

**Report of the
Federal Cultural Policy
Review Committee**

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**Federal Cultural Policy
Review Committee**

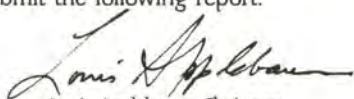
**Comité d'étude de la politique
culturelle fédérale**

The Honourable Francis Fox
Minister of Communications
Ottawa, Canada

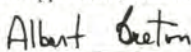
November 1982

Sir,

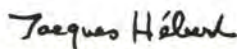
We, the undersigned, members of the Committee you established on 28 August 1980 to review cultural policies for Canada, have the honour to submit the following report.



Louis Applebaum, Chairman



Albert Breton, Vice-chairman



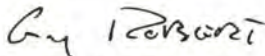
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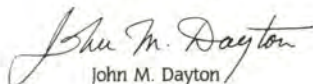
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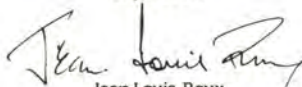
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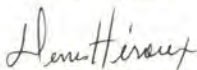
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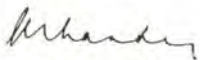
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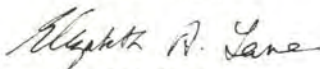
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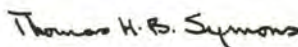
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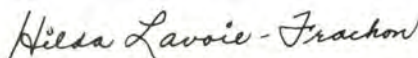
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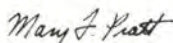
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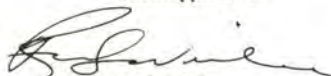
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Rudy Wiebe

Contents

Foreword

The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee

1	Cultural Policies and the Public Will	1
2	Government and Culture	13
3	Marshalling Resources: The Political Economy of Culture	61
4	Heritage	103
5	Contemporary Visual and Applied Arts	141
6	The Performing Arts	167
7	Writing, Publishing and Reading	195
8	Sound Recording	233
9	Film	247
10	Broadcasting	267
11	International Cultural Relations	313
12	Recommendations	341
	Appendices	
A	Minority Comments	359
B	Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee	367
	Historical Notes	
	Biographical Notes	
C	Staff	377
	Index	381

Foreword

This Report is a collective effort. It is the result of the deliberations of a large committee, assisted by a talented and loyal staff and a network of able and knowledgeable consultants. But it is also the product of those thousands of people who took the trouble, and cared enough, to give us their views on culture and the arts in Canada. This is a committee report, in the widest sense: the account of a collective experience. And we think it is the richer for all that.

When we began this exercise some two years ago, neither of us fully anticipated the force of the ideas and the strength of the enthusiasm we were to encounter throughout the country. As we said in our previously published *Summary of Briefs and Hearings**, we were deeply impressed with the quality, variety and energy of Canadian cultural life. Of course we also found discord and disagreement, which was amply documented in the Summary. But that is only to be expected in a country as diverse as Canada. In any case, culture and the arts flourish best when no one point of view prevails. The variety of views we encountered, itself an indication of the vitality of Canadian cultural life, has contributed immeasurably to the shaping of this Report. So our thanks in the first instance must go to those many, many Canadians whose interest in, and dedication to, culture and the arts have been such a source of inspiration for us.

Our colleagues on the Committee have laboured congenially with us for many months. All of them are busy people with active lives who have cheerfully given of their time and expertise to this enterprise. The many hours spent reading briefs and background papers, the days given over to public hearings and other consultations, the days and weekends devoted every month to meetings and intense discussion – all these show the measure of their own dedication. Each brought to this project a different set of strengths, talents, experience and knowledge, giving to the Committee as a whole a sense of balance and proportion. Much the same could be said of our staff

*Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, *Summary of Briefs and Hearings* (Ottawa: Department of Communications), January 1982.

and consultants. They came to us with many different backgrounds: the arts, representing nearly every discipline; government at all levels; private industry; the world of scholarship. To them we owe much.

This Report is the result of a long process of arriving at a collective stance on issues which, in some instances, elicited widely divergent views. We know that all Committee members have worked hard at reaching general agreement on broad principles and on main issues. That of necessity means that most if not all of them will still hold varying views on specific topics. This is not at all surprising or unusual; it is a reflection of Canada itself.

Although this Report concludes the work of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, it is not regarded by us, nor should it be regarded by anyone else, as the end of work in cultural policy. We expect and hope that it will trigger lively discussion and dialogue. It is through informed public debate that sound public policy emerges. If this Report succeeds in inspiring such a continuing debate – and concerted action on the issues we set out in these pages – we shall count our efforts well rewarded.

Louis Applebaum
Chairman

Jacques Hébert
Co-chairman

Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee

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*Members of the Planning Committee.
Biographical notes will be found in Appendix B.

1

Cultural Policies and the Public Will

1

Cultural Policies and the Public Will

This book is about the shape and future of cultural policies for Canada. Its aim, through the collective voice of this Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, is to make recommendations addressing immediate and long-range problems, and to propose a set of guiding principles which will give governments a basis for decision-making in the years ahead in fields of cultural activity that reach into the lives of all Canadians.

In our *Summary of Briefs and Hearings*, published in January 1982, we noted that the proper place for the formulation of our own conclusions and recommendations was our planned Report. With the publication of the present document, we are pleased to be able to bring our views – distilled through public consultation, research and internal debate – before the people of Canada. We shall begin by making a few general observations about the principles that have guided our work, before going on to lay the groundwork for formal recommendations in the main text.

Artist and Audience

The reader will discover, first of all, that we have placed great emphasis on artistic creativity, over and above any of the other facets of our cultural life. Creative talent can take many forms, and is by no means confined to the traditional arts – such as literature, painting and music. There are few fields of human endeavour which do not depend in some measure on the application of creative insights. Even within the relatively restricted scope of our own inquiry, we have looked beyond contemporary artistic activity to the preservation of our man-made and natural heritage and the cultural industries of broadcasting, publishing, film and sound recording. We believe in particular that no cultural policies aimed at promoting contemporary creation can possibly succeed unless they are firmly rooted in a respect for our artistic and intellectual heritage.

The Committee came to believe, through its months of deliberation, that the role of creative artists should be given special priority in consideration of cultural policies in order that the public might benefit from the results of creative work. Artistic creativity has two sides for us – the creative act of the artists themselves and the response of audiences and spectators, whose sensitivity and imagination allow the work of art to take on a public life of its own. The best test of an artist's work lies in its exposure to the critical gaze of discriminating audiences, with well-developed standards of aesthetic judgment, a desire to share artistic experiences with creative people, and an openness to new and innovative work. Audiences have to be discriminating in order to provide the artist with constructive responses. And audiences need to be open to new experiences in order that original work may emerge. It is these qualities of the audience, rather than sheer size alone, that must become the measure of successful artistic endeavour. We therefore believe that one of the chief goals of cultural policy must be to establish strong and stable lines of communication between artists of all kinds and those who will see, read or hear their messages.

We believe, moreover, that culture and the arts will best flourish in Canada when our artists are able to present their work to audiences with a fair measure of freedom from social, economic and political constraints. When we speak of freeing artists from social constraints, we are calling for a heightened recognition of the role they play in Canadian society. We are suggesting there must be a change in attitude and that the artistic professions must be placed on the same footing as any other honourable and vital vocation. When creative artists, and what they create, receive recognition and esteem commensurate with their contributions to our community and culture, much else will follow.

Recognition will also mark the beginning of a process in which the artist is freed from what are now unreasonable economic constraints. A few artists at the very top of their fields are, of course, materially well rewarded. However, the evidence is overwhelming that Canada does not provide an adequate living for most of its professional artists. It is clear to us that the largest subsidy to the cultural life of Canada comes not from governments, corporations or other patrons, but from the artists themselves, through their unpaid or underpaid labour. When creative activity is diminished because many artists are unable to earn a decent living, something is lost to us all, and our entire culture fails to fulfil its promise.

When we speak of the removal of political constraints, we mean that artistic activities must be sheltered as much as possible from the imperatives of government. This idea has clear implications for the effects of public policy on cultural life; above all, that policy should facilitate self-expression, rather than control or organize it. It has been one of the main tasks of our Committee to document and justify the vital role of the federal government in sustaining artistic and cultural activity in this country. But such a role for government does not extend to the exercise of artistic judgment – except where government relies on public trustees and professional adjudicators who

stand outside the political process. However desirable it may be, state support of the arts can have a liberating effect on creative energies only if such support is allocated through "arm's-length" mechanisms, about which we shall have much to say in this Report. Without these mechanisms, we would put at risk not only the diversity of cultural expression, but also the fragile and unpredictable creative process itself. Happily, the Government of Canada has recognized and accepted the arms-length principle, which guides its relations with most of its cultural agencies.

Three Decades of Growth

In a more practical vein, we have interpreted our mandate as requiring us to pick up the threads of cultural inquiry where our predecessors, the members of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, left off in 1951. As we explained in the opening lines of the *Summary*, ours is the first comprehensive inquiry of its kind since Vincent Massey, Georges-Henri Lévesque, Norman MacKenzie, Hilda Neatby and Arthur Surveyor published their report (to which we shall refer in this book as the Massey-Lévesque Report) over 30 years ago. In its decision to follow, at least in part, the path surveyed in that report, the federal government wisely placed Canada among the fortunate nations of the world by recognizing and funding post-secondary education, heritage, the arts and artists. Some of that report, therefore, did much to alter the cultural landscape of Canada, even though the cultural growth in the period since 1951, which we have recorded at various points in this book, might well have taken place spontaneously, with or without the encouragement of formal policy recommendations. And we are fully aware that the roots of cultural development of which we write stretch back for many generations. In any case, we look upon the early postwar years as a major watershed, and feel it is instructive to take the measure of Canada's cultural growth in the intervening period.

When we look back on the past 30 years, we see much the same pattern of development in virtually every field of cultural life: new facilities for the performing arts, new museums and galleries, new community arts centres, new libraries and archives, new film and recording studios, new publishing ventures, new universities. Naturally there is more to this infrastructure than physical plant, important as that may be. There are also the orchestras, theatre and dance companies, film and television production groups, artistic and crafts cooperatives, and service organizations and professional associations of all types. The record of the past 30 years is one of which Canadians can be proud, not least because with the growth of this infrastructure has come a substantial growth in the artistic community itself – there are simply many more artists working in 1982 than were working in 1952, or even 1972 – and a marked flowering of artistic achievement. In a very real sense, Canadian cultural life can be said to have gained maturity and distinction. Sheer

individual initiative, private donations, corporate sponsorship and various other kinds of aid have contributed to this growth, but any fair-minded person would have to acknowledge the important role played by governments at all levels in providing financial and organizational support.

Yet cultural policy has not been entirely successful in encouraging the best use of the human creative resources Canada has in abundance. As a democratic and cosmopolitan country, we have thrown open our borders to foreign cultural products and not given ourselves sufficient opportunity to enjoy the fruits of our own cultural labour. It is a telling state of affairs that our broadcasting system boasts the most sophisticated transmission hardware in the world – satellites, interactive cable, teletext – while Canadian viewers spend 80 per cent of their viewing time watching foreign programs on television. Broadcasting may provide the most striking illustration of this point, but it is by no means the only one. Our response to this dilemma is not, however, to come down on the side of protectionism, but rather to press home the point as forcefully as we can that federal cultural policy has largely favoured physical plant and organizational development over artistic creativity and achievement.

