management of human resources as a concern several times. For example the respondents commented that certain groups should be targeted for membership by the

MMRC, that MMRC branches be established in smaller communities, and that community participation in intercultural activities should be encouraged. The Board members are very sensitive to the issue of inclusiveness and intercultural development. For the respondents, multiculturalism is for all Canadians and they have identified an organizational goal to approach organizations that have not participated in MMRC events. For example the Board is targeting the Aboriginal community, communities outside Winnipeg, and ethnocultural groups that are absent from regular participation. The respondents also wish to include segments of the population that traditionally have not been identified as ethnocultural groups but are considered to be important in providing the MMRC with versatility and vitality. The deaf and hearing impaired and the youths of various communities are two examples of non-traditional ethnocultural groups that have been considered for participation. This approach for inclusiveness is also found at the macrolevel; government institutions have continually stated that multiculturalism is for all Canadians. As well the respondents have consistently referred to themselves as Canadians.

The management of financial resources is a third area of concern to voluntary organizations. They are finding it necessary to become self-sufficient and are often exploring their own sources of contributed and earned income (Young et. al. 1993:5). This corresponds to a concern among the respondents of the Delphi survey that the MMRC lacks available funding for effective programming and services. Moreover, the Board is

concerned with a related issue; they identify a need to move away from dependency on the government for funding.

A fourth area is the management of information, an aspect that is especially underdeveloped in nonprofit organizations; particularly the under use of information systems and computers (Young et. al. 1993:5). There is a concern among the respondents of the survey that the MMRC lacks accessibility and visibility to the general public. Furthermore, many respondents feel that there is a definite ambiguity and diffusion of the objectives and goals of the MMRC. This is precisely why there was a need to conduct a Delphi survey in the first place. As I have indicated many times in this thesis, the lack of visibility and accessibility and the predominant ambiguity of multiculturalism goals and objectives result in deficient communication to the general public. These problems are also experienced at the macrolevel; both the community organizations and government institutions express a certain amount of frustration in determining the coordination and communication of multiculturalism programs and services to Canadian society.

Managing for social change is a fifth concern. Since nonprofits are in the business of making a difference in the lives of people, issues of policy-making and practices are paramount. Collaborative projects and organizational adaptiveness are important if voluntary organizations are to remain effective. I have stated in chapter two that the government policy has shifted from a predominantly heritage preservation orientation to an anti-racism standpoint. This was raised in the results of the Delphi survey. The

respondents are well aware of the dual aspect of multiculturalism; that is heritage preservation and development of anti-racism programs to eliminate racial discrimination within institutions. Concerns were also raised on the issue of a perceived lack of intercultural opportunities offered to Canadians. The MMRC would like to provide more services and opportunities so that the various groups in Winnipeg can meet and understand each other. There is considerable concern that there is conflict within the broader multicultural community. If we understand that multiculturalism is applied to everyone, then the multicultural community includes all Canadians. There is a definite need for the mediation of this conflict. However, the sense I receive from the Board is that the informal mandate of multiculturalism is changing toward intercultural development, understanding how Canadian groups relate to each other and the development of Canadian citizenship.

The last concern is that of strategic management of voluntary organizations. In other words, organizations are concerned with the way they are positioned within their economic and social environment and the methods, tools and strategies used to achieve their goals. The focus is on the shaping and implementation of strategic decisions (Young et. al. 1993:6). The respondents want to increase the lobbying power of the MMRC in provincial and federal matters concerning multiculturalism. However, the respondents are concerned that the MMRC speaks as an intercultural organization rather than being focused on the concerns of a specific ethnocultural community. This shows that the MMRC is concerned with issues that concern all Canadians. It is concerned with

resolving conflict between all Canadian groups - not only a segment of Canadian population. On a macro level the department of multiculturalism is small and the portfolio is a minor portfolio, even though it concerns the heritage and identity of all Canadians. There is a need to develop sustainable financial and moral support to continue and improve services. Some authors hold the view that multiculturalism does not work and that it has resulted in the fragmentation of Canadian society, but others state that multiculturalism has resulted in some positive relationships but has not yet been given sufficient financial and moral support to make multiculturalism a highly effective policy. As Fleras and Elliott state, "we suggest that many of the problems confronting Canada stem not from too much multiculturalism, *but from not enough of it!*" (Fleras and Elliott 1992:280, emphasis in original). Yet as Young et. al. state, "despite the great attention the issues of management and leadership received in the 1980s, *nonprofit organizations do not yet seem to have taken the implementation of sophisticated management and governance practices completely to heart*" (Young et. al. 1993:7; emphasis in original).

CHAPTER FOUR Anthropologically Informing Multiculturalism

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In order to deal effectively with broad social issues such as multiculturalism we need to have direct, meaningful information; in other words we need a context with which to work. We need to examine the language, concepts and perception that construct the meaning of multiculturalism. The language and terms used in discussing multiculturalism are unclear and value-laden resulting in confusion, misunderstandings, and political confrontations between Canadians. In order to stimulate productive dialogue and effective policy, the language must be clarified and agreement on terms must be established. Concepts such as ethnicity, culture, race, pluralism and multiculturalism are often used out of context and are laden with many differing presuppositions in discussions on multiculturalism policy; making it difficult to develop an effective multiculturalism policy.

We need to understand the history of relationships between Canadian groups. Canada's historical events since confederation - events that directly influence Canada's current social and political environment - are often ignored or obfuscated. In order to deal effectively with current social issues, Canadians must understand the development of political and social relationships between groups that now constitutes contemporary Canadian society; its accomplishments and its problems. Canadian heritage is very important in understanding the relationships between different groups of Canadians. The negotiations made with various Canadian groups during the building of their nation, the

political events of the late 1960s, the demographic changes to the Canadian population, the legislation of the Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, and the shifts in multiculturalism policy have all shaped and continue to shape the identity of Canada and the relationships that Canadians have with each other. If Canadians do not know their history, the purpose of multiculturalism is lost.

We need to understand the current environment of values, politics, processes and concerns in which multiculturalism operates. We need to understand the structure and organization of institutions such as government and non-profit organizations; we need to understand the relationships between institutions; and we need to understand each other. Canadian population, demography, values and identity have changed dramatically since World War II. These socio-political changes have led to a situation in which Canadians must come to terms with what it means to live in a plural society. Nevertheless, only a disciplined process of research, debate, negotiation, implementation and compromise will effectively address multiculturalism.

Linton has stated that if we are going to deal with intercultural relations, we have to recognize that members of cultural groups have differences in their behaviours, attitudes and value systems and that these groups are increasingly likely to get on each others nerves (Linton 1947:338). If we are going to come to terms with this increasing cultural group contact and tension we are going to have to learn to get along with each

other. Linton indicates that this is where anthropology can contribute; that is, anthropology can be used as a bridge to intercultural understanding. Linton states,

It seems to me that the greatest contribution that [anthropology] can make [to intercultural understanding follows] two lines: first of all, in the aid that it can give in intelligent, impersonal scientific appraisal of these contact situations, in helping to develop technics (sic) for finding out as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible what the people of other groups are like. Information of this sort is required as the basis for any intelligent sort of planning. In the second place, anthropology can study those situations in which groups of different race or of strongly different culture contrive to get along very well without any particular frictions. By doing this one can get certain ideas about ways that have actually worked in the past or are working now (Linton 1947:339).

Although Linton's ideas here are simplistic, I agree with his thesis that anthropologists can contribute to intercultural understanding by researching and understanding intercultural relationships and providing this information for effective planning. However, if we are going to be truly effective in the development of intercultural understanding we must understand the process of informing, planning decision-making, intervening and implementing programs and activities through social institutions and understand the processes of groups that contrive to get along. This relates to the larger issue of developing anthropology to inform and influence social policy; and subsequently addressing social issues.

It is nearly inconceivable how decisions are made on socio-political issues when the language of discussion is weak, the knowledge of historical relationships is insufficient, and divergent Canadian values are ignored or misunderstood. Nevertheless, decisions on these socio-political issues *are* made whether they are informed or not. This

is the nature of politics. But what can applied anthropologists contribute to the resolution of socio-political issues? There are two areas of influence open to anthropologists concerned with applying anthropological theories to address socio-political issues; one is providing information to decision-makers for policy development, another is pursuing means to influence and direct policy beyond merely *informing* decision-makers.