While the results of this policy orientation have been beneficial, it must be acknowledged that putting up buildings and establishing organizations are relatively simple tasks. For one thing, the accomplishments of such activity are measurable and therefore more easily explained to electorates and interest groups. This is one of the reasons why Canadians, when speaking of the growth and development of their culture and the arts, leap with alacrity to the comfort of numbers: concert halls built, theatre troupes created, television stations constructed, publishing firms founded. These can all be counted and added up. But what they add up to is more an industrial and employment policy than a cultural policy, properly understood. The bricks and mortar are necessary, but they are not the end product, the purpose of it all. The new task which we as a committee of inquiry into federal cultural policy now invite Canadians to undertake is a different and in some ways more difficult one. We have come to believe that federal cultural policy must place a new emphasis on encouraging the best use of our concert halls, theatres, cinemas, galleries and airwaves for the presentation to Canadians of the finest works of Canada's own creative artists. If we fail to make the stimulation of our own creative imagination the heart of our cultural policies, we will continue to live in a country dependent on the products of other cultures and we will never elevate life in Canada to a space essentially its own.

The stimulation of Canadian creativity will require that the knowledge base of culture and the arts be firm. Knowledge and information, and the means for their creation, storage and transmission, are fundamental to culture and the arts. Knowledge and culture are so closely intertwined at so many points that we find it awkward and artificial to treat the relationship as a separate subject. For this reason, the reader will find the matter treated at various places throughout this Report, often under the headings of education, training or research.

One aspect of knowledge, however, merits special attention here. Canada, and indeed the world, is in the throes of a technological revolution which will drastically affect the ways knowledge is created, stored and transmitted. By the year 2000, according to a recent report of the Science Council of Canada, most homes will have computer terminals, through which information can be summoned up and exchanged. The effect of this and related innovations on our economy and styles of living will be enormous, giving rise to what some have called the "information society." The effect on culture and the arts is less clear, but is likely to be equally dramatic.

Given current economic conditions, we cannot overemphasize the importance of seeing many of the recommendations made in this Report as part of a series of long-range solutions. It is true that in virtually every artistic discipline, practitioners and policy-makers are faced with urgent problems requiring immediate attention. Frequently these are problems associated with an acute shortage of funds, and this Committee remains convinced that, even within the present level of federal government expenditures, the proportion of the federal budget devoted to cultural activities in the broadest sense – 1.9 per cent in 1982* – is too low for a society such as ours. We have attempted, however, to address ourselves with equal vigour to the less visible but often more serious structural, organizational and legislative difficulties which may stand in the way of healthy cultural growth over the next two or three decades. If this Report can help to lay the groundwork for a rational set of cultural policies for Canada between now and the year 2000, then we will have done what we set out to do.

The Goals of Cultural Policy

The original task we set ourselves was to investigate not culture itself but rather federal cultural policy. Cultural policy is a concept that bears some explaining. We should say at once that the reader who anticipates a history of Canadian art or literature or music will be disappointed. What came within our purview was not so much the cultural materials and ideas themselves as the institutions and policies that have allowed them to flourish – or stunted their growth, as the case may be. If we pretend to offer few insights into the aesthetic significance of Canadian arts and letters, this does not mean that we have no vision of Canada's cultural future. It means only that our vision must of necessity be couched in institutional rather than aesthetic terms.

*This figure is based on the official *Estimates for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1983*, and is calculated as a percentage of Government Net Costs. These include expenditures for the Communications portfolio – Arts and Culture sector of the Department of Communications (including the subsidy to Canada Post Corporation for handling "cultural mail"), plus the expenditures of 10 cultural agencies. They also include expenditures for the Secretary of State Multiculturalism program, Official Language Minorities program, and the Historic Parks program of Parks Canada. These expenditures for 1981-82 totaled \$1.2 billion, compared with total Government Net Costs of \$66.6 billion.

Cultural policy is a relatively new phrase in the Canadian lexicon, and not a universally accepted one either. To some, the term has negative or monolithic connotations, as if it implied that government should bend culture to its own purposes, or pursue some all-encompassing goal through closely coordinated means. Whereas we shall frequently refer to cultural policy, singular, as a terminological convenience, it is of course more accurate to speak of policies, plural, that mixture of goals and means which constitutes the political reality – a heritage policy, a film policy, a television policy and so on. It is true that the sum of these policies can be said to constitute an overall policy, even if the different goals pursued sometimes seem to be inconsistent. The only real question in this respect is whether those policies support and encourage people's natural creative instincts or whether they frustrate and neglect them.

In recent years, preoccupation with policy coherence and coordination has led to what we believe has been a dilution of cultural policy goals. We have observed a tendency to treat cultural policy as a means to other ends – social, economic and political. The apparent belief by some that culture is an instrument, not an end in itself, has consequences which this Committee must regard as undesirable. First, it contributes to a muddling of cultural goals with other national goals. We have been told throughout our inquiries that culture employs people, that it expands the economy, that it democratizes society, that it contributes to mental health, that it unites the country, that it advances the national interest in the world. These are all laudable goals, ones which we support, but we must respectfully observe that as much as possible they should be kept distinct from cultural goals.

Furthermore, when cultural policy is couched in terms that seem to suggest it has purposes other than the purely cultural, it arouses doubts about its true purpose. When some new cultural policy is justified on the grounds that it promotes national unity, for example, it raises the suspicion that its purpose is to homogenize the different cultural traditions that Canadians so cherish. These suspicions do nothing to enhance the believability of either the federal government in general, or its cultural policy in particular. Whether such anxieties are well-founded or not is beside the point; the very fact that they exist at all should serve as a warning to the federal government to choose both its goals and its terms more carefully. We therefore urge the federal government to make and administer cultural policy as much as possible with a view to the implementation of cultural objectives. No doubt a successful cultural policy will achieve desirable economic, social and political results as byproducts, as we shall note in Chapter 2. But these should not be allowed to dictate the aims or content of cultural policy itself.

On the other hand, since art and cultural materials are made by people, cultural policies must have a social policy component: the emergence and refinement of talent must be encouraged and barriers to the full participation of all in cultural life removed. Children with artistic talent are sometimes

discouraged by parents from pursuing careers in the arts because of the minimal economic rewards and uncertain status these occupations sometimes afford. The schools themselves, far from nurturing such talent, often work to discourage or dissipate it. Some individuals are denied the expression of their full creative potential because they are disabled. Still others find their artistic aspirations blocked because they live in a region where few opportunities for development present themselves. Women are often prevented from making a greater contribution to arts and culture because they are inadequately represented at all levels of the cultural agencies, including juries and other selection committees. Developing artistic talent is primarily the responsibility of the individual. It remains our view, however, that governments must pursue a vigorous social policy aimed at eradicating discriminatory barriers to the full participation of all Canadians in cultural life.

The elimination of discriminatory barriers is an imperative of social policy. Our Committee believes it is also an imperative of cultural policy. *We should like to draw special attention to the fact that the present inequitable access of women to all levels of responsibility and activity in the cultural sector deprives Canadian society as a whole of a vital dimension of human and artistic experience.*

Culture in the Social Fabric

This Committee feels there is reason to rejoice in our differences – regional, ethnic, linguistic – rather than to treat them exclusively as problems for solution. Diversity is an essential cultural resource. As a country with two official languages, each a link to several different cultural traditions, and with many other traditions that are all part of the fabric of a complex society composed of regions, Canada offers a unique setting for the creative process. Taking the fullest advantage of this resource requires that we allow our various cultural traditions to reach out freely to each other. Diversity can be closed, in which case it is merely a collection of varying solitudes, or it can be open, in which case its value as a source of creative inspiration is most fully realized. As a general rule, we believe Canadian cultural policy should come down on the side of open diversity.

This principle has a number of implications. It means that federal cultural policy should be shaped by the fact that we have two official languages, but it should not partition Canadians into two linguistic compartments. Today, Canadians who speak primarily English have still too little awareness of cultural developments among Canadians who speak primarily French, and vice versa. Although both linguistic communities are open to international culture, they are relatively little aware of each other's achievements. The Committee believes that the federal government should

design cultural policy so as to facilitate cultural contact between the two official language groups. The purpose of such contact should be to take best advantage of Canada's linguistic duality, in such a way that policies are not seen to have any other objective than the mutual cultural enrichment of both linguistic communities.

For more than three centuries there has developed in Canada a cultural tradition of French expression, centred in Quebec, which has survived and flourished, which has enriched Canadian cultural life and which experienced a new surge of vitality as a result of Quebec's "Quiet Revolution." Elsewhere in the country, in Acadia especially, and in Ontario and certain Western communities, the French language continues to be the vehicle of cultural expression for hundreds of thousands of Canadians. This great tradition must be nurtured and cherished.

For its part, regional diversity has an impact on Canadian cultural activity in at least three ways. First, it provides to the artistic community as a whole a number of different regional traditions from which to draw inspiration. As with language, region shapes our culture by creating distinct areas of cultural discourse. Second, regional diversity offers a number of different frames of reference, providing that ferment of ideas, values and perceptions which we have acknowledged as an important source of creativity. Finally, the presence of different regions provides a challenge for the distribution of cultural products of all types, a fact of particular consequence for those regions distant from the main population centres. There is no clear agreement among Canadians about what the regions of Canada are, or whether there are six or sixty-six, for there is no region of Canada which, on closer examination, does not resolve itself into still more regions. Be that as it may, we believe that the cultural interests of Canada as a whole are best served when all Canadians, regardless of their region of residence, have maximum access to cultural products and to the means of cultural expression. The fact of regional diversity should inform cultural policy from beginning to end.

Another important component of Canada's diversity is ethnicity. Canadians are descended from almost every ethnic group in the world, making Canada a meeting place for the world's cultural traditions. These traditions, moreover, are not mere replicas of cultures developed somewhere else; rather, they have taken root in Canadian soil, blossomed and taken on a life, a Canadian life, of their own. This has occurred at least in part because Canadian society provides a supportive atmosphere for cultural diversity. More recently that attitude has been embodied in the 1971 federal policy of multiculturalism and reinforced by Section 27 of the Charter of Rights. Throughout its public hearings, the Committee encountered considerable public confusion about this policy. Some measure of misunderstanding may come from the fact that, while the policy is described as being cultural in nature, in reality it is only partly so, since the Secretary of State's Multiculturalism Program has tended to take on the character of a social rather than a cultural policy. Confusion may also arise because the 1971

policy is framed in relatively general terms, but in practice has had a relatively narrow focus – ethnicity. Ethnicity is one important dimension of Canada's cultural diversity, but it is not the totality of it. Any policy of multiculturalism which is based solely on ethnicity runs the risk of ignoring other types of diversity, such as those deriving from language, religion, age, place of residence and so on. *The federal government should therefore enlarge its present concept of ethnic multiculturalism, to take into account the many different types of cultural diversity that exist in Canada.*

In the formulation of principles for cultural policy in general, and with special regard to cultural diversity in particular, it is important that no one group have privileges, priority or precedence over others. We have come to believe, however, that a special place in cultural policy should be reserved for peoples of Indian and Inuit ancestry. This should be so for several reasons. To begin with, the cultural traditions of the original peoples are uniquely rooted in this country, as compared with those more recently derived from other cultures. In the second place, the federal government has by treaty, law and custom a special responsibility for the well-being of these peoples. Finally, and most important of all, the original cultural traditions have a set of values and aesthetic standards which have not been easily accommodated within the usual structures and practices of federal cultural institutions.

The Native peoples of this country are sometimes incorrectly thought by other Canadians to form a homogeneous cultural group. But these Canadians in fact derive from many different cultural traditions. It is an important fact for the cultural history of Canada that they enjoyed for centuries a rich and varied cultural life formed by encounters with the physical environment, by migrations and by extensive exchanges among their different communities. Accordingly, federal heritage policies should put a new emphasis on the preservation, development and exhibition of the products of our original cultures. Even so, the point was repeatedly made to us by Native artists and others that the art of the original cultures is all too often treated as if it were part of a now dead past. *This Committee is convinced that Native artists must be recognized first and foremost as contemporary Canadian artists, whatever their field, and that federal policy should give special priority to promoting both traditional and contemporary creative work by artists of Indian and Inuit ancestry.*

About This Report

The principles we have underscored in this introductory chapter do not purport to exhaust this Committee's concerns, and the reader is now invited to turn to the main text for further elaboration. To a large extent, we have been able to shape the vast amounts of material that have come to our attention to correspond either to certain professions and disciplines, or else to government programs and policies. This correspondence explains why the reader

will find many parallels between the structure of this Report and that of our *Summary*. On the other hand, we experienced more difficulty structuring our comments on certain subjects that cut across disciplinary lines, such as tax questions, community arts, national service organizations and so on. We have therefore provided a detailed index of subjects and proper names, to enable the reader to make the best possible use of this document. Other material of an interdisciplinary or more general nature will be found in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 11.

Finally, we wish to make it clear to whom this Report is addressed. In the first instance, it is addressed to the Minister of Communications and his colleagues in the federal government, as well as to the numerous officials who will play a role in the evaluation and possible implementation of our recommendations. We believe that other readers – artists, administrators, critics, anyone with a professional interest in arts and culture – will find useful information and, we hope, stimulus in these pages. But we also address our fellow citizens, whose lives are touched by the many facets of cultural activity. Our recommendations are addressed to them, as much as to the men and women of government. Decision-makers will muster the political will to transform our cultural landscape when they have read the shape of the future in the will of those who elect them.

2

Government and Culture

2

Government and Culture

Society, Culture and Government

We start from a view of Canadian society that sees it as an aggregate of distinctive spheres of activity. Each of these has its own values and purposes and its own network of institutions, interacting with one another in myriad ways but equal in their social importance. The political order – the state – is one of these great spheres and institutional systems; the cultural world is another. Both are expressions of the society in which they are rooted but both, at the same time, are major forces in shaping that society. Inevitably, they intersect. The human wants, perceptions and prejudices by which governments are driven or constrained are, in large part, expressions of the culture. Conversely, the system of government influences all social activity, and all spheres of society, including the cultural, tend to develop their characteristic institutions in patterns that fit the political system and to define their own wants in terms that invite responses by governments.

Up to a point, the strength of each sphere is dependent on the strength of the other. Certainly the phenomenal surge of artistic activity in Canada over the past three decades has not been unrelated to the expansion of government operations (at all levels) during the same period – and especially to the growth of resources at the disposal of Canadian governments. And, as governments discovered in the year of the Centennial, cultural activity – by strengthening the cohesion of society – can strengthen the social underpinnings of government itself.

But there is a danger, too, in this seemingly happy interdependence of government and culture, for they do not pursue the same ends. Government serves the social need for order, predictability and control – seeking consensus, establishing norms, and offering uniformity of treatment. Cultural activity, by contrast, thrives on spontaneity and accepts diversity, discord and dissent as natural conditions – and withers if it is legislated or directed. The well-being of society is threatened if the state intrudes into the cultural realm in

ways that subordinate the role and purposes of the latter to the role and purposes of government itself – or of any other spheres of activity. Moreover, the cultural sphere, embracing as it does artistic and intellectual activity, has as one of its central functions the critical scrutiny of all other spheres including the political. On this score alone it cannot be subordinated to the others.

This critical function suggests an analogy with religion, as an autonomous source of moral judgment resting on its own authority. After a protracted struggle, the separation of church and state was achieved, despite lingering uncertainties from time to time about the proper role of government in regulating or constraining the actions of particular sects or cults. Nor has it proven impossible to reconcile this separation with government practices which give legal force to religious sacraments or, through the tax laws, provide material support to religious institutions. A comparable separation of culture and the state, it might be argued, is no less necessary.

A similar parallel might be drawn with the relationship of government to the institutions of public information and comment – which may, in fact, be seen as a segment of the cultural sphere. Limitations are imposed by government on the media of expression in the form of libel laws (subject to varying doctrines of fair comment), but the threat of Sedition Acts is a thing of the past – and critics of the Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers (Kent Commission), with whatever justification, find an easy recourse to historic arguments for an arm's-length relationship between government and the press. In short, by these analogies, "freedom of cultural pursuits" might claim equal standing in a bill of rights with "freedom of religion" and "freedom of thought and expression."

But against these analogies, others may be cited in which the role of government has taken a very different course. There was a time when the sphere of economic activity was widely considered to be beyond the range of legitimate political authority, but exponents of uncompromising *laissez-faire* are rarities today. And in the matter of public education – more closely allied to the question of cultural life, perhaps – the model developed at the end of the 18th century in Prussia has become the near-universal model, in which all significant aspects are subject to direction by ministers and their departmental bureaucracies: not just financing, but the choice of educational objectives, the planning of curricula, the selection of texts, and the training and certification of teachers. The strong element of community control that characterized public education in our own earlier tradition has given way progressively to provincial direction, and the Committee encountered widespread support for the criticism of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development of Canada's failure to develop national educational goals and standards. It is by no means certain that the autonomy enjoyed historically by post-secondary institutions will not suffer the same erosion.

Is there a stronger case to be made for the autonomy of the cultural sphere than for that of public education and its institutional system? The answer may lie in the distinction made by the Massey-Lévesque Commission

between Formal Education – schooling – and General Education, of which schooling is only one element. (Culture, in the Commissioners' definition, represented the intellectual and aesthetic aspects of general education.) Schooling, the concern of public systems of education operated under government direction, is a compulsory activity which is largely instrumental in character, in that it serves the needs of other spheres of social activity, including the economic and political. By contrast, culture involves spontaneous or at least voluntary activity by all members of society, and its value and satisfactions are essentially intrinsic, rather than instrumental.

How far is it reasonable to expect government to deal with culture in terms of its own intrinsic values rather than as an instrument for other ends? In some circumstances, it will clearly be used for the purposes of government itself. Architectural design – whether on Parliament Hill or in the Toronto city hall – makes a statement about the place of government in society. International cultural relations serve diplomatic objectives as does participation in international sporting events and expositions. If tapestry collections and talent competitions can be used to sell cigarettes, it is to be expected that governments will use similar devices to further their own version of brand loyalty.

The question of purposes arises when the government intervenes in the cultural sphere in ways that can have a decisive influence on cultural life – as patron, regulator, producer or provider of services. Our cultural life has become dependent on these interventions, and not the least of this Committee's tasks is to suggest how, in the process, cultural values and purposes can best be reconciled with the imperatives of government itself.

The Imperatives of Government

The working of government entails the balancing of specific public demands not only against the resources available but also against other competing and sometimes contradictory public wants. In considering alternative responses to a demand for action, government must calculate in effect the degree of public satisfaction likely to result from each possible response, measured against the degree of public dissatisfaction likely to be engendered. In the process it must weigh not only the direct effects (both benefits and costs) of each course contemplated, but also the indirect effects on courses of action pursued or contemplated in response to other demands. In all its aspects it is a political process in that, although costs and benefits may be discussed in economic or social terms, the ultimate calculation must always be made in terms of votes rather than dollars or jobs or morbidity rates. To say that a policy must win more votes than it loses is not a cynical quip; it is simply a shorthand way of saying that it must yield the most favourable possible balance of public benefits and must be felt by the public to do so.

The processes of government involve the interplay of two institutional systems. The first is political, involving all the instruments and processes of public expression, including interest groups and the media, together with the specialized institutions for mobilizing and channeling public views: parties, Parliament and the cabinet. The other is administrative, comprising the executive machinery of government: cabinet, and all the departments and agencies under its direction. What is most significant for the development, execution and adjustment of policy is the one element common to both: the ministers.

The characteristic instrument through which ministers act is the department. The conclusion of the 1960-63 Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission) was that "the departmental form of organization is admirably suited to the needs of government in a parliamentary democracy. It is adaptable to almost any conceivable purpose and unrivalled in its sensitivity to public wants." Its versatility is reflected in the fact that it has been employed for every conceivable purpose: within the cultural realm alone, it has been used to provide schools, libraries, archives, museums, parks, exhibitions, entertainments, and laboratories, and to assist artistic, educational, and scientific or scholarly activities of every kind by institutions and persons throughout our society.

Within the departmental form, the role of ministers is crucial. All actions of any consequence are taken in their name and their powers enable them to ensure that all actions conform to the "public interest" as interpreted by them and their colleagues in response to their constant exposure to the political process. Moreover – although it is frequently overlooked – the departmental machinery is itself very much a part of that political process, providing as it does a powerful and continuous feedback to the minister about the wants, opinions and reactions to government operations from those sectors of the public with whom the department deals from day to day.

Within recent years, the evolution of government has reflected a growing preoccupation with the collective role of ministers. Sheer growth in the size and complexity of operations gave rise to what might be termed managerial concerns with administrative consistency and the allocation of resources. The history of these preoccupations can be traced in the development of such central authorities as the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission, and more recently the Comptroller General, and in the growing array of common service departments such as Public Works, and Supply and Services. The search for better control over the allocation of resources is reflected in the creation of coordinating ministries of state for economic and regional development and for social development, and in the associated "envelope" system of expenditure control.

Until the mid-1960s, these managerial matters were the dominant concerns in the development of the machinery of government. But in the past 15 years, two other preoccupations have risen to the fore, both of them essentially political: policy coherence and accountability.

The operative idea behind the concern for policy coherence was summed up a few years ago by a Secretary to the Cabinet: "Governments must look to the public interest as a whole, and must have a comprehensive overview in which specific problems are seen as they relate to the whole." By various means of internal consultation and coordination – with the cabinet system as the central element – governments try to ensure that all their objectives are accommodated, as far as possible, in everything they do; the ideal is that the entire range of aims is brought to bear on every decision of consequence involving the policies and programs of each ministry. Because what is reflected in the array of objectives being pursued at any given moment is the complexity of public demands and attitudes, it is characterized by inner contradictions and conflicts. As a result, decisions made in response to any one set of wants are inevitably modified – or "contaminated" in the eyes of those intended to benefit directly – by motives that may seem at best tangential to the problems to which those decisions are ostensibly addressed. This means that although cultural policy will be *about* government action affecting cultural activity, it may tend not to be a policy exclusively *for* culture, but to be influenced in varying degrees by considerations of, say, economic growth, or social justice, or national unity. And the more completely any sphere of activity is brought within the regular framework of collective ministerial direction, the more it will be subjected to the interplay of these divergent aims.

The final matter of concern – accountability – is as old as the parliamentary system itself, having taken many forms throughout the centuries: in the British parliamentary contests with the Tudors and Stuarts, in the impeachment process of the century following the Restoration, in the evolution of cabinet responsibility (and in North America in the struggle for responsible government), and in the office of the Auditor General of Canada and the parliamentary scrutiny of public accounts.