4.1 INFORMING DECISION-MAKERS

There are many avenues to apply anthropology as there are many issues within the scope of applied anthropology. One particular area that applied anthropologists have been interested in developing is the influence that anthropology has on social policy (Chambers 1977, Chambers 1985, Cochrane 1980, Geilhufe 1979, Goldschmidt 1986, Hammel 1976, Heighton and Heighton 1978, Hinshaw 1980, Kimball 1978, van Willigen 1984, Wallace 1976, Weaver 1981, and Willner 1980). Anthropologists have indicated that one way to influence social policy is through the development of anthropology as a policy science; "the time has come for anthropology to enter a new phase; to raise its sights from the performance of public service to the formulation of public policy" (Goldschmidt 1986:3). Yet, anthropologists need to understand political power and come to terms with a general aversion to engaging in the political power process. This "aversion to engage actively in the world around them can be linked to deeply embedded views about the objectives of [anthropology]" (Kimball 1987:384). First, there has been an overriding commitment to the goal of accumulating knowledge as an intrinsic end in itself, paired with a rejection of queries on the usefulness of the knowledge accumulated (Kimball 1987:385). Second,

most anthropologists have confined their search for truth to nonliterate and peasant peoples while rejecting the legitimacy of contemporary complex societies as a field of study (Kimball 1987:385; Matthiasson 1994:274-275). Third, the tradition of lengthy and arduous field studies as the only legitimate method of anthropological procedure to find the "truth" is firmly embedded in the discipline (Kimball 1987:385). Fourth, anthropologists have seldom been invited to become involved in practical affairs (Kimball 1987:385). However, there is a movement within anthropology to counter the traditional current by conducting research in contemporary society and developing an applied science (Kimball 1987:385).

Erve Chambers indicates that "the idea of policy is as central to the development of applied anthropology as the concept of culture has been to the anthropological profession as a whole" (Chamber 1985:37-38). Chambers goes on to develop a solid orientation of anthropological contribution to the arena of policy science,

The value of forming an idea of policy is that it enables us to start thinking about human issues and problems in terms of their intentionality. Programs and activities of change do not just happen. They are thought about, planned for, and put into action by human beings for particular reasons. Neither do attempts to change something always turn out the way they were intended. We can seldom approach the policy idea with a unidimensional idea of intentions. In nearly all cases, it is much more accurate to envision the world of policy as an arena where people with varied and frequently conflicting intentions meet. The outcomes of these confrontations, imperfect as they often are, represent much of the social world we know.... The contributions applied anthropologists make to the social well-being of our society and other societies rest on their ability to understand, interpret, and participate in [increasingly complex legal, political, and scientific] structures. In this sense, the policy idea is both the beginning and end of applied work (Chambers 1985:38 & 64).

According to Rein, the scope of social policy is the "integration of values, the principles by which these values are translated into policies and programs, assessments of the outcomes of implementing these principles in terms of the values asserted, and the search for strategies of feasible change which promise a better fit between values, principles, and outcomes" (Rein 1971:297). Thus anthropology's focus on cultural values, its concern with direct field experience to collect information on values and systematic understanding of a community makes anthropological research a valuable resource and process for developing social policy. In fact, "one of the most important contributions that anthropologists can make to the policy field is to articulate existing as well as potential policy alternatives in relation to particular issues" (Pelto and Schensul 1978:507). Anthropologists have a broad range of tools that they can offer to integrate values into policies and programs, to contextually assess the policy implementation, and to identify alternative strategies to improve the effectiveness of programs. Some of the conceptual and methodological tools that anthropologists can provide are cultural relativism, ethnographic methods including participant observation and emic/etic contextual analysis, comparison analysis, and systemic and processual understanding of a variety of issues for the purpose of informing formal organizations.

John van Willigen indicates that applied anthropologists can produce three products: the first is information ranging from raw data to general theory; the second kind of product is policy in which anthropologists provide information which is *potentially useful* in a specific formation policy formation problem; the third kind of product is action

which would include an array of activities which are in the form of interventions (van Willigen 1984:278; emphasis mine). I emphasize the fact that anthropologists provide information that is potentially useful because this is where much of traditional anthropological information stops. As Kimball states,

an ethnographic inventory of customs and groups is not enough. The researcher must have made observations of individuals engaged in events in the variety of situations characteristic of that group. From these data can be derived the detail of systemic arrangements by which a specific group meets its problems. It is this type of knowledge which contains the answers for those who would seek to formulate policy (Kimball 1987:386-387).

Moreover, the practitioners in many professional fields fail to see problems in systemic terms or understand the processes of change (Kimball 1987:387). On the other hand, social scientists often overestimate the power of a rationalistic model in decision-making and the policy arena (Hammersley 1992:133; Hinshaw 1980:504).

4.2 BEYOND INFORMING POLICY

Applied anthropologists must realize that the place of research in policy may be prominent but it is not paramount. Yet applied anthropologists often neglect,

the limits to the contribution that any research can make to practice. Research cannot produce knowledge that can simply be applied to resolve practical problems. Practice is context-sensitive and involves judgement in which factual and value assumptions must be relied on, many of which must come from experience rather than research. Research cannot substitute for experience here, though it can inform it... This is not to deny that research can make a useful contribution, but simply to protest at the extravagance of the claims that are sometimes made about the scale of that contribution (Hammersley 1992:133).

In other words, policy directions and decisions are foremost determined by political pressures and negotiations that occur between groups rather than according to a rational formula. Although it is true that applied anthropologists often become involved in policy, this is more often due today to the necessity of anthropologists to find alternative employment than on the idea that policy makers need applied anthropologists. Some authors recommend that applied anthropologists must understand the "culture of policy" in business, government, and voluntary organizations, develop a highly professional aspect of the discipline, and involve themselves in the arena of politics and business (Chambers 1985, Eisenberg 1995, Geilhufe 1979, Hammel 1976, Hinshaw 1980, Schensul 1995, Weaver 1981).

4.2.0 Exploring a Context of Relevance

For the past two or three decades, anthropologists have been experiencing attacks and challenges to the legitimacy of anthropological values, concepts and theories. These challenges have come directly from within the discipline and indirectly from outside the discipline (Matthiasson 1994:269). They have disrupted the discipline; and they have shaken the foundations of anthropological theory and methodology but have created an opportunity to restructure anthropological identity. This disruption may in fact develop the professionalization of anthropology making it more inclusive, responsive, and relevant to the world in which anthropologists work. Now, we can continue to employ a method of critical examination and moribund deconstruction of the epistemological foundations of anthropology or we can assume that anthropology is legitimate, come to terms with its

limitations and continue to develop the form of anthropology within its own context. To paraphrase Margaret Mead, "anthropologists collaborate with people to produce a product that neither could produce alone" (Mead 1977:146). Of course anthropology is merely a construction of Western tradition and philosophy but it is a valid and disciplined construction. I view applied anthropology to be but one form among many of anthropological exploration. Yet, anthropological literature that critically examines applied anthropology often attacks the legitimacy of this kind of anthropology through the argument that applied work is devoid of theory and that it is not as "pure" as academic anthropology (Kimball 1987:384).

4.2.1 Praxis vs. Theoria

However, a theory of practice does exist and is firmly rooted in Western philosophy; it is called praxis. Aristotle's use of the term "praxis" is much more profound than the usual direct translation of "praxis" into the English word "practice"; he used the words "theoria" and "praxis" in the sense that they are two dimensions of the truly human and free life (Bernstein 1971). In fact, they are two very different ways of knowing and experiencing the world.

The concept of theoria relates to a way of life, involving strenuous, disciplined activity, that is concerned with the development of knowledge for its own sake. In this concept, seeking knowledge is an end in itself; and by this definition, the practitioner of theoria is relatively free to explore knowledge; free from the pressures of contemporary

ethical or political environment within society (Partridge 1987:216). Yet, this practitioner must work within an established and accepted theory and method, or paradigm. Facts outside the accepted paradigm are usually not acknowledged or incorporated into theoria.

In contrast to theoria, praxis is a way of knowing about the world, involving strenuous, disciplined activity, that encompasses ethical and political theory and practice, and is primarily concerned with "doing". Praxis can also be contrasted with the concept of "poesis" which is primarily a form of producing an artifact, whereas the essence of praxis is in the performance of a particular activity in a certain way (Bernstein 1971:ix-x). Theoria incorporates "poesis" through the production of an artifact; usually in the form of a publication. Although the process of praxis may incorporate "poesis", it is not primarily concerned with the production of an artifact. The fundamental aspect underlying this concept is that praxis is a continual, interactive process that shapes the environment through decisions and actions and is shaped by the environment through awareness of context and environmental pressures. In other words, when we interact with the world, we build our knowledge; then we apply this gained knowledge to further interaction. This raises observations about the established points of perception of these two ways of knowing the world. Theoria is composed of only accepted theory and practice through an object view of the world, while praxis is composed of "multiplex interaction between objective knowledge of the world, subjective experience with the world, and emergent social reality" (Partridge 1978:218).

Anthropology can use the concept of praxis as an effective method for development of knowledge, a guideline for ethical considerations, a tool for politically effective interaction, and as an avenue in which to develop applied anthropology. However, according to Warry,

Applied anthropology texts and readers make little or no reference to praxis theory [Chambers 1989, van Willigen 1986, Wulff and Fiske 1987]. With a few notable exceptions [Frankenberg 1988, Harries-Jones 1985, Partridge 1987], applied anthropologists have neither returned to the roots of this concept, nor explicitly used praxis as an analytic theme in applied research (Warry 1992:155).

This deficiency of employing praxis as an analytic device has led some anthropologists to make an effort to establish anthropological praxis as the theoretical framework for integrating theory with practice at the point of intervention (Partridge 1987; Warry 1992). This is due to the fact that "there is no applied anthropology that is not explicitly political because significant dialogue and change only occur in political contexts" (Schensul 1995:2).