As Parliament developed its instruments for exacting an accounting from ministers, the latter faced a growing problem of ensuring accountability within their burgeoning bureaucracies. From the 1930s to the 1960s, heavy reliance was placed on the Comptroller of the Treasury, armed with the formidable but cumbersome power of pre-audit. Financial control was further systematized in 1951 by the Financial Administration Act – still, with subsequent modifications, the basis for government control of expenditures and accounts. When the Comptroller of the Treasury was swept away, following the Glassco Commission Report, new measures were tried, including revised formats for the expenditure estimates and annual accounts. Complaints by the Auditor General in the 1970s that the government was losing control of expenditures led to the Royal Commission on Financial Management and Accountability (Lambert Commission), the creation of the office of Comptroller General, and the enlargement of the investigative and evaluative role of the office of Auditor General itself.

The Cultural Agencies of Government

For the regular departments of government, the adjustment to increased emphasis on policy coherence, accountability, resource allocation and expenditure control has not involved any drastic departures from their accustomed ways. Ministerial direction has, after all, always been a basic fact of life for them, and the switch in emphasis toward a more collective exercise of the ministerial function is a relatively minor complication. Similarly, they have long been used to working within a framework of administrative direction designed and applied by such central agencies as the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission and, until the 1960s, the Comptroller of the Treasury.

By contrast, however, the Crown corporations, boards, councils and commissions that have proliferated in recent decades have not shared fully in the tradition of central direction, and as a consequence, the developments of the past few years have focused attention on their status and relationships with ministers and central agencies. Included among these nondepartmental bodies are a number of organizations that have served as the principal instruments of federal government action in cultural matters. Their status and relations with government are crucial questions in any review of cultural policy.

These cultural agencies differ from government departments in a number of ways, with little consistency among them. For most – including the Canada Council, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Film Development Corporation, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, the National Arts Centre, the National Museums of Canada, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, and, for some purposes, the National Film Board – the existence of a directing board implies a curtailment of the role played by a minister in relation to a department, and is an impediment to the collective ministerial pursuit of policy coherence. Administrative consistency, as it applies to departments, is breached by varying exemptions from the Financial Administration Act, the Public Service Employment Act and the Public Service Staff Relations Act. For some agencies, ministers retain control over the allocation of resources only in terms of the very broad program headings identified in the spending estimates approved by Parliament. And each variation in the ministerial role and administrative practice carries with it, if not a diminution of accountability, at least a variation in its application.

To quote again from the Glassco Report, "In effect the use of a nondepartmental form involves a decision that the ministerial function be restricted – and parliamentary acceptance of a corresponding diminution of ministerial responsibility. Because the departmental form offers the maximum in flexibility and responsiveness to public wants, there must clearly be special reasons for such a decision."

Historically a number of "special reasons" became generally accepted as sufficient justification for exceptions to the departmental pattern, including circumstances such as the following:

- assignment of quasi-judicial responsibilities;
- the necessity of conforming to commercial practice in the conduct of operations of a commercial character;
- responsibility for decisions on sensitive questions of taste and quality;
- generally, a need for freedom from partisan political pressures.

In recent years, however, questions have been raised about the nature and extent of the exemptions ascribed to the nondepartmental agencies. These challenges can be identified under two headings: policy direction and administrative controls, bearing in mind that the traditional distinction between policy and administration is, in important respects, an artificial one.

Policy Direction and the Cultural Agencies

The essential question about policy is whether matters of public policy, involving the expenditure of public funds, must for all purposes and in all respects be subject to ministerial direction. The challenge to the traditional view that cultural agencies should be free from such direction was exemplified in a speech given to the Canadian Conference of the Arts on May 4, 1979, by the Honourable John Roberts, then Secretary of State and the minister responsible at the time for the cultural agencies. After reaffirming the responsibility of the Canada Council for creative excellence, of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for programming, of the National Film Board for production and of the National Museums of Canada for acquisitions, the minister went on to assert his own responsibility for a wider range of decisions about policy, using the Canada Council as an example:

"Beyond the raw decision about amounts of money, the government must also develop its views on many other matters of public policy: in what parts of the country should cultural institutions be? should economically deprived and geographically remote areas get special attention? to what extent should Canadian content be a factor? what proportion of total revenue should come from the box office? does the federal government have an educational role in culture? how to relate provincial government priorities to federal government priorities? These and many other questions are essentially questions of public policy. The government must answer them [and] . . . must be held responsible by Parliament and the country for the result."

The Lambert Commission in 1979 reached the same view. "Because Crown agencies are instruments of public purpose, just as are departments, ultimately the doctrine of individual and collective responsibility must be preserved... Since in the last analysis, the policies being implemented are those of the Government, which must bear responsibility for them, there must be an instrument available to the Government to resolve the inherent tension that may develop between it and the Crown agency."

The instrument proposed by the Lambert Commission was the formal ministerial directive. When a proposed Crown Corporations Act was introduced in the fall of 1979 as Bill C-27, it included provision for such a device. Section 9 of the bill provided that "the Governor in Council may, by order, give to any Crown corporation such directive as in his opinion is necessary or desirable for the better advancement of the national interests of Canada." Several qualifications were included: directives could not relate to the "performance of duties of an advisory nature" (since it would clearly be ludicrous to direct an adviser concerning the advice he was to give), or to "the provision of financial aid or other assistance...to or for the benefit of any particular person." In other words, the directive could not say which person is or is not to get grants. But the directives could relate, for example, to any of the questions listed by Mr Roberts in the passage quoted from his speech of May 4, 1979 – or, for that matter, to those questions of judgment which he had identified as agency responsibilities, including Canadian Broadcasting Corporation programming decisions, National Film Board production decisions, acquisitions by the National Museums, and Canada Council judgments of "creative excellence" involving performing arts companies or other organizations rather than individual artists.

The draft Crown Corporations Act was not, in the end, enacted, and in June of 1982 the government took a different legislative approach, in Part V of Bill C-123, the Government Organization Act, 1982. (The bill was not in fact passed before adjournment for the summer recess of that year, but it remains in the government's legislative program for the future.) Under the provisions of this draft statute, the Financial Administration Act would be amended to give the government the powers conferred on a sole stockholder under the Canada Business Corporations Act to give binding directions on any matter.

It has been the view of successive governments, and of the Lambert Commission, that the use of such a power of direction would be exceptional. It should be noted that the government of the United Kingdom has long had comparable powers in relation to its cultural agencies, including the British Broadcasting Corporation, but has used them rarely and without arousing fears of untoward political interference. Canadian cultural agencies are already subject to ministerial direction under the Official Languages Act on matters of language policy. The earlier draft Crown Corporations Act provided that such direction be exercised only after consultation with the board of the agency concerned, and would have required that orders-in-council containing directives be tabled in Parliament. By contrast, the new approach adopted in

the draft Government Organization Act of 1982, which would confer an unlimited power of direction, makes no provision for either prior consultation or subsequent tabling.

While accepting the propriety of ministerial direction, when authorized by Parliament, on such specific questions of public policy as language requirements and conflict-of-interest rules, the cultural agencies – and much of the cultural community throughout the country – have expressed anxiety about the creation of a directing power in matters involving judgments of cultural needs and standards. The necessity of shielding cultural activity from the power of the state was a recurring theme in representations made to this Committee. The “tensions” that the Lambert Commission would resolve in favour of the government are depicted, in effect, as tensions between the government’s concern with order and unity and the frequently anarchic character of cultural activity, which can by their nature only be accommodated (but not resolved) within autonomous bodies.

In the face of objections such as these, the government has deferred action. In announcing the introduction of Bill C-123, the President of the Treasury Board stated that, pending completion of the government’s review of cultural policy, the proposed changes in ministerial powers of direction would not be applied to “corporations with a cultural mandate.” This Committee had, in fact, been asked to examine the implications of such powers in relation to the earlier proposals contained in the draft Crown Corporations Act.

Is it realistic to expect that cultural agencies in the conduct of their operations will or should be insulated from major preoccupations of the government, whether the latter relate directly to cultural matters or to other matters? Or can a case be made for a broad exemption of some cultural agencies – for purposes going beyond the awarding of grants – from the power of ministerial direction? These are the questions which have confronted this Committee.

Administrative Controls

Long before policy direction became the live issue it is today, the federal government sought to systematize its relations with its nondepartmental organizations in matters of administration – especially financial administration. The Financial Administration Act of 1951 – which continues to provide the basic framework for the management of government finances – included a cluster of sections headed “Crown corporations” in which an effort was made to categorize the corporate agencies for purposes of financial control. Two of the categories – the “Agency” and “Proprietary” corporations listed in Schedules C and D – were given a general exemption from the provisions of the Act relating to departments. They are able to manage their own funds, including those provided by parliamentary appropriations, to maintain their own accounts and to follow accrual accounting practices instead of the cash accounting practised by the government – being spared the lapsing of unspent balances at the end of the fiscal year. They are, nonetheless, required to

submit their annual capital budgets for ministerial approval, and Agency corporations must, in addition, secure approval of their annual operating budgets. For a third category, however – listed as “Departmental corporations” in Schedule B – the financial controls and practices are identical to those applied to departments.

Among the cultural agencies of most direct interest to this Committee, two, the National Museums of Canada and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, are Departmental (or Schedule B) corporations, the Canadian Film Development Corporation is an Agency corporation (Schedule C), and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is a Proprietary corporation (Schedule D). Two others, the Canada Council and National Arts Centre, are totally exempt from the Financial Administration Act, and four others, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, the National Film Board, the National Library of Canada and the Public Archives of Canada, lack corporate status and are treated as departments.

The Lambert Commission devoted a good deal of attention to the classification of agencies and the prescription of administrative relationships.

For two cultural agencies – the National Library and the Public Archives – the governing characteristic in the eyes of the Commission was that the “care and management” of operations was assigned to a senior official, “under the direction of a minister who reports to Parliament.” The conclusion was that these should operate in every respect like a department of government – as, in fact, they now do.

For a second group – including the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, the Canada Council, the Canadian Film Development Corporation and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – the “care and management” of administrative operations was ascribed to the chairman or permanent head. “The board or commission in this instance plays no part in the management of the agency,” and “for all financial and personnel matters, the head of the agency, as chief executive officer, has a relationship with the central agencies akin to that of a deputy minister of department.” They should, in consequence, be subject to the Financial Administration Act and the Public Service Employment Act.

Only within a third group – which included the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Arts Centre, the National Film Board and the National Museums of Canada – was the “care and management,” the responsibility for administration, considered by the Commission to be the responsibility of the board and therefore exempt from the normal relationship with central agencies under the Financial Administration Act.

The other critical element of administrative practice relates to personnel administration. Agencies that are classified as departments or Departmental (Schedule B) corporations under the Financial Administration Act are subject to central controls over the numbers of their staff, the classification of positions and rates of pay. All of these agencies are bound by the Public Service Employment Act and must therefore observe the staffing rules and procedures prescribed by the Public Service Commission. The Public Service Staff

Relations Act also applies to this group. Two of these bodies, however – the National Film Board and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – are designated as “separate employers,” and as such undertake their own staffing and negotiate their own collective agreements with their staff.