4.3 ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION TO MULTICULTURALISM

One area of social policy that is currently of particular interest to applied anthropologists is the policy of multiculturalism in pluralistic societies. Although one author suggests that anthropologists have successfully influenced decision makers with respect to race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism (Hinshaw 1980:516), others are concerned with the lack of attention anthropologists are receiving from scholars and administrators on concepts such as race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism (Perry 1992; Greenbaum 1992).

Furthermore, other authors (Berry 1984; Fleras and Elliott 1992; Greenbaum 1992; Keefe 1989; Perry 1992; Stasiulis 1980; Tator and Henry 1991) have strongly calling out for the social sciences to influence multicultural policy for the sake of practical development of multiculturalism. Anthropologists are well-placed to contribute to the understanding and development of multiculturalism due to their discipline's critical study of culture. As was stated earlier, anthropologists can make a contribution to social policy by illustrating the social context to administrators and by identifying and articulating values and existing goals of a social policy that may be vague. Lasswell indicates that the starting points for the clarification of a problem, "is self-observation of conscious and unconscious value perspectives" and an understanding of the problem's social context (Lasswell 1968:182). What needs to be done, then, are practical efforts to develop a clear conception of multiculturalism policy and to implement applied multiculturalism.

Implementation of policy must be informed in order to be effective but multiculturalism policy and its applications have been clouded over the past 24 years through a variety of socio-political influences. The purpose of this study has been to apply anthropological tools of analysis to sort out and clarify concepts, terms, assumptions and values behind multiculturalism in order to inform decision makers, be they community leaders or federal politicians. I have focussed on informing multiculturalism policy and only incrementally going beyond informing multiculturalism policy. I have examined the language and history of multiculturalism, elicited community-based data and conducted a microlevel and macrolevel comparison in an attempt to understand and

provide information for the development of multiculturalism. I have only incrementally ventured beyond informing multiculturalism policy by being a voting member on the MMRC Board of Directors. In this capacity I influence decision-making and the direction of MMRC initiatives, albeit a small influence. The following is an overview of my application of anthropological theory and process to the understanding of multiculturalism issues and applications.

4.4 THE LANGUAGE OF MULTICULTURALISM

4.4.0 Race

As I pointed out in chapter one, "race" is a meaningless concept in the discussion of social phenomena. First, there has been so much interbreeding between human populations that it would be meaningless to talk of fixed boundaries between races. Second, there is often greater variation within a so-called 'racial' group than there is systematic variation between two groups (Eriksen 1993:4). When the commissioners of the B & B stated that there were two founding "races" of Canada I found this to be a problematic term. Consequently I interpreted the commissioners' statement as connoting two distinct cultural groups that negotiated and formed the confederation of Canada. Yet this interpretation is not intended to ignore the significant participation of non-British and non-French groups that developed Canada *since* Canada's confederation.

The examination of the term and concept of "race" requires some attention to the concept of racism. Racism is characterized by the belief that certain physical

characteristics that define a person's so-called "race" are directly and irrevocably linked with non-physical characteristics such as social behaviour and intelligence. Any introductory anthropology text will indicate that social behaviour is learned and that the appropriate behaviour of an individual is directly connected to her survival within that cultural context. Since the term "race" lacks any meaningful foundation, racist beliefs and values are *inappropriate* in meaningful dialogue and understanding of multiculturalism.

4.4.1 Culture

I used Tylor's definition of culture as the foundation for expanding and illustrating the concept of multiculturalism as used in this thesis. Earlier, I identified the nature of culture as a continual process of negotiation whereby people orient themselves in relation to one another through a continual construction of reality; a reality based on simultaneous mechanisms that both maintains and transforms identity for the individual, society and segments of it. Detailing the nature of culture is useful in understanding multiculturalism because it complements the anthropological understanding of ethnicity and Goodenough's (1978) concept of the multicultural experience within a complex plural society. A complex plural society is one in which there are several ethnic groups; the term "plural" can be, and often is, interchanged with the term "multi-ethnic" or "multicultural".

4.4.2 Ethnicity

Barth provided the seminal work on ethnicity in 1969. He broke with anthropological tradition by rejecting the conception of culture as a static unit.

Furthermore he rebuked previous studies that were preoccupied with examining the cultural characteristics within ethnic boundaries. Instead he interpreted ethnicity by exploring the boundaries between groups. In essence, Barth understood that it is the boundaries between groups that construct ethnic identities. Ethnic identity does not depend upon the absence of social interaction and acceptance, rather, interaction of social systems is the very foundation on which ethnic identity is constructed. As Eriksen states,

For ethnicity to come about, the groups must have a minimum of contact with each other, and they must entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves. If these conditions are not fulfilled, there is no ethnicity, for ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship not a property of a group (Eriksen 1993:11-12).

As I stated in chapter one, Goodenough expands on Barth's understanding of culture and ethnicity by proposing that the process of learning a society's culture, which he terms "macroculture", is one of learning numerous different or partially different microcultures and their subcultural variants. The process includes learning how to discern the situations for appropriate behaviour and appropriate grouping. The term "microculture" comes from the idea that social relationships are situation-bound and are ordered with respect to other situation-bound behaviour. The "microculture" is merely the process of conducting appropriate behaviour and appropriate grouping for a situation within the macroculture. The "macroculture" is the larger ordered system of which microcultures are a part (Goodenough 1978:82). Furthermore, recent work on the context-specific reality of ethnicity and culture has resulted in the development of a new term that fits well with my understanding of culture and ethnicity; ethnoscape (Appadurai 1991:191). Ethnoscape is defined as "the landscape of persons who make up the shifting

world in which we live: tourists, *immigrants, refugees, exiles*, guest-workers, and other moving groups and persons [who] constitute an essential feature of the world and *appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree* (Appadurai 1991:192; emphasis mine). This concept provides ethnographers a way to come to terms with dilemmas of perspective and representation and reflects the changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity (Appadurai 1991:191).

4.4.3 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a term with several meanings. It is often used interchangeably with pluralism to express a characteristic of Canadian society. It is also often used with reference to the Multiculturalism policy of Canada's federal government. It is also used by Goodenough as a dynamic aspect of the nature of culture; a process that simultaneously accounts for cultural variability and uniformity. In understanding the purpose of multiculturalism policy it is important to understand the aspect of culture that Goodenough called "multiculturalism". This is essential when contemplating the mechanisms of normal on-going human experiences that perpetuate identity and initiate societal conflict and changes.

Within any society conflict and change are inevitable. Within a complex plural society, conflict and change is accelerated and multiplied, yet the manifestation of conflict and change need not be racist and violent. The core issue of concern is how society's institutions come to terms with conflict and change. A multiculturalism policy must

provide an avenue for coming to terms with differing and conflicting values and social articulations within a single society. In this sense the term "multiculturalism policy" may be a misnomer; perhaps a more appropriate term would be "intercultural policy". A focus on the relationships between groups, rather than the characteristics of groups, would direct policy to understand how Canada's various cultural groups are articulated, interrelated and interdependent within a single society. Such a policy would illustrate similarity and differences of cultural groups within the Canadian context and, to apply Appadurai's concept of ethnoscape in another situation, could provide multiculturalism policy with a way to come to terms with dilemmas of perspective and representation and reflect the changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity in Canada.

4.4.4 Cultural Maintenance and Variability

Theoretically, culture is a process based on two articulated mechanisms. One constructs identity by maintaining the traditions of the past, inculcates an individual's or group's values, ideals and standards, and constructs the view that the society in which one lives is preferable to all others. This is ethnocentrism and it is an essential component in the foundation of an individual's values, ideals and standards. In order for a culture to function effectively, "a culture must instill the idea that its ways are best" (Haviland 1975:456). The other mechanism is called adaptation and it permits culture to change in ways that are essential for the survival of a society while changes occur in the environment - social or otherwise.

Self-ascription and ascription by others are the most important features of ethnic boundaries that form identity. The identity of cultural groups is not necessarily based on occupation of territory, nor by some previous grouping, but by continual expression and validation of identity between groups. As such, identity is ascribed on the basis of emic categories either to oneself or to others. This means that markers of identity may or may not be objectively observable; identity and difference exist as a perception of the actors themselves.

The context in which people find themselves is continually changing. This affects how individuals relate to each other, how groups relate with each other, and the character of society in which groups articulate. A culture may change by the influence of internal or external factors. Culture change is brought about by the interaction of a number of different factors such as ecology, technology, ideology and social relationships. If we understand that identity maintenance and transformation are normal aspects of a healthy culture, then we can understand multiculturalism as a normal human experience.

4.5 THE CONTEXT OF CONFLICT

4.5.0 Coming to Terms with a Normal Human Experience

What was Multiculturalism intended to address in 1971? What are the problems that have arisen since 1971? Were they inevitable? Although there were major changes to Canadian society after World War II (i.e. demography, social issues, values,

technology, structural changes) government management of Canadian groups is partly responsible for the dissonance of these groups.