The other agencies – the Canada Council, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Canadian Film Development Corporation and National Arts Centre – are exempt not only from the establishment and classification controls of the Treasury Board, but also from the Public Service Employment Act and the Public Service Staff Relations Act. They do, however, report their actual and projected manpower levels, which are published in the expenditure estimates presented annually to Parliament. And in determining the classification and rates of pay of their personnel, they are heavily influenced by the standards of the public service applying to comparable skills and duties, where these exist. All four of these agencies, however, draw their professional – and increasingly much of their managerial – staff from the cultural sector, often on relatively short contracts, and would find it inappropriate, if not difficult, to be treated as part of the public service.

It must be accepted that, although all controls are irksome and may, if excessive, create what is seen as a cocoon of “red tape,” an agency is in no worse position than a department unless some particular control can be shown to impede the pursuit of its objectives. Even the latter condition may not be a sufficient argument if the “impediment” suffered by the agency is experienced equally by departments and is considered by ministers and Parliament to be an inescapable cost of doing public business.

To illustrate: that parliamentary control of budgeting and accounting must be on a cash rather than an accrual basis and that all funds appropriated must be disbursed within the fiscal year for which they are approved, are, in effect, matters of dogma. The strength of this principle was demonstrated by the Adjustment of Accounts Act of 1980 which abolished certain non-lapsing special accounts that had facilitated the operations of several cultural agencies. For the National Film Board, the loss of the Special Operating Account meant that, from April 1981, all film production expenditures have had to be made out of parliamentary appropriations and within the year for which the appropriation was made, and that any earned revenues go to the Consolidated Revenue Fund with no benefit to the Board. At the same time the four national museums lost their Special Purchase Accounts which had enabled them to husband acquisition funds in order to exploit market opportunities as they arose.

Any argument against a change to cash accounting for agencies such as the Canada Council or the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation might encounter the objection that it could be applied with equal force to departmental operations. And it would be naive – and futile – to suggest that the centuries-old pattern of budgetary control and accounting practice embedded in the tradition of parliamentary control of the public purse should be radically altered, even if it can be shown that very large and complex organizations in the private sector achieve equal if not better control over

financial operations using accrual budgeting and accounting. The same kind of difficulty is encountered – although with less intensity – by any argument for exemption from government-wide standards and practices in personnel administration.

In the last analysis, demands for administrative consistency can be countered only if it can be shown, first, that there is a case for shielding an agency's operations from normal ministerial policy direction, and second, that the imposition of normal government practices relating to financial and personnel administration would significantly impair that operational autonomy in substantive matters.

Criteria for Defining Cultural Agency Status

As nondepartmental organizations have proliferated, the federal government has tried to devise a classification system that would serve to maintain an orderly system of relationships between the agencies on the one hand, and Parliament, ministers and the central machinery of government on the other. For all the effort expended, the results have been unsatisfactory – and particularly for the cultural agencies, which form a very small subset within a total of some 170 Crown corporations identified in Bill C-27 of 1979.

The two major attempts at a rational classification to date are to be found in the Financial Administration Act of 1951 and the Lambert Report of 1979. In both of these the essential criterion was the nature of the operation engaged in by the agency and, in particular, its degree of resemblance to operations found in the private sector.

The Financial Administration Act, as noted above, established three schedules of Crown corporations. Departmental corporations, listed in Schedule B, were defined as those providing "administrative, supervisory or regulatory services." Agency corporations, listed in Schedule C, embraced "trading or service operations on a quasi-commercial basis" and "the management of procurement, construction or disposal activities." The Proprietary corporations (Schedule D) were characterized by "the management of lending or financial operations or...of commercial operations involving the production of or dealing in goods, and the supplying of services to the public," and these agencies were "ordinarily expected" to conduct their operations without appropriations. The latter enjoy the greatest freedom from central controls; the first group are assimilated to departments.

From the start it proved difficult to fit all agencies into this classification. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has remained under Schedule D despite its dependence on appropriations. The Canada Council and National Arts Centre were simply excluded from the Act. Yet when the Canada Council's activities in support of the humanities and social sciences were withdrawn in 1978 to form a new agency – the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – the new organization was assigned to Schedule B, on the analogy of the Medical Research Council.

The Lambert Commission, employing a similar approach, proposed that all agencies be fitted into two categories. The first, which they termed "Independent Deciding and Advisory Bodies," would comprise organizations having "adjudicative, regulatory, granting, research and advisory functions," including the Canada Council, the Canadian Film Development Corporation, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. For these, as noted, the chief executive officer, charged with the "care and management" of the agency, would be subject to the central agencies in the same way as the deputy head of a department. Only the other group was classed by the Commission as "Crown corporations," and these would be characterized by having "tasks akin to private sector entrepreneurial undertakings in a market setting." The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, National Arts Centre, National Film Board and National Museums of Canada were included in this group, which would be exempt from financial control by the central agencies.

This preoccupation with similarities and differences between the operations of public agencies and those of private commercial organizations was also reflected in the proposed classification of agencies contained in the draft Crown Corporations Act of 1979, but no attempt was made in that bill to define the criteria for classification. Instead, the drafters of the bill seemed reconciled to a view put forward in a "Blue Paper" on Crown Corporations, published by the Privy Council Office in 1977, which had abandoned the notion of a descriptive classification. "It is the Government's view," according to this document, "that,

"those parts of the present criteria for Schedules B, C and D relating to the type of operation conducted by the corporations listed therein are unnecessary and make accurate classification more difficult. It is proposed, therefore, that those parts be removed... . Crown corporations would then be listed in a particular schedule, not by what they do but by the degree of financial management and control over them required by the government."

The source of the difficulty, it seems to us, lies in trying to ascribe degrees of autonomy solely on the basis of the character of the operations. For the cultural agencies, it is our view that an acceptable accommodation of government imperatives and cultural values can be achieved only by simultaneously employing two approaches: first, an examination of the operational character of the agencies, and second, an examination of the cultural impact or significance of each agency's activities – by a blending, in effect, of the insider's and outsider's view of the agency's functions. Only in this way can one determine whether cultural values are equally vulnerable and the imperatives of government equally strong in relation to all kinds of operations and in all domains of the cultural sphere. Or whether it is possible, by varying organizational forms and relationships along a spectrum of alternatives ranging from full autonomy to full ministerial control, to strike a satisfactory balance of political and cultural objectives.

Character of Operations of the Cultural Agencies

Operational roles can be categorized in several ways. The approach most commonly adopted is to distinguish between different types of activity: advisory, regulatory, sustaining, operating, and developmental.

On closer analysis, however, any such classification proves inadequate as a basis for determining the degree of autonomy required by an agency. An advisory body must obviously make its own decisions about the advice it will give; to suggest that it be subject to any kind of direction on this score would clearly be absurd. But the relationship with government appropriate to all other kinds of activities is a good deal less clear.

For regulatory activities – such as those of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission – opposing considerations must be weighed. Studies of the regulatory process have frequently stressed the need for some safeguard against the disturbing tendency of regulatory bodies to become insensitive to interests broader than those of the industries they regulate. And it is frequently argued that on regulatory decisions that raise major questions of public policy, ministers should exercise a power of direction, reflecting their public accountability for interpreting the public interest. Against this, however, must be set the countervailing principle, equally valid, of the importance of maintaining the integrity of the regulatory process, which requires that the process be (and be perceived to be) fair and impartial and conducted at arm's length from the political process. In short, the fact of engaging in a regulatory activity may not, by itself, provide an adequate guide in determining the relationship.

For sustaining activities, which provide financial support for cultural activities, a number of questions arise. As will be seen, whether that support is directed to individuals, to industrial or nonindustrial organizations, or to communities, may make a difference in deciding what measure of political direction is necessary or tolerable. Whether the support is granted automatically if certain objective criteria are satisfied, or by some politically determined formula, or only after a process of selection involving a judgment of cultural merit or entitlement, is another crucial question. What must be borne in mind is that the sustaining role of government – no less than the regulatory – is an aspect of its immense coercive power, which embraces both the power to compel or prohibit on threat of punishment and the power to entice and cajole by promise of reward. Rewards are as coercive as punishments, even if less painful to those coerced.

Developmental activities may employ the same range of methods as sustaining activities and in the same range of circumstances; consequently all the questions identified under that heading apply with equal force in this category of activity. It should also be noted that government programs under this heading (the Cultural Initiatives Program of the Department of Communications is a case in point) include a large measure of capital assistance to enlarge or improve the facilities for various modes of cultural expression. Whether the subsequent use of those facilities will raise politically sensitive

issues is not – and cannot be – a consideration in the developmental program itself in the same way in which it might affect sustaining activities.

An alternative approach to the analysis of operating roles involves the examination of the different kinds of decisions required of public authorities or agencies engaged in cultural programs:

- jurisdictional
- resource allocation
- standards and criteria
- adjudication of claims or performance.

Decisions involving the assignment of jurisdiction must clearly be taken by ministers backed by parliamentary authority. But lack of clarity, or differing interpretations within different programs or agencies, can raise new questions of jurisdiction that ultimately require ministerial judgment – the dispute between the National Library and Public Archives over the music collection and map collection being a case in point. Jurisdictional overlaps may be unavoidable, and again ministers must either reserve the right of umpire or grant primacy to one of the contestants. Instances that come to mind are the CBC-CRTC relationship in broadcasting, the Canada Council Touring Office and National Arts Centre, and the existence within the Canada Council (and other agencies) of interests in the international ramifications of their programs that overlap those of the Department of External Affairs. Overlapping jurisdiction is also responsible for much of the agitation – both within government and outside – for coordination. But because coordination in the end can only be ensured by an exercise of ministerial powers, it may present dangers to programs requiring a high degree of insulation from political direction. A different kind of problem arises when, as a result of divided jurisdiction and because of the ways in which the agencies involved interpret their mandates, an area of cultural activity – industrial arts and crafts, for example – finds its interests largely neglected. Again, in this situation, corrective action can only come from ministers in the form of new and more precise definitions of jurisdiction.

The primary allocation of resources – which matches the assignment of jurisdiction – is just as obviously a ministerial responsibility. Once this decision has been made, however, and authorized by parliamentary appropriations, how much autonomy should an agency have in deciding on the allocation of resources within its area of jurisdiction? Should the judgment of the Canada Council be overridden in determining the relative shares to go to, for example, individual artists or arts organizations? or to the several arts disciplines? What freedom is required by the National Museums of Canada – or its constituent museums individually – in the apportionment of resources for such purposes as conservation, research, or the mounting and touring of exhibitions? As we have seen, according to one view these are policy judgments for which ministers should be responsible and over which they

should have a corresponding degree of control. The Canada Council has resisted this view and has, in effect, asserted the right to exercise its own judgment in the application even of earmarked funds. The evidence also suggests that the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – perhaps partly because it is subject to the financial management requirements of the Treasury Board – has had to accept an allocation of resources that diverges increasingly from what its own judgment or that of its academic advisers might dictate. In assessing, in strictly cultural terms, the relative importance of competing claims on the resources available to an agency, ministers and their advisers can seldom if ever match the agency itself in competence. In fact, the differences that arise involve, almost invariably, a conflict between cultural and other considerations. In determining whose judgment should prevail, recourse must be made to other approaches to the analysis of government-agency relationships.

The same is true of the third class of decisions – those concerning criteria and standards – which have proven to be the other major source of friction between agencies and ministers. These are the judgments that raise such issues as the definition of community standards, the imposition of Canadian content requirements, and sensitivity to regional interests and to the claims of interest groups and of particular communities and audiences. All of these are politically charged issues, on which ministers feel a strong compulsion to intervene. But the judgments involved may seem, to the agencies responsible, to be crucial to the shaping of their programs to the cultural needs of the country. Decisions of this sort frequently bring into sharp relief the contradictions between political and cultural objectives.

The fourth class of decisions is essentially administrative: the day-to-day judgments that must be made at various levels within an organization in the conduct of its programs. Because these are the judgments that make the most direct impact on the public at large, they tend to determine the public responses that feed back through the political process. In asserting their claims to a greater voice in the making of decisions of the second and third categories, ministers are usually careful to deny any wish to intervene in these day-to-day judgments. But because the latter reflect, in fact, the more general prior decisions on questions of resource allocation or of standards and criteria, ministerial interventions on those more general questions will inevitably circumscribe and may even preempt an agency's freedom in making such administrative judgments.

Cultural Impact of Government Programs

The cultural impact of government programs can be examined in a number of ways to see what variations might be detected in the effects of political direction.

The first categorization to be considered is that adopted by the Committee in organizing its own work, which considers cultural activity sector by sector:

- Heritage
- Visual and applied arts
- Performing arts
- Literature
- Cultural industries

As a basis for gauging vulnerability to political direction, this is not a particularly useful approach. Within any of these sectors it is possible to find grounds for apprehensions about the baneful effects of government control or influence. The written word – including both literature and scholarship – has historically played the key role in the transmission, interpretation and enlargement of the intellectual content of culture, and in the process its function has embraced the illumination and critical analysis of the values, institutions and processes of society, including those of the political sphere itself. Consequently, literature and scholarship might claim a special insulation against political control. But increasingly, the written word reaches its audience through other forms of cultural expression – involving stage or screen (including the video screen). To this extent, then, the performing arts and cultural industries exhibit a comparable sensitivity.

It is not hard to find historical instances in which the visual and applied arts have assumed the role of political and social critic and suffered repression at the hands of the authorities of the day. Even music can become politically charged in exceptional circumstances – as were the polonaises in czarist Poland, or *Finlandia* in czarist Finland.

But social criticism is only half the problem. The other half concerns the thorny issue of taste – and the propensity of cultural activity in all its forms to outrage the sensibilities of varying segments of the public. Because of the sensitivity of elected governments to cross-currents of this sort, the threat of official censorship becomes the uninvited companion of government support for cultural activity, whether it be literature, or the performing arts, or the visual and applied arts, or the output of cultural industries. But the propensity to offend lies not in the mode of expression but in the content – not in the medium but in the message. For this reason it is difficult to assign degrees of vulnerability among cultural sectors.

The one possible exception to this conclusion concerns those activities considered as heritage. But then heritage is not a sector like the others. In its broadest sense, heritage is simply that part of culture that is received from the past. It therefore includes not only written records and artifacts, but also the bulk of our classical music and much of our literature, performing arts and visual and applied arts. And however offensive it may have seemed in its day to political authority or public taste, it has gained respectability and acceptance (if not sanctity) from the passage of time. As a consequence, apart from conflicts with plans for commercial development, heritage activities have relatively little to fear from governments, except from revolutionary regimes determined to erase the evidence of a rejected past.

in Canada!

non-use
political uses
of history?

A second cut at the cultural pie (which on closer examination seems to defy clean slicing and crumbles like a nut cake) focuses on the functional analysis of cultural activities, under four broad headings:

- the preservation and transmission of inherited elements,
- new creative and interpretive activity,
- what is essentially entertainment,
- training and development.

The first of these corresponds roughly to the heritage domain in the preceding classification, and may have little to fear from political intrusion for the reasons suggested. It should be noted, however, that a cultural heritage does not consist only of tangibles – structures, landscapes, artifacts and documents. Of at least equal importance are the intangibles: the ideas, values, attitudes and shared body of knowledge acquired by each generation from the past and reflecting its varied antecedents. How this intangible element of heritage is transmitted – and, in the process, reinterpreted – may be a matter of considerable sensitivity.

The second functional sector – creative and interpretive activity – which represents the growing fringe of culture, has clearly the greatest vulnerability to political direction and the greatest need for autonomy. It is in this domain that the pluralistic argument – already expressed in the opening section of this chapter – applies with greatest force, for it is here that the function of social criticism is concentrated and the controversies over taste and community standards are generated.

The third functional sector – entertainment (and recreation) – overlaps the two preceding ones and cannot, strictly speaking, be considered in complete isolation. But there is clearly a very large sector of activity of which the primary function is to satisfy varying demands for entertainment and recreation, transmitting little from the past, leaving little residue in the form of future heritage and showing little conscious concern with the interpretation of society to itself. As entertainment, it relies primarily on market mechanisms, and its characteristic problems tend to be associated with this orientation – developing and protecting markets, strengthening supply, circumventing obstacles that inhibit access to the market, optimizing the sharing of returns among those involved in production and distribution. From government it demands courses of action that involve at least as much industrial (or, more broadly, economic) policy as cultural policy, and the principal apprehensions about the role of government concern the serving of specialized markets and the sharing of returns.

The fourth sector – training and development – functions, in a sense, as a service sector to the other three. It embraces, as one element, the training in skills needed for cultural transmission, creation and interpretation, and for the recreation and entertainment aspect. In addition, it serves to animate, to develop a capacity for appreciation, enjoyment and, in the widest sense,

participation. On both counts, it is closely linked with education policies and objectives (although it obviously extends beyond the system of formal education) and the problems it raises are those that have always been central in the planning and administration of education: the balancing of skill training against cultural transmission, or the extent to which government through the education process should try to shape public values and interests. It is questionable whether these problems can be resolved by insulating this sector from political direction. It can even be argued that, on the contrary, these are essentially political problems that can only be addressed through the political process, and the essential question concerns the extent to which they should be assigned to the community, provincial or federal level.

The third classification of cultural domains to be considered involves examination of the clientele to which different kinds of government programs and policies are primarily directed:

- Individual creative and interpretive artists and scholars;
- Nonindustrial organizations – performing arts companies, universities, museums, galleries, libraries and the like;
- Industries;
- Communities – geographic, ethnic, etc.

When cultural domains are distinguished on this basis, a further set of considerations emerges. Because the creative and interpretive function of culture relies so heavily on the individual artist or scholar, programs directed to individuals tend to involve the greatest vulnerability to political direction or influence, and to require the greatest degree of insulation.

Nonindustrial organizations are in an ambiguous position. On the one hand, there is a tendency for many of them – performing arts companies and galleries, for example, and to a lesser extent universities – to inspire strong community interest and loyalties, which inevitably find expression through the political process. Programs directed to the support of such institutions cannot in fact be shielded from such community-based political forces (which the institutions themselves tend to encourage). On the other hand, these institutions are frequently the instruments through which the creative and interpretive efforts of individuals are sponsored or expressed. To this extent programs directed to their support are no less vulnerable than those in the preceding category.

This last argument may apply with equal force to government programs directed to cultural industries – broadcasting and publishing come immediately to mind. But to the extent that these industries are preoccupied with the entertainment function identified in the previous classification of sectors, their operations will be bound up more closely with the market considerations noted in that context, and programs in their support will exhibit a characteristic blend of industrial and cultural policy which may require a greater degree of political direction.

Finally, programs directed to community interest seem inextricably linked to the political process. It would seem foolish to suggest that they be insulated from political direction, especially when they involve capital assistance for community facilities.

One additional consideration must be weighed in judging the cultural impact of government programs and their vulnerability to political direction: the external context within which they operate. Where a program is the sole source of a service or holds powers of life and death over a cultural activity, both its impact and the effect of political intervention are obviously greatest. For the same reason, adverse reactions to the way a program is conducted will have the greatest tendency to find political expression and thereby generate political interventions. One might conclude, in fact, that the best guarantee of autonomy is irrelevance. But, by the same reasoning, it is precisely where the impact is greatest that the need for autonomy is most acute.

Recommendations and Conclusions

The implications of the foregoing analysis will be reflected at various points in later sections of this Report dealing with particular cultural sectors, or specific agencies. But certain general conclusions can be recorded here, including the Committee's views, requested by the government, on the questions of status raised by Bill C-123, the proposed Government Organization Act, 1982.

As will be seen, these conclusions affect the status of different agencies in different ways, in respect of policy direction, administration controls and measures for ensuring accountability, but they draw coherence from a recognition of the fact that government operations in the cultural sphere are subject to special considerations. It therefore seems appropriate to us that the changes we propose in the status of a number of these agencies and in their relationships with ministers and the central machinery of government should be implemented through an omnibus Cultural Agencies Act, which would serve to emphasize the common underlying principles on which they rest.

1. The status of federal cultural agencies should be defined in a new Cultural Agencies Act, in recognition of the fact that government activity in culture and the arts is subject to special considerations requiring a distinctive measure of autonomy. The provisions of this statute should prevail wherever they may conflict with those of the Financial Administration Act or the proposed Government Organization Act.

Policy Direction

In judging what degree of insulation from ministerial direction is appropriate to each agency, the Committee attaches paramount importance to the cultural impact of their programs – considering the cultural sectors served, the focus of the cultural activity, and the character of the clientele. For several organizations, this assessment is decisive in itself, regardless of the classification of their operations and the extent of their dependence on parliamentary appropriations. For other agencies, the cultural impact seems less sensitive to the usual processes of government direction; particular aspects of their work may require shielding from political forces, but in some instances this may be accomplished through exemptions from particular kinds of administrative controls. These are examined in the next section.

For five agencies, the Committee has concluded that the safeguarding of cultural values and purposes requires, as a matter of public interest, that their operations be immune from political direction. This group comprises the Canada Council, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Arts Centre, and the National Film Board.

The first two of these – the Canada Council and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – are identical in all those aspects that are material to the question of their form and relationship with government. In terms of their cultural impact, both serve a number of cultural sectors including some of great sensitivity in their critical function; both are heavily engaged in the support of creative and interpretive activity essential to the health of our society; both direct their support to individual artists and scholars, or to nonindustrial organizations that sponsor or present the work of such persons; and both operate in an external environment in which, for artists and scholars, alternative sources of support are scarce or nonexistent and at best inadequate to their needs. In terms of their operating roles, both are engaged in sustaining activity that requires judgments of merit, and both are vitally interested in the determination of standards and criteria. All these considerations suggest that the high degree of autonomy possessed by the Canada Council since its inception is entirely appropriate to its circumstances and, by the same reasoning, that the relatively severe restrictions on the autonomy of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council are ill-advised.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Arts Centre require comparable shielding from political control but for different reasons. The fact that they might be considered to perform “tasks akin to private sector entrepreneurial undertakings in a market setting,” as stated in the Lambert Report, is essentially irrelevant. What is important is that both are major channels for presenting the work of individual artists, and are deeply involved in program and production decisions that involve culturally important and controversial issues of taste and quality. For the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation this includes the selection and presentation of news and comment about public affairs.

The same considerations apply to the National Film Board in the production undertaken on its own account. The differences between it and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in status and relationships with the government have been anomalous; nor has its role as film procurement (or production) agent for the government justified the anomaly, as its obligations to its government clients could be defined satisfactorily within the contractual relationship. The changes proposed for the Board in Chapter 9 will curtail its production activity significantly but if it is to be, as contemplated, a centre of experimentation and innovation for film production, there will be a continuing need for freedom from government direction.