As I illustrated in chapter two, there have been significant changes in the demography of Canada since 1945. Between 1945 and 1970 European countries were the largest source countries of immigration to Canada. However, there began a trend in 1945 that saw an increase in non-European immigrants. These immigrants included individuals from Asia, the United States, Africa, other Americas, and Australia. By the mid-1980's Asia was the largest single source of new immigrants to Canada (Canada 1990:64-65). Yet the Canadian government's management policies of these dramatic changes failed to resolve the conflict that emerged between Canadian groups in the late 1960s. Although the change in Canadian demography and Canadian values probably made conflict inevitable, an effective multiculturalism policy, instead of an attempt at political maneuvering, should have been constructed to provide a mechanism for dealing with issues of conflict between groups. Instead, the general confusion about the status and uses of multiculturalism in Canadian politics led to political conflicts, ineffective policies, construction of myths around multiculturalism, and deficient efforts in the application of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism grew out of an increase in the political awareness of the ethnic diversity in Canada, the liberal Post-War changes and developments of immigrant and refugee policies and programs, and the international climate toward human rights and

minorities. Multiculturalism policy is often considered a hasty afterthought to deal with ethnic political pressures. And although the B & B report was commissioned and the reaction of a variety of ethnic groups was heard, the goals of multiculturalism policy have never been well-defined; more often than not the policy was rejected by various powerful Canadian groups. The results of the Delphi survey illustrate the continued prevalence of multiculturalism's ambiguity. For instance, the Delphi survey found that the MMRC is concerned with the accessibility, visibility and ambiguity of multiculturalism as it relates to the daily function of the organization and its relationship to government, communities and the general public.

Multiculturalism was originally intended to apply to "the other ethnic groups". Funding was committed to food fairs, carnivals and other such events. Since 1971, multiculturalism has increasingly become applied to all ethnic groups and thus to all Canadians; Natives, British, French and others (Burnet 1984:21). The mandate of Multiculturalism has been gradually shifting from the sole mandate of preserving cultural *identity* to developing a dual mandate of *heritage* preservation and anti-racism activities. In contrast to historical preservation, cultural preservation is impossible from an anthropological standpoint because there are continual changes in any normal group whereas it is true that historical events are continually reinterpreted, historical artifacts can be preserved. The MMRC is aware of this dual mandate and seems to be developing an overarching mandate toward intercultural development. This movement toward interculturalism seems to be part of a macrolevel shift toward re-conceptualizing

multiculturalism. The results of the Delphi survey show that respondents are concerned with the inclusiveness of the MMRC. Members value the open and inclusive nature of the MMRC and wish to incorporate representatives of all Canadian groups in the organization. MMRC members understand that multiculturalism is not solely applied to the so-called "other ethnic groups"; it is in fact applicable to all Canadians.

4.5.1 Changes in Social Power

If we understand that ethnic distinctions are inevitable and if self-determination is intrinsically significant for all humans (Greenbaum 1992:9), it is inevitable that cultural groups will attempt to gain socio-political power as a means for self-determination. It is this relationship between multiculturalism and power in a complex plural society in which anthropologists are particularly interested. The pursuit of ideals within a plural society leads to a situation in which people are seeking to either alter or reinforce existing distributions of power; in essence challenging or reaffirming the dominant structure (Goodenough 1978:86). It is here that multiculturalism policy can be effective; mechanisms must be in place to deal effectively with challenges to the existing structure resulting in either change or reaffirmation of values and laws. Such a multiculturalism policy can complement the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms by providing a framework to achieve effective discussion through relevant language, historical understanding of relationships and contemporary awareness of the social environment of the Canadian population, the relationships of Canadian groups, and the corresponding Canadian values. As pluralism becomes more pronounced and the field of power

becomes greater with increasing social complexity, the role of multiculturalism in the management of power relationships becomes more important (Goodenough 1978:86).

4.6 THE CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTING MULTICULTURALISM

The data I have gathered and presented in Chapter three lends a community based perspective to multiculturalism policy. The microlevel and macrolevel analysis of multiculturalism issues results in a complementary and deeper understanding of these issues. But how does the information I have presented in chapter three relate to the larger issue of implementing multiculturalism policy in society? What do the results Delphi survey tell us about a voluntary organization concerned with the issues of multiculturalism? As well, how does the data I present relate to our understanding of the perceptions and myths about multiculturalism? The data I gained through the Delphi survey was elicited from ordinary members of Canadian society; they come from a variety of ethnocultural backgrounds. Yet I recognize that this survey is skewed because the respondents are individuals committed to implementing multiculturalism.

4.6.0 A Microlevel and Macrolevel Comparison

What is our understanding of multiculturalism? As I have indicated through the results of the Delphi survey, the MMRC is concerned with the accessibility, visibility and ambiguity of multiculturalism as it pertains to the MMRC. This is a microcosm of the concerns at a macro level; the macro level understanding of multiculturalism comes from civil servants I interviewed in a previous study. These civil servants stated that Canadians

often hold unclear and superficial views of the multiculturalism policy; that the dialogue on multiculturalism is disrupted because terms are fraught with ambiguity and that the purpose and goals of multiculturalism policy have never been defined by Canadian society. This illustrates the concerns attributed to multiculturalism as it pertains to society in general.

The microlevel and macrolevel comparison has resulted in a particular understanding of multiculturalism. The following four points indicate my own current understanding of multiculturalism. First, there is a lack of effective programming because there is no consensus on the concept of multiculturalism between politicians, civil servants, community groups and the general public, thus multiculturalism is an unclear concept. This situation leads to difficulties in the application of multiculturalism within business, government and community organizations and at the individual level. This is partly due to the lack of sufficient financial and moral support for developing multiculturalism objectives and applying multiculturalism initiatives. This is the weakest point of multiculturalism. Second, there is a lack of an effective decision-making process. Again, since discussion of multiculturalism is ill-informed, first in the language used in the dialogue and second in the history of group relationships, how can informed decision-making occur at either the macrolevel or microlevel? However, examination of multiculturalism issues and the results of the Delphi survey have shown that the respondents understand that the onus for responsibility rests partly with the community and partly with government institutions. Perhaps effective policy may come through

increased collaboration between community organization and government agencies. Third, official multiculturalism policy has a dual mandate - heritage preservation and anti-racism. Those working within multiculturalism understand that the current multiculturalism policy is built upon these two pillars of heritage preservation and anti-racism. The mandate relates to our understanding and efforts to define Canadian identity and to remove barriers that hinder participation into Canadian life. By providing more intercultural opportunities we explore and define our common heritage and come to a new understanding of the direction of Canadian identity and values through shared experience. And fourth, conflict exists within the multicultural community and since the multicultural community is merely a microcosm of Canadian society there is obviously conflict between groups in Canada. This is the multicultural reality; the ambiguity, the conflict and fragmentation of Canadian society. It is the reason why multiculturalism is a sensitive and controversial issue and consequently, evaluation of the multiculturalism policy is often perceived as an attack on multiculturalism. Criticisms of multiculturalism result in a backlash from both ethnocultural groups *and* government institutions. Yet critical examination and evaluation of any policy is essential for its development.

4.6.1 Governance and Management of Voluntary Organizations

The Delphi survey results illustrate that the MMRC, like many nonprofit organizations, experiences difficulties managing their organizations and effectively addressing organizational issues. Consequently, nonprofit organizations, such as the MMRC are concerned with their ability to effectively pursue and implement their

mandate. The common problem areas experienced by nonprofit organizations have been outlined previously as: organizational governance, human resources, financial resources, information management, policies and activities for social change, and strategic positioning (Young et. al. 1993:4-6). The results of the Delphi survey show that the respondents are concerned with the common problems that Young et. al. has identified. The MMRC respondents are concerned with Board leadership, membership and volunteer/staff management, poor funding, public awareness of the MMRC, the low level of activity and the socio-political positioning and lobbying power of the MMRC.

The MMRC is in the midst of change. The MMRC was founded by a core group of people who knew each other well and worked well together. However, over the years founding members have left the organization and new members have joined. The situation was such that the organizational structure of the MMRC had changed. New members knew nothing of each other and had to develop a relationship with other members without the benefit of previous foundations. However, as the current members begin to understand the organizational structure of the MMRC and their respective roles, they become more assertive and develop a new organizational culture that fits the current relationships between members and provides a stronger direction for the MMRC.

Although much has been written on it, the voluntary organization is in need of an adequate organizational structure that is neither business nor government yet may be a combination of both structures. As Young et. al. state, nonprofit organizations must

develop their own management practices; unique from business or government (Young et. al. 1993:7). Continued examination, development and exploration of the nonprofit organization management style is required to develop the voluntary organization as an effective human organization.

4.6.2 Consequences of the Ambiguity

A predominant consequence of an ambiguous multiculturalism policy is that people often develop their own perception of multiculturalism based *not* on extensive examination of multiculturalism but on superficial contact with the policy and mainstream presuppositions. Consequently, multiculturalism myths develop and permeate society.