The role envisaged for the Canadian Film Development Corporation requires treatment similar to that required by the Canada Council and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. Its support is of course directed to commercial film ventures, but these ventures, like the productions of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation are (and should become increasingly) important outlets for the efforts of Canadian creative and interpretive artists and will raise sensitive or controversial issues of taste or social criticism. Moreover, our recommendations for the future development of the agency will require that, in its granting operations, cultural judgments should at least equal if not outweigh commercial ones. In the light of these circumstances, we conclude that the operations of the Canadian Film Development Corporation qualify for the same degree of autonomy as the other five agencies treated above.

For the Canadian Heritage Council recommended in Chapter 4 a mixture of functions is contemplated, but the principal one is developmental and sustaining, through programs of grants to a variety of organizations, both public and private. Because the Council will be concerned essentially with the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage, its activities will not be as vulnerable to political forces as, say, the activities supported by the Canada Council; nor will they be as likely to provoke adverse reactions through political channels. However, there will be culturally important questions of standards, criteria, and resource allocation to be made by the Council, and it would seem appropriate that it be exempt from policy direction by ministers. This conclusion is reinforced by a further consideration: the client organizations will almost certainly include provincial and municipal institutions, and any exercise of policy direction by the federal government would likely provoke provincial protests and distrust of the agency itself.

The relationship of the National Museums of Canada to ministers is complicated by the fact that the agency itself is viewed by this Committee (and was, in fact, initially conceived) as being, in essence, a service organization to its member organizations, each of which should have a major say in defining its own role and priorities and in allocating its own resources. Clearly, if it is undesirable that the Board and central staff should exercise a heavy-handed control over the operations of the individual museums, it is even more objectionable that this be done at a further remove. With one exception, however, the activities of this agency and its constituent parts are less

vulnerable to political direction – and, for much the same reasons, less likely to attract it. The existence of a ministerial power, conditional on prior consultation and the subsequent tabling in Parliament of any formal directions, appears to us to raise no serious threat to cultural values. The exception concerns the decisions of the agency about the development of its collections, and any grant of a directing power should expressly exclude its use in respect of additions to or deletions from the collections.

The Public Archives of Canada and the National Library are, for practical purposes, indistinguishable from departments in most respects. This has, in practice, created no problems for the two organizations, nor does this Committee see any reason to be apprehensive. For certain specific functions, however, both the Dominion Archivist and the National Librarian should be exempt from ministerial direction. The Dominion Archivist, as the control officer of the government for records management, is responsible for approving all proposals for the destruction of records or for their removal from the ownership of the government. Although the Dominion Archivist's decisions on the destruction or disposal of records appear to be in no way subject to ministerial direction, the authority of the position rests only on an order-in-council, the Public Records Order of 1966. It would be preferable to establish the Dominion Archivist's powers and responsibilities by statute – as has, in fact, been contemplated as part of a revision of the Public Archives Act. The National Librarian, it is concluded, should be similarly free of ministerial direction in the management of the Library's collection, in order to avoid any possibility, however unlikely, of government censorship.

As was noted earlier in the section on criteria for defining status, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission is in a class by itself among the cultural agencies as the sole regulatory body. Its regulatory functions in the cultural sphere (leaving aside its responsibilities for communications) include the supervision of the Canadian broadcasting system to ensure compliance with the broadcasting policy as enunciated in the Broadcasting Act, and, within this context, the granting, renewing and termination of broadcasting licences.

In its general supervisory role, the Commission might be considered to be an instrument of government policy and consequently properly subject to policy direction. But as an adjudicative body, in the licensing of broadcasters, it must be and be seen to be free of political control. If this view is accepted, the provisions of the existing Broadcasting Act would seem to have matters reversed. There is now no provision in the Act for general policy directions (although it contains provision for direction on several specified matters), but it does provide in Section 23 for a challenge by government of the Commission's decisions on the award or renewal of licences. This anomaly should be corrected. The power to set aside or refer back licensing decisions should be removed. On the other hand, the Committee sees no objection to a general power of policy direction – as was contemplated in the draft revision of the Broadcasting Act introduced as Bill C-16 in 1978 – subject to certain conditions. First, the requirements of prior consultation and subsequent tabling

should apply. And, in addition, where the Commission, on being consulted about a proposed directive, considers that issues are raised on which public representations should be heard, no directive should be given until the Commission has been able to conduct public hearings.

2. To the extent that the functions of cultural agencies and offices require the exercise of impartial, critical judgment in the support of cultural activity, they should be exempt from political direction in the form of ministerial directives of either a general or specific nature.

Administrative Controls

The defects of past approaches to the classification of agencies are clearly evident in relation to the exercise of administrative control by the central agencies of government. In the view of this Committee, the primary test must again be the impact of an agency's operations on the cultural sector, not the degree of resemblance to "private sector entrepreneurial undertakings in a market setting." The Lambert Report compounded this classification error by advancing the view that only those boards that directed operations meeting its entrepreneurial test should have the "care and management" of operations. The other category of boards were represented as performing only a collegial task of deciding cases. The fact is that these boards – the Canada Council, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Canadian Film Development Corporation – are deeply involved in crucial decisions about resource allocation and the definition of standards and criteria, and are as vitally interested as, say, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation board in the "economy, efficiency and effectiveness" of the operations they direct. In these circumstances it is a serious mistake to ascribe the care and management of operations to a chief executive officer subject to direction by a minister and the central agencies of government. The arguments presented by the Lambert Commission in favour of autonomy in financial and personnel administration for such bodies as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and National Arts Centre apply with equal force to all the other cultural agencies which were judged, in the preceding section, to require immunity from policy direction: the Canada Council, National Film Board, Canadian Film Development Corporation, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the proposed Canadian Heritage Council.

3. Freedom from ministerial and central government agency direction in financial and personnel administration should be granted to all cultural agencies which, under their mandates, exercise a high degree of responsibility for the economy, efficiency and effectiveness of the operations they direct – namely, the National Film Board, Canadian Film Development Corporation, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the proposed Canadian

Heritage Council – in the same manner as is now granted to the Canada Council, the National Arts Centre and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Obviously, in approaching the government with requests for annual appropriations – as all cultural agencies must – each organization must provide adequate explanations of its requests. But, as the Lambert Commission urged, the Treasury Board processes for the preparation of spending estimates should not be applied in such a way as to control the “policies and direction” of any of these agencies.

For the National Museums of Canada, the role of the board should again include the care and management of operations – a responsibility to be shared with the directors of the constituent museums and their advisory committees. This is of particular importance in the allocation of resources within the individual museums and in the development of their collections; restoration of the non-lapsing Special Purchase Account seems to us a minimal requirement. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, National Library and Public Archives, on the other hand, can continue to operate satisfactorily with their departmental status, within the government regime of financial administration.

The care and management of an organization embraces personnel administration no less than financial management. To the extent that responsibility for the operation of an agency is assigned to a board, it must be accompanied by a corresponding degree of autonomy in such matters as staffing levels, classification of positions and hiring and firing.

As has been seen, the Canada Council, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Canadian Film Development Corporation and National Arts Centre already have this autonomy in all essential respects and, in the opinion of the Committee, this should continue. We are strengthened in this view by the fact that, for these agencies, most of the professional and managerial personnel develop their careers within the cultural sphere of society rather than within the public service, and this is as it should be. The goal of a unified public service, which plays so large a part in the centralized control of staffing matters, is simply not relevant to these organizations. The same consideration, in our view, applies to the National Film Board, which now requires Treasury Board approval of its staffing plans (in respect of its “continuing positions”), and we therefore conclude that the National Film Board should have the same autonomy in staffing matters as the other four agencies.

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – which is now in much the same position as the National Film Board – differs from the others in the character of its personnel, most of whom are as much at home in the public service as in the academic world of their clientele. Given this fact, and the designation of the Council as a “separate employer” for purposes of the Public Service Employment Act and Public Service Staff Relations Act, the present staffing arrangements appear to pose no major difficulties. On the other hand, restraints imposed by the Treasury Board on staffing levels have forced

the agency to modify its operating procedures in ways that may significantly impair their efficiency and effectiveness – at some slight gain in economy. We consider this to be incompatible with the board's responsibility for the care and management of the agency's affairs. The same may be said of the National Museums of Canada – with the added consideration that, for much of its professional and directing staff, this agency must employ people whose interests and careers lie outside the public service.

Apart from the general exercise of administrative controls in financial and personnel matters, government-wide requirements relating to specific matters may be imposed on the cultural agencies. This is now true of language policy under the Official Languages Act, and the draft Crown Corporations Act included conflict-of-interest provisions that were judged to be necessary and appropriate for all federal activities. It appears to us quite proper that cultural agencies should be subject to specific constraints of this kind, involving important issues of public policy clearly enunciated in parliamentary enactments.

There are instances, however, in which legislative measures adopted for unexceptionable reasons of public policy may affect the operations of particular agencies in ways that jeopardize other public interests to an extent outweighing the benefits conferred. For example, the extension of the Privacy provisions of the Human Rights Act to granting agencies such as the Canada Council and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – which had been proposed in the draft Access to Information Act passed in July 1982 – would have seriously damaged the processes of peer adjudication on which the operations of such bodies depend. Granting agencies, while endorsing the principle of freer public access to government information, asked for, and received, exemption from the legislative provision that would have required them, on request, to divulge the names of assessors. The Committee commends the government's action in this matter. It confirms our view of the necessity, when such measures of general application are being considered, of assessing their impact on operations designed to serve cultural ends and weighing carefully the balance of public advantage wherever divergent public interests are found to exist.

Accountability Requirements

Immunity from ministerial direction and central administrative controls cannot absolve the cultural agencies of their accountability to Parliament and the public for the conduct of their operations. What the Lambert Commission had to say about government accountability applies with equal force to cultural agencies: that "the process of scrutiny, surveillance, public exposure, and debate helps to legitimize [their] actions...to the public."

For those agencies, such as the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission or the National Library, which function like an ordinary department of government, no special measures are needed to ensure accountability. For the others, operating with the immunities we propose, the

measures recommended by the Lambert Commission for Crown corporations seem to us to be generally appropriate. It should be the responsibility of the board of every agency to approve each year a corporate plan for the next three-to five-year period, which would serve both as a rationale for its annual request for an appropriation and, through the inclusion of its essential features in the annual report, as a basis for parliamentary and public scrutiny and discussion. Such corporate plans should not, however, require government approval, as contemplated in Bill C-123 of 1982.

Capital budgets, which for most of the cultural agencies are unnecessary, would continue (as now provided by the Financial Administration Act) to require approval by the government, as would any plans for capital borrowings (an even unlikelier occurrence). Operating budgets, however, although an annual responsibility of the boards, need be submitted to the government only in sufficient detail to provide an adequate explanation of appropriation requests, and should not require ministerial approval. The same should be true of manpower budgets.

Each board should be required to adopt bylaws governing the conduct of its activities, and all bylaws should be submitted to the designated minister for information. The Committee does not consider, however, that bylaws should require ratification by the Governor in Council, as was proposed in the Lambert Report and could be required by the government under Bill C-123. Boards must also develop and maintain adequate procedures for internal audit, and should establish an audit committee composed of external members of the board. For all these agencies external auditing should be conducted by the Auditor General, as is now the case.