One of the most prevalent misconceptions of multiculturalism is that it only serves as a forum to promote ethnic entertainment. Many Canadians experience segments of Canadian culture only through exposure to exotic costumes, dances, and different kinds of beer. A probable reason for the permeation of this misconception in Winnipeg may be due to the fact that multiculturalism is presented in the media most frequently through Folklorama; a two week event organized by the Folk Arts Council that consists of various cultural centres providing evening entertainment to the public. Because of the massive advertisement blitz, the two week length of the event and the subsequent obscurity of multicultural programs during the rest of the year, it is not surprising that an association is made between multiculturalism and the funding of ethnic "song and dance". This "song and dance" aspect of multiculturalism is both positive and negative. Folklorama is a very

positive event because it provides the participants with a forum to express their arts and heritage, it brings many people together both within and outside the community, and it is a source of revenue for the community associations. In many ways it provides an opportunity for learning and participating in an intercultural experience and is a means for expressing cultural identity. However, there is a negative perception that multiculturalism is *only* "song and dance". For many in society it reinforces a superficial attitude toward multiculturalism policy and it leads to the perception that tax money is maintaining a trivial forum. As we saw in the results of the Delphi, the respondents want to initiate more intercultural opportunities so that multiculturalism is not solely associated with the "song and dance" perception.

Another view of multiculturalism is that it is for the "other" ethnic groups. This view holds that those of British, French or aboriginal descent are excluded from the multiculturalism policy. The multiculturalism policy mandate is seen as a policy for everyone else who does not fit into the mainstream label of "pure Canadian". This view may have been initiated by the events surrounding the origin of the 1971 multiculturalism policy and reinforced by the 24 year history of this policy. It was illustrated in the observations from the Delphi survey that the MMRC respondents are continually concerned with the inclusiveness of the organization; these people include every Canadian cultural group within the scope of their organization. Moreover, the respondents are concerned with lobbying government as an intercultural organization rather than as a specific cultural group. This means that they are concerned with the rights of Canadians,

the values that come into conflict, and the compromises that must be reached. However, there are some noted exceptions that may or may not be considered cultural groups and may give rise to some contention; for instance the homosexual community of Winnipeg consider themselves to be a distinct culture and have expressed this view during the summer of 1994 despite not having been accepted as a distinct culture by any of the multicultural organizations.

The social problems under the rubric of multiculturalism policy are so grand and inherent in Canadian society that they extend beyond the financial and political resources of the current federal and provincial departments of multiculturalism. If multiculturalism were given sufficient moral and financial support - perhaps from other government departments, the private sector and more Canadian communities - these issues could be effectively addressed. The results of the survey illustrate that the MMRC is concerned with accessing sufficient funding for effective programming but are also concerned with decreasing their dependence on government funding and are searching for alternative funding venues.

Some misconceptions and myths are held by academics as well. For example, some academics suggested that the multiculturalism policy was too accommodating to multiple ideologies and would result in fragmenting Canadian society (Friesen 1985:5). The survey clearly indicates that there is conflict within the multicultural community and by extension Canadian society in general. However, the MMRC is an inclusive

organization. Multiculturalism as a divisive policy does not hold up to any direct scrutiny. On the other hand, multiculturalism is often depicted as an assimilationist policy perpetuated by Anglo-Canadian hegemony. John Porter saw multiculturalism as a fraud perpetuated by the British descendants upon all other Canadians to maintain the social order; the "vertical mosaic". However, much of the onus of responsibility for the development of multiculturalism is on community organizations and while it is true that there is not sufficient moral and financial support (suggesting that Porter may be right in his assessment), there has been some major changes that have occurred in Canadian structure since 1971 and future changes are bound to occur. Furthermore, this idea is juxtaposed to the frequently expressed idea that multiculturalism challenges the Anglo-Canadian structure to the point of unravelling the Canadian social fabric. Such a broad range of opinion on a single policy certainly illustrates, if nothing else, that the policy is lacking a firm conceptual foundation. It is difficult then to state that multiculturalism is a conspiratorial policy when very little control over it exists. The concept of multiculturalism and the Multiculturalism Act are so fluid and interpretation so broad it makes conspiracy unlikely. This may mean, however, that this is part of a Western hegemonic disposition in which the actions taken and the concepts employed are "just the way things are done". And puts much of the ambiguity of multiculturalism at an unconscious level. During this time of deconstruction and awareness of hegemonic process we can bring the principles behind multiculturalism to the fore, sort out the concepts and reconstruct an effective and relevant procedure for intercultural development.

Canadians *must* come to terms with the changes in population and values. This is significant for the study of multiculturalism policy because anthropologists are particularly interested in the ways that microcultures come to terms with differing values and come to a level of sharing at the macrolevel (Goodenough 1978:83-84). The challenge put to a plural society is to overcome the destructive aspects of ethnocentrism without suppressing the differences of the plural society (Greenbaum 1992:17).

4.6.3 Living in a Complex Plural Society

What does the multiculturalism policy need in order to develop? Where do we go from here? What does it mean to live in a plural society? Currently Canadian society is primarily dominated by people who claim British descent. As Canada experiences a variety of changes such as the demography shifts and changes to the social, political, economic and technological environment, the macroculture evolves. Consequently the dominant culture is more likely to be challenged, especially on cultural identity and values, by other Canadian groups. In most complex plural societies, groups are stratified due to the presence of persistent factors that maintain differential access to wealth and power among groups. These factors include actions and ideologies that marginalize groups and construct an unequal socio-economic environment of a society. Faced with an unequal socio-economic environment, "the cultural systems of disadvantaged ethnic groups offer the underlying basis for validating self worth and organizing self help and political action, a source of strength" (Greenbaum 1992:16). Groups that challenge the dominant structure form a common identity as a natural adaptive process in the face of

the unequal environment. Ethnic identification can then be seen as a strategic axis around which groups and individuals organize competition for resources and power (Greenbaum 1992:7).

Given the fact that many groups are becoming aware of their own political power and that the demography of Canada is continually changing it is inevitable that values will come into conflict. A multiculturalism policy should provide a guide for intercultural understanding before institutional decisions are made. Canada needs a guide to help sort out conflicts, to understand cultural issues and the particular context of values and behaviour, and to develop alternative solutions to inter-group conflicts and applied multiculturalism. As I have stated throughout the thesis; multiculturalism policy must be a guide that informs decisions but it must also have adequate financial, moral and political support in order to make changes. In Canada we have a variety of cultures co-existing within a unique context. It is an environment in which individual Canadians experience diverse and flexible value systems within a single overarching society. Canadian society is a plural society; yet this is often dominated by an Anglo based view of the world. Given the fact, as illustrated by Barth, that all cultures are flexible and that the boundaries are not rigid we must recognize that culture can never be preserved in a static state. This means that culture change is inevitable for those of British descent as it is for those of French, Aboriginal, Ukrainian, Chinese, Mennonite and those of all other ethnocultural descent. It is now important to develop a process to foster Canadian identity and to

effectively inform future decisions so that they are relevant to all Canadians and to develop applied multiculturalism.

4.7 ANTHROPOLOGY AS INTERCULTURALISM

This thesis can be understood at various levels; as an attempt to develop both a general and specific understanding of multiculturalism at the macrolevel and microlevel; as a means to express the ways in which anthropology can contribute to social issues through social policy, that is, examination of issues through collaborative ethnographic research, quantitative and qualitative data analysis, and micro/macro level comparison; and as a means to explore anthropological praxis. The first chapter examined the anthropological understanding of multiculturalism. It is an example of the contributions that anthropology can make to the theoretical understanding of culture in general and how this understanding can contribute to a grounding of discourse on social issues or phenomena, particularly multiculturalism. Goodenough (1987) offered an image of multiculturalism that provided a solid foundation for conceptualizing cognitive microcultures and culture itself, while Greenbaum (1992) gave a clear account of the concepts and terms used in discussion about multiculturalism that was helpful in doing the present analysis of the policy of multiculturalism.

Chapter Two is an example of how putting events and issues in the context of the social milieu of the time and place can develop understanding and insight into the issues currently being examined. In this chapter I also made comments on the problems of

multiculturalism as evidenced by interviews I conducted with civil servants. This contextual understanding potentially enriches the development of programs and policies to deal with current issues of concern. Perhaps it can also be used to make the current socio-political situation more manageable because the development of multiculturalism policy, from inception to its current state, is critically examined.

Chapter three is an example of using another research method, namely the Delphi questionnaire, to develop a consensual strategic plan for the MMRC in order to identify, prioritize and address organizational and microlevel concerns. This is particularly helpful since the onus for responsibility in determining the nature of the policy of multiculturalism partly rests with the communities. This collaborative approach with community organizations is merely one of many that anthropologists can use in dealing with organizations that are affected by social phenomena. By identifying general problem areas, the MMRC can potentially develop effective strategies and coordinate efforts to address particular organizational problems. The Delphi results may also be used to facilitate discussion and address identified macrolevel issues. Consequently, the Delphi may contribute to the development of a more solid core conception of multiculturalism and act as a vehicle to monitor the development of multiculturalism over time.

This chapter explored the development of applied anthropology as a policy science to develop politically effective and ethically relevant activities that also contribute to

theoretical pursuits. As well, I summarized my application of anthropological theory and process to the multiculturalism issues and their implications.

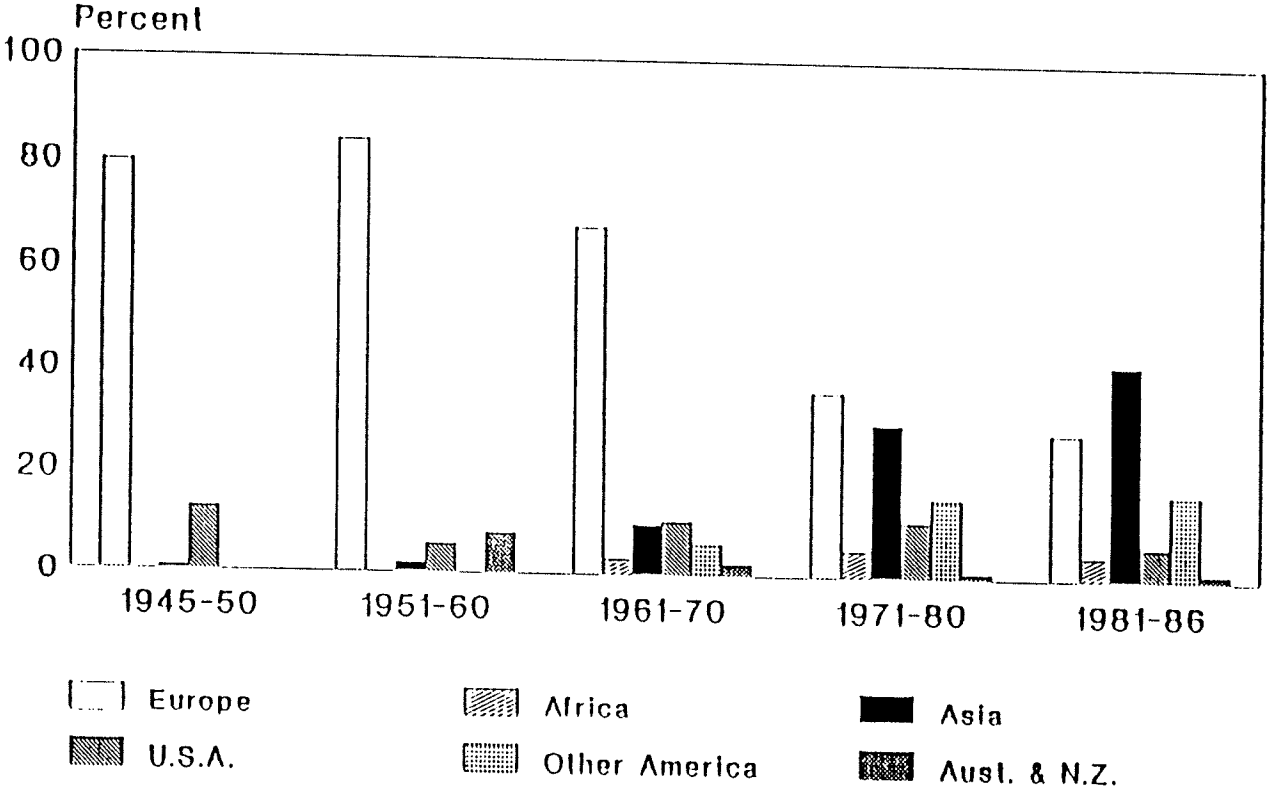
Anthropology is interculturalism because the foundations of the discipline rest upon direct experience with a group of people and cultural relativism. In other words, anthropologists spend time understanding and valuing of the behaviour of a group of people through rigorous and direct observation in the natural environment of the people of study as the integral components of anthropological knowledge. However, anthropologists have often held a bias against studying complex societies and consequently have not often developed sophistication in maneuvering within politics and business. Still, the tools of anthropology can be applied to these areas to develop effective relationships between government, business and community. Praxis can be used as an analytic tool to provide a different and useful understanding and the relationship between community and government as it relates to multiculturalism or other social policies. A collaborative relationship elicits a unique community understanding of the multiculturalism policy, and provides an opportunity to influence how multiculturalism can be improved or where there is room for modification to address community concerns. I can see two avenues for social science to address social issues through social policy. Either the anthropologist can be directly involved with making decisions in the political process, or the anthropologist can work with community organizations that are involved with the creation and implementation of programs. If we wish to actively intervene with the political process we will need to rigorously study political process and come to terms

with the discipline's aversion to use political power. I realize that my research has little direct influence on the government's formal multiculturalism policy, but it has done two things. One, I have developed my understanding of multiculturalism and presented the MMRC's perception of the daily workings of multiculturalism as juxtaposed to government and academic views. And second, I have assisted the MMRC in understanding its current situation and provided information for future strategic planning. Since terms, concepts and values are culturally constructed, decision-makers need to continually understand the context of history, the current socio-political environment and potentially effective strategies in order to implement policies effectively. By applying anthropological theory and process anthropologists can develop an understanding of multiculturalism and its implications and can assist in collaborative implementation efforts. This then is anthropologically informed multiculturalism.

I have laid the groundwork for the MMRC. Further research and procedures include the development of a strategic plan of action to address the organizational problems of the MMRC and the implementation of procedures towards the goals of the organization. I have also provided an example of how anthropologists can apply anthropological knowledge to social issues such as multiculturalism. Future research includes the development of organizational management and effective intervention in organizational culture, be it government, community or business organizations. While multiculturalism policy may sound good in theory, the process of implementation through government and community initiatives can lead to social, political, managerial, and

organizational dilemmas that require complex solutions. Any work on multiculturalism in Canada must acknowledge the inherent problems in the Canadian system. Nevertheless, only a disciplined process of research, debate, negotiation, implementation and compromise will effectively address intercultural conflict.

Immigration by Place of Birth Canada, 1945-1986



APPENDIX I

Prepared by Policy & Research,
Multiculturalism Sector.
Source: CEIC Annual Reports, 1945-86.

APPENDIX II
MMRC Delphi Questionnaires

Round 1 Questionnaire

Respondent Instructions

1. Please read both questions. Under each question there are two columns.
2. For the first question, please list up to five goals (in the left-hand column) that the MMRC should be working towards in order to achieve a successful multicultural society. It is very important to provide (in the right-hand column) a brief example or comment for each of the goals listed.
3. For the second question, please list up to five obstacles (in the left-hand column) that stand out as major hinderances to the achievement of a successful multicultural society. It is very important to provide (in the right-hand column) a brief example or comment for each of the obstacles listed.
4. Be as concise as possible; please limit your goals and obstacles to two or three words.
5. The example or comment should be brief but specific.
6. You do not have to list five goals, any amount will be useful. Should you need more space, feel free to attach a separate sheet.

Please have the completed questionnaire in the mail by January 24. Do not sign or in any way identify yourself on the completed questionnaire. A self-addressed, stamped envelope has been enclosed for your convenience.

2. What, in your opinion, are the major obstacles to the achievement of a successful multicultural society?

List those obstacles that stand out in your mind as major hinderances to the achievement of a successful multicultural society. In each case, provide a brief example or comment, possibly from your own experience, that leads you to believe that this is major obstacle for MMRC. Please type or print your answers legibly in the space provided.

<u>Obstacle(s)</u>	<u>Example(s) or Comment(s)</u>

If you need more space, feel free to attach a separate sheet.

Round 1 Questionnaire

1. Think about multiculturalism.

What specific goals should the MMRC be working towards?

List those goals that stand out in your mind as the most important to the achievement of a successful multicultural society. In each case, provide a brief example or comment, possibly from your own experience, that leads you to believe that this is an important goal for MMRC. Please type or print your answers legibly in the space provided.

<u>Goal(s)</u>	<u>Example(s) or Comment(s)</u>

If you need more space, feel free to attach a separate sheet.

Round 2 Questionnaire

Instructions for responding to Delphi Questionnaire #2

I have listed on a separate page the responses to the questions from the first Delphi mailing. Please do three things to these lists:

- 1) Review all items on each list. Comment, in one or two statements, on any item(s) you wish. You may argue in favor of an item, argue against an item, or request clarification. Brevity and clarity will facilitate analysis.
- 2) Select the ten goals that you feel are the *most important* for the MMRC to be working towards. Assign the value ten (10) to the goal you feel is most important for MMRC to be working towards. Assign nine (9) to the next most important and so on until the tenth item (the least important of the ten) is assigned the value of one (1). Remember 10 should be assigned to the goal you feel is the most important to work towards. Note: This is merely a preliminary vote. It is not binding. If you wish to add items please feel free to do so.
- 3) Select the ten obstacles that you feel are the *most hinderance* to the achievement of a successful multicultural society. Assign the value 10 (10) to the obstacle you feel is most hindering a successful multicultural society. Assign nine (9) to the next most hindering and so on until the tenth item (the least hindering of the ten) is assigned the value of one (1). Remember 10 should be assigned to the obstacle you feel is the most hindering to a successful multicultural society. Note: This is merely a preliminary vote. It is not binding. If you wish to add items please feel free to do so.

Return your response in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope by ~~March 9~~, 1994.

March 14

- Remember:
1. Choose only ten items.
 2. Comment on **any** item.
 3. Give the weight of "10" to the most important, "9" to the second most, etc.

What are the most important goals that the MMRC should be working towards?

Vote	Goals	Comments
_____	Ensure funding stability with less dependence on Government money.	
_____	Increase anti-racism efforts.	
_____	Provide opportunities for unity/intercultural sharing between communities.	
_____	Focus on Canadian culture and promote the idea of citizenship.	
_____	Educate public on the meaning of Multiculturalism.	
_____	Implement Multiculturalism policy.	
_____	Encourage Minority-based participation and activities through increased personnel and financial support.	
_____	MMRC should actively include more groups into its organization and expand its efforts.	
_____	Promote MMRC as a central resource of information, activities and networking.	
_____	Establish a link with aboriginal community.	
_____	Establish/strengthen links with centres other than Winnipeg.	

Vote	Goals	Comments
_____	Establish links with youth.	
_____	Focus on people's contributions to Canada and promote the heritage of Canada.	
_____	Hire a full-time Executive Director.	
_____	Increase interaction with government to influence policy and legislation.	
_____	Advocate community concerns to government.	

- Remember: 1. Choose only ten items.
 2. Comment on **any** item.
 3. Give the weight of "10" to the most important, "9" to the second most, etc.

What are the obstacles that most hinder a successful multicultural society?

Vote	Obstacles	Comments
_____	There is a lack of a Canadian narrative in multiculturalism (activities are too focused).	
_____	Lack of funding for the MMRC.	
_____	Conflict and disunity within the Multicultural community (lack of compromise between groups).	
_____	Conflict and disunity within the Canadian state in general (Indian and French issues).	
_____	Attitudes held by the general public (apathy, prejudice and misconceptions).	
_____	Misrepresentation of multiculturalism and ethnocultural groups in the media.	
_____	Problems in dealing with government laws and politicians (lack of support).	
_____	Lack of visibility as a resource centre.	
_____	Lack of communication and input from all intercultural groups into MMRC.	
_____	Lack of commitment and professional expertise of the staff.	

Vote	Obstacles	Comments
_____	Lack of a permanent Executive director.	
_____	Rural/urban differences.	

Round 3 Questionnaire

Instructions for Responding to Delphi Questionnaire #3

I have listed on a separate page the responses and comments from the second Delphi mailing. Please review this list. There are also three work sheets for your final input. Please do four things to these work sheets:

- 1) Review all items on each list. Comment, in one or two statements, on any item(s) you wish. You may argue in favour of an item, argue against an item or just make comments. Brevity and clarity will facilitate analysis.
- 2) Select the ten *goals* that you feel are the most important for the development of the **MMRC organization**. Assign the value ten (10) to the goal you feel is most important for MMRC to be working towards. Assign nine (9) to the next most important and so on until the tenth item (the least important of the ten) is assigned the value of one (1). Remember 10 should be assigned to the goal you feel is the most important goal. If you wish to add items please feel free to do so.
- 3) Select the ten most important *obstacles* to overcome that *hinder* the development of the **MMRC organization**. Assign the value ten (10) to the obstacle you feel is most hindering a successful multicultural society. Assign nine (9) to the next most hindering and so on until the tenth item (the least hindering of the ten) is assigned the value of one (1). Remember 10 should be assigned to the most important obstacle to overcome. If you wish to add items please feel free to do so.
- 4) Select the ten most important *goals* for MMRC to work towards for the development of a **multicultural society**. Assign the value ten (10) to the goal you feel is most important for MMRC to be working towards. Assign nine (9) to the next most important and so on until the tenth item (the least important of the ten) is assigned the value of one (1). Remember 10 should be assigned to the goal you feel is the most important goal. If you wish to add items please feel free to do so.

Return your response in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope by June 20, 1994. **Remember, this is the final survey, if you did not respond to the others, your input and comments are still valuable and appreciated.**

Comments from Round 2

Question #1: The specific goals that the MMRC should be working towards are:

General Comments:

MMRC could do so much more even though it is already in good hands

Many of these goals are so important, I feel I should have about 4 or 5 Tens.

Regarding funding stability, if we had a giant barbecue involving incentives for each participating ethnic group, it could bring attention to MMRC as well as produce additional funds for extra staff purposes, more media attention, and public awareness

Raw

Score

Issues and Comments from Highest to Lowest Priority

- 81 Educate public on the meaning of Multiculturalism.**
This should be done with press releases about four times a year.

Have some problems using the word "educate", "promote" would be my preference.
- 77 Promote MMRC as a central resource of information, activities and networking.**
We need a larger office space where people can drop in for information brochures and have short conversations and mix
- 56 Ensure funding stability with less dependence on Government money.**
Strongly Agree

Dependence on bingos is distasteful

We cannot survive without grants. It is not feasible to have the board do more fund raising, unless you involve ethnic groups.

This will be difficult

Funding is essential to carry on projects. Less dependence on Government would be nice, but is it possible?
- 55 Increase anti-racism efforts.**
This will be an automatic outcome of anything we do. Education and learning about each other will help minority groups. Human rights is already doing this.
- 53 Focus on people's contributions to Canada and promote the heritage of Canada.**
But only after we have a funding base able to suggest full-time director

People are free to live their culture within the Canadian Mosaic. We are too young a country to have an established, purely Canadian heritage. We do not have Canadian folk dances except Aboriginal and French Canadian, all others have been brought from other countries and designated as such at Folklorama
- 53 Increase interaction with government to influence policy and legislation.**
We should capitalize on our good standing with the government by determining and acting to influence future government action regarding Multicultural needs
- 46 MMRC should actively include more groups into its organization and expand its efforts.**
Increase membership base

Find out which groups are not participating and offer them assistance with profiles

This might be difficult to do, because everybody is busy

- 38 **Provide opportunities for unity/intercultural sharing between communities.**
Have a free workshop with specific topics. The workshops would be composed of small groups and a reporter for each group. Common concerns come out of this kind of discussion.

- 38 **Establish/strengthen links with centres other than Winnipeg.**
One of the most important goals - it is not enough to have only Brandon with MMRC. We need an MMRC "branch" clusters in smaller communities

We must include more of Manitoba or be a Winnipeg MRC

- 38 **Advocate community concerns to government.**
This is still extremely important but the goal of increasing interaction with government to influence policy and legislation could include advocacy.

- 35 **Establish a link with aboriginal community.**
I thought we had links established

The lower rating here belies its importance. We need very much to encourage the aboriginal peoples

This is part of our Canadian culture. This link is important

- 33 **Establish links with youth.**
Find out what is necessary to include youth. Contact youth groups and have them come together for a "youth gathering" every two years

- 32 **Hire a full-time Executive Director.**
No Executive Director implies a lack of confidence in present staff and in MMRC's future

We need an Executive Secretary and two or three part-time staff to get more work done

I feel that the acting Executive Director is doing a good job. I have no way of knowing if one with political connections would be more beneficial

- 26 **Focus on Canadian culture and promote the idea of citizenship.**
This is a forgone conclusion. Use the newsletter for this

If we moved to another country, would we be allowed to take our Canadian culture with us?

- 16 **Implement Multiculturalism policy.**
Not our role

A forgone conclusion and one we are supposed to be doing

- 16 **Encourage Minority-based participation and activities through increased personnel and financial support.**
Please clarify

We cannot give groups financial support - we need to communicate encouragement to every group

Question #2: The major obstacles to the achievement of a successful multicultural society, that the MMRC encounters, are:

General Comments:

We should have an ongoing program where, for example, the Forks has certain groups displaying their culture. The various groups could have two weeks a year taking turns in various locales. This has been done before, but not lately

With the MMRC having the highest regard of the government departmental representatives, we could receive more grants for holding workshops and ethnic conferences. Representatives should receive more from MMRC else they will remain apathetic

Why not have news briefs in with MMRC mailings, for example, activities going on in the various ethnic group programs. Encourage the ethnic groups to mail copies of their periodicals and newsletters and make a resume of events open to the public

With the current recession, we all have to work harder and there is simply not enough time to do much voluntary work associated with MMRC and other multicultural organizations.

**Raw
Score**

Issues and Comments from Highest to Lowest Priority

- 92** **Attitudes held by the general public (apathy, prejudice and misconceptions).**
Society as a whole is very busy, also, there is much ignorance about prejudice, people will tell you they are not racist, yet in the next sentence, out it comes
- We could correct the misconceptions through editorials (or profile information) on early immigrants who have now integrated into mainstream society. These groups no longer want to bother about prejudice suffered many years ago but new immigrants need to know the story of successful integration
- 80** **Misrepresentation of multiculturalism and ethnocultural groups in the media.**
Clarify
- This again is politics
- The census of Canada regarding ethnic background is sorely distorted. People don't admit their ethnic ancestry. Many, then, do not belong to ethnic "clubs"
- 75** **Conflict and disunity within the Canadian state in general (Indian and French issues).**
It's all politics
- We in Manitoba have an excellent chance to encourage unity in our province since we have the most French outside Quebec and the most native population integrated into mainstream society
- 67** **Lack of communication and input from all intercultural groups into MMRC.**
More a lack of communication and input from all intercultural groups into a Canadian wide policy on multiculturalism
- Why are the profiles in the Ethno-Bank so out of date and lacking in information. It seems they have little to say in what goes on - we need to have speakers attending ethnic meetings (which are usually monthly)
- 62** **There is a lack of a Canadian narrative in multiculturalism (activities are too focused).**
I don't quite understand this comment, many ethnic groups have much written and displayed

The new Manitoba Mosaic essays now being written should be obtained by MMRC. These are stories of early discrimination and of later success. We should add the Canadian dimension to every activity

- 61 **Conflict and disunity within the Multicultural community (lack of compromise between groups).**
Very true
- Doesn't Folklorama encourage working together
- There needs to be more reflection by the MMRC to look at the areas of conflict and attempts should be made to bring groups together in dialogue and unity
- 56 **Lack of visibility as a resource centre.**
Unless we are prepared to start to pay rent, we will have to stay where we are now
- Again, few people know of the MMRC. A more accessible space is necessary (an old house like Brandon) or a place where a sign is visible for public access
- 44 **Problems in dealing with government laws and politicians (lack of support).**
We don't do nearly enough contacting our MLA's and MP's
- Until laws are to serve all, MMRC should continue to lobby
- 43 **Lack of funding for the MMRC.**
If we had more groups paying a "per capita" to MMRC we would have more funds and more active MMRC's
- 39 **Rural/urban differences.**
Why not have an annual or biennial gathering from across the province; billet people who are delegates and ask for "travel equalization" from every ethnic club which will pay for travel costs
- The geographical distance prevents rural people from fully participating in MMRC's activities.
- 24 **Lack of a permanent Executive director.**
The board makes the ultimate decision of everything
- This applies to MMRC not to the obstacles of a multicultural society
- We must carefully consider the best office structure - a part-time director or more bodies to carry out the workload is necessary
- 11 **Lack of commitment and professional expertise of the staff.**
Seems specific to MMRC and does not directly address the question. They are more likely obstacles to MMRC being successful in aiding the successful developing of a multicultural society
- I think the problem is more with the board and membership
- The board makes all the decisions and Sheri, in my opinion is doing a fine job
- Does not apply to question asked. Does this mean the staff of a multicultural society
- I think we need to have a written criteria on each staff member, particularly the Executive Director. We need sympathetic support staff for the executive with which to carry out MMRC policies

Work Sheet for Question #1

What are the most important MMRC-specific goals for the development of the MMRC organization?

Vote	MMRC-specific Goals	Comments
_____	a. provide more services	
_____	b. increase promotion of MMRC services currently offered	
_____	c. get a larger office for MMRC	
_____	d. research alternative funding resources (for examples see general comments)	
_____	e. less dependence on government funding	
_____	f. do not increase board fund-raising, get more ethnic groups involved in fund-raising	
_____	g. work towards increasing membership	
_____	h. target ethnic groups that are not participating in MMRC events	
_____	i. establish links with aboriginal community	
_____	j. links with the aboriginal community are already established	
_____	k. establish MMRC "branches" in smaller communities	
_____	l. become a Winnipeg Multicultural Resources Centre (as opposed to a Manitoba oriented organization)	
_____	m. research and establish links with youth groups	
_____	n. increase community-initiated (rather than MMRC-initiated) projects by providing more support from MMRC	
_____	o. focus on people's historical contributions to Canada	

What are the most important MMRC-specific goals for the development of the MMRC organization?

Vote	MMRC-specific Goals	Comments
_____	p. focus on people's current contributions to Canada	
_____	q. focus on community/ethnic group heritage	
_____	r. have an on-going cultural display program	
_____	s. hold more workshops and ethnic conferences	
_____	t. make and include newsbriefs in MMRC mailings	
_____	u. encourage ethnic groups to send us copies of their newsletters to compile a list of various ethnic group activities	

Note: I have omitted the issue of hiring staff because the personnel committee has recently completed a report on this issue.

Work Sheet for Question #2

What are the most important obstacles to overcome that hinder the development of the MMRC?

Vote	MMRC-specific Obstacles	Comments
_____	a. MMRC is too dependent on government funding	
_____	b. There is not enough ethnic group involvement in fund raising for the MMRC	
_____	c. It is not feasible to have the board do more fund raising	
_____	d. Bingo is not a good fund raising activity for the board members	
_____	e. MMRC does not contact MLA's and MP's enough	
_____	f. MMRC does not do enough lobbying	
_____	g. MMRC office must remain where it is due to funding constraints	
_____	h. MMRC is not easily accessible or visible by the public	
_____	i. There is not enough public knowledge about MMRC and the services it provides	
_____	j. Lack of ethnic group participation and input in the MMRC organization	
_____	k. Ethno-Bank profiles are out of date and lack information	
_____	l. MMRC lacks representatives to attend ethnic group meetings	
_____	m. There is a lack of commitment and professional expertise with the board	
_____	n. There is no written criteria for the staff positions	
_____	o. There is a lack of commitment and professional expertise with the membership of MMRC	

What are the most important obstacles to overcome that hinder the development of the MMRC?

Vote	MMRC-specific Obstacles	Comments
_____	p. Transportation costs are too high for effective communication between Winnipeg and other Manitoba centres	
_____	q. There is a lack of communication between urban and rural centres	

Work Sheet for Question #3

What are the most important goals for MMRC to work towards for the development of a multicultural society?

Vote	Multicultural Goals	Comments
_____	a. Increase anti-racism efforts	
_____	b. Provide more education opportunities to the public	
_____	c. Provide more intercultural opportunities	
_____	d. Provide free workshops and focus groups on specific topics	
_____	e. Promote the idea of citizenship and nationalism using the newsletter	
_____	f. Add the Canadian dimension to every activity	
_____	g. Use press releases to promote the meaning of multiculturalism	
_____	h. Implement multiculturalism policy (advocacy oriented)	
_____	i. Do not implement multiculturalism policy (resource oriented)	
_____	j. Advocate community needs by influencing government policy and legislation	
_____	k. influence government action regarding multicultural needs	
_____	l. MMRC should target areas of conflict and bring groups together to dialogue	
_____	m. Increase encouragement for unity in the province	
_____	n. New immigrants need to know the story of successful integration	
_____	o. Increase communication and input from all ethnic groups into Canadian multiculturalism policy.	

What are the most important goals for MMRC to work towards for the development of a multicultural society?

Vote	Multicultural Goals	Comments
_____	p. Address the conflict and disunity among the multicultural community	
_____	q. Address the conflict and disunity within the Canadian state	
_____	r. Deal with public attitudes toward immigrants	
_____	s. Deal with public attitudes toward ethnic groups	
_____	t. improve government and professional understanding of ethnicity (i.e. census)	

APPENDIX III
Executive Summary of the MMRC Delphi Survey Results

What are the most important MMRC-specific goals for the development of our organization?

- #1 Increase the promotion of MMRC services that are currently offered.
 - Prepare a pamphlet outlining mission and services
 - Target individuals and groups for membership
 - Include brief ethno-bank profiles in newsletter
 - Create and maintain a permanent cultural display
 - Organize more workshops and conferences

- #2 Establish MMRC "branches" in smaller communities.
 - Build on success of Images of Our Past and include Manitoba communities

- #3 Target ethnic groups that are not participating in MMRC events.
 - Build on our links with aboriginal community
 - Include youth and adult ethnic group reps in MMRC functions
 - Encourage community to initiate projects
 - Encourage ethnic groups to send their newsletters to MMRC

- #4 Provide more services

- #5 Increase membership

- #6 Research alternative funding resources.
 - Obtain start-up funds from the private sector
 - Initiate a small membership fee for each ethnic group
 - An annual fund-raiser

What are the most important obstacles to overcome that hinder the development of the MMRC?

- #1 Lack of ethnic group participation and input in the MMRC
 - Approach ethnic groups

- #2 Not enough public knowledge about MMRC and it's services.
 - Attempt Images of Our Past again

- #3 Not enough ethnic group involvement in fund-raising for MMRC.

- #4 MMRC is too dependent on government funding.
 - Lobby the government for funds
 - Research alternatives to government funding

- Approach corporate sponsors
- Encourage ethnic groups to share funding
- Continue with Bingo's

#5a MMRC does not contact Members of the Legislative Assembly and Members of Parliament enough.

#5b MMRC is not easily accessible or visible by the public.

#10 There is a lack of commitment and professional expertise with the Board.

Comment:

- Much of the comments on this issue indicate the talents of the Board have not been recognized nor effectively used

What are the most important goals to work toward in developing a successful multicultural society?

- #1 Provide more Intercultural opportunities
 - promote the idea of a Canadian multicultural society through research, community activities and workshops
 - reconcile conflict among Canadian groups
- #2 Provide more education opportunities to the public
 - public attitudes should be discussed at conferences and workshops
 - the public needs to recognize cases of successful integration into Canadian society
- #3 Increase anti-racism efforts
 - provide more efforts than only once a year
- #4 Add the Canadian dimension of every activity
- #5a Influence government action regarding multicultural needs
 - communicate and advocate community concerns through regular communication to Federal and Provincial government offices
- #5b Deal with public attitudes toward ethnic groups

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