Finally, the Committee endorses wholeheartedly the importance attached by the Lambert Commission to full disclosure through annual reports as a guarantee of accountability. In the words of the Lambert Report,

"It should be through the quality and contents of the annual report that a board's performance is judged, both internally by Government and externally by Parliament and the public. In the end it is the persuasive power of disclosure and publicity that forces a responsible body to pay attention; and paying attention...is the attitude that a regime of accountability is designed to foster."

4. In recognition of the accountability of cultural agencies to Parliament and the Canadian public for the interpretation and execution of their respective mandates, each agency must develop appropriate measures for the disclosure of its plans and performance, including the preparation and publication each year of a corporate plan and an annual report which, in their form and content, will stimulate public interest and permit informed judgments.

Boards and Chief Executive Officers

The Lambert Commission also gave wise advice about the boards of directors of federal agencies. Quoting Thomas Macaulay's aphorism that the essence of responsible government is "to choose wisely and confide liberally," the Commissioners commented:

"Although Government continues to espouse the corporate form of organization, it has sometimes been remiss in honouring Macaulay's dictum 'to choose wisely' and, in recent years, has more explicitly demonstrated a reluctance to 'confide liberally' by reasserting controls that countermand the original direct delegation of powers to its board of directors."

The two requirements are obviously related. To confide implies confidence, and without wise choice there can be no confidence. But to try to remedy defective choice by a curtailment of powers is simply to compound the initial error.

The selection of board members is clearly crucial in those cultural agencies which, in the view of this Committee, must be free of policy direction and administrative controls. What is required is that, for these agencies, the boards must bear most of the responsibility for defining the public interest which, in a departmental setting, would be borne by ministers. The board must therefore consist of persons who will be regarded, by ministers and members of Parliament and by the public at large, as qualified to act in lieu of political authority in prescribing policies and priorities and directing operations – especially when those operations venture into controversial realms of opinion or taste. As public trustees they must be alive to the forces to which political leaders are subject, but their overriding purposes must be cultural.

The record of the cultural agencies strongly suggests the need for some board members who have had direct experience of the kind of affairs with which the agency is involved and who are known and respected by their colleagues in the cultural world. We make reference to this in the section below on the Canada Council. But boards must be broadly based, with a decisive element drawn from other occupations, although members must have in each instance a demonstrated interest in cultural matters and community service. To ensure public confidence, all members must be persons of some standing within their geographic and occupational milieus.

In a general sense, boards are representative bodies – mini-parliaments, as the Canada Council was often characterized by one of its directors. Each must reflect, in the character of its membership, a balanced diversity – of place, language, sex, age, occupation – neither constant nor rigidly prescribed, but always needing to be weighed and adjusted as vacancies have to be filled. But members should not be regarded or regard themselves as delegates or spokesmen of particular interests or localities. If specialized expertise is needed, boards must look to others, within their staffs or in advisory bodies such as the Advisory Arts Panel of the Canada Council,

or the advisory committees attached to the museums and National Gallery. If user interests are to be consulted, boards should turn to consultative committees like those proposed for particular interests or audiences in the broadcasting world.

We share the conclusion of the Lambert Commission that "the most potent instrument in the hands of the designated Minister or Governor in Council is the power to appoint and change boards." Regretfully, based on the record of the past and on submissions made to us across the country, we must also share their conclusion that this most potent instrument has not always been wisely used. Indeed, in the views of some intervenors, it has been grossly abused.

We hasten to add that most board members are able and conscientious, and many have made outstanding contributions. Given that on some boards they must serve without remuneration, their devotion to the public good at times verges on the heroic. But there have been too many instances in which political service in the ranks of the party faithful has seemed the dominant, if not the only, explanation of an appointment. Nor is it surprising that a number of those appointed with little record of cultural interests or of commitment to the purposes of the agencies take little active part in the work of their boards. Clearly, the use of board memberships as consolation prizes or status symbols not only impairs the competence of the boards, but also undermines public confidence and removes the prerequisite for the essential delegation of powers by government itself.

Not only must governments choose wisely; it is important that vacancies be filled with the least possible delay. There will, of course, be unexpected vacancies, for which the finding of good replacements may take time. But it has been a recurring complaint that even when terms of members have run their normal course, there have too often been persistent delays – of as much as a year and a half – before new appointments have been made. Not only does neglect of this kind weaken the direction of the agencies concerned, but it also suggests an attitude of indifference on the part of government that demeans the role and status of the boards.

The defects of past practice are more easily described than cured. No alternative method of constituting boards and filling vacancies suggests itself. If ministers are to repose the high degree of confidence in boards that seems to us essential, then ministers must retain the power of appointment. *This Committee can only urge, in the strongest terms possible, that this key ministerial function be discharged with due regard to the essential role and crucial importance of boards.*

Systematic consultation can be useful in broadening the range and strengthening the calibre of candidates to be considered. The cultural sphere has its own intricate and richly varied network of organizations that can be canvassed for suggestions – not as specific vacancies occur but on a continuing basis as a means of maintaining a roster of potential talent. And as vacancies are anticipated, the chairmen of the boards concerned should be consulted for their knowledge of the kinds of experience and competence of

which their agencies are most in need. This is not to suggest that the boards themselves should be self-perpetuating. The final recommendation must be the minister's, and although he owes the normal courtesy of consultation to his political colleagues, his judgment should not be guided by political considerations, such as that which flows from parliamentary caucuses.

5. Appointments to the boards of directors of cultural agencies should be made with an overriding concern for the appointees' experience in the fields of concern of the agency and their demonstrated broad-ranging interest in cultural matters. Attention should also be paid to ensuring that the boards as a whole are generally representative of Canadian society.

Like the Lambert Commission, we believe that chairmen of boards must bear a special responsibility for relations with the government and Parliament on matters such as the corporate plan of the agency and its record of operations as disclosed by annual reports, and they should serve as the formal link between the board and the designated minister. We subscribe, therefore, to the view that they should be appointed by the Governor in Council. There should be prior consultation with the board by the minister, and, as a general rule, the chairman should be selected from among incumbent or recent board members.

We further agree that, to ensure continuity in the direction of the cultural agencies, members of boards should be appointed for staggered terms of three years each, with the possibility of reappointment once. The provision in the draft Crown Corporations Act that would have limited initial terms to one year but allowed indefinite extensions thereafter seems to the Committee to be singularly devoid of merit. However, in the absence of any special circumstances requiring protected status – as in an adjudicative body such as the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission – members should be removable by the Governor in Council at pleasure, in order to preserve the government's one essential power of controlling the composition of the boards.

The Committee also feels that members should not be required to serve without recompense for their time, as is now required of some boards. To expect this service – demanding as it often is, and in our view must be – to be rendered as a matter of public duty inevitably tends to limit the field of choice to people who are able to absent themselves from their regular pursuits with no loss of income. Given the diversity of backgrounds desirable within a board, any such limitation is to be avoided.

Finally, the Committee supports the view of the Lambert Commission concerning the chief executive officers of autonomous agencies:

"Just as we feel that the Government must use the instrument of appointment to control the composition of a board of directors and declare who shall be its chairman, so we believe that the board of directors should use the instrument of appointment of the chief executive officer to manifest its responsibility for the care and management of the corporation."

Only in the National Arts Centre is this now the case. Among the other agencies the existing requirement varies: the executive director of the Canadian Film Development Corporation is appointed by the government "on the recommendation of the board," the director and associate director of the Canada Council and the Secretary General of the National Museums of Canada are appointed by order-in-council with no provision for participation by the board, and in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the offices of chairman and chief executive officer are merged, with the selection vested in the government.

The Committee strongly endorses the opinion of the Lambert Commission that the offices of chairman and chief executive officer be clearly distinguished, and that the selection of the latter be entrusted to the board in recognition of the board's responsibility for the care and management of the agency and also to forestall any confusion about the accountability of the executive officer. We further concur in the Commission's recommendation that the remuneration of the chief executive officer be fixed by the board within a range approved by the Governor in Council.

6. Chairmen of boards of cultural agencies should be appointed by the Governor in Council, after consultation with the board, to ensure an effective working link with the government and Parliament. Chief executive officers should be appointed by agency boards, or at the very least appointed on their recommendation, as witness to the responsibility of the boards for agency care and management.

Ministerial Coordination

Even without powers of policy direction and administrative control over cultural agencies, ministers still bear major responsibilities in cultural matters. In relation to the autonomous agencies, as has been seen, the crucial tasks of defining jurisdictions, allocating resources and appointing board members must rest with ministers. In addition, ministers will continue to bear a wide range of program responsibilities that, either directly or incidentally, affect cultural development. Some of these – such as the direction of the National Library or of much of the Cultural Initiatives Program of the Department of Communications – involve activities directed to essentially cultural purposes but in which the nature of the cultural impact is not such as to require or justify insulation from the political process. In other instances, programs directed to the needs of particular populations include, within a wider

context, a strong cultural component – such as the programs responding to the needs of Native peoples. Finally, there is the wide variety of policies and programs of incidental but often crucial importance to cultural activity, such as taxation policies or industrial assistance measures.

The existence of this extensive and varied assortment of government activities affecting cultural life raises the question of whether one minister should be responsible for the coordination of all cultural matters: serving as the designated minister for all cultural agencies; housing within his or her department all government operations directed to cultural ends, other than those that are incidental to wider concerns such as Native peoples' affairs or industrial development; and monitoring the impact on cultural life of government activities generally. In effect, the assignment of ministerial responsibilities in the federal government over the past 20 years has evolved in this direction, to the point where, in the opinion of many, all that is lacking now is the formal designation of the responsible minister – now the Minister of Communications, and formerly the Secretary of State – as Minister of Culture.

It is evident, however, from representations made to the Committee from across the country, that there are mixed feelings about the concentration of all responsibility for cultural matters in the hands of a single minister. In one view, it is a mistake to conceive of all the cultural activities of government as being so interconnected as to require unified direction or even overseeing. At any given moment, the problems and needs of, for example, writing and publishing, are likely to be quite different from and unrelated to those of the performing arts, or museums, or historic sites and parks. Even within a single cultural sector the fact that, for example, both the Canada Council and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation are major instruments in sustaining the performing arts, requires little coordination of their activities. There may be utility – as we trust there will be – in periodic inquiries like that entrusted to this Committee, or to its predecessor, the Massey-Lévesque Commission 30 years ago. But it is argued that such comprehensive approaches are needed only as periodic stock-takings. For the day-to-day (or year-to-year) development of federal policies and programs, all that is required is that there be organizations within the machinery of government that are sensitive to the evolving concerns and needs of each part of the cultural life of the country, and are empowered to take such action as is appropriate to the federal government – each organization having its specific responsibilities.

The experience of the Committee bears out this view – to an extent. (We resist the temptation, to which some other commissions have succumbed, of recommending the creation of machinery to perpetuate, as a continuing activity, the task with which we have been charged.) But we are nonetheless persuaded that there is value in having one minister preeminently concerned with cultural matters. This minister would not devise a unified cultural policy or direct all cultural programs, but rather would serve as a central reference point and a channel to cabinet colleagues to ensure that cultural considerations and the views of the cultural community and of

cultural agencies are given due attention in the formulation and execution of all policies having significant cultural implications. This would be a minister *for* culture, rather than a minister *of* culture. And in recognition of the fact that these responsibilities include only marginally the direction and control of policies and programs – which are the normal distinguishing marks of the ministerial role – it seems to us inappropriate that they should be the sole or even the principal concern of the minister's portfolio.

In this latter conclusion we reflect, in some measure, several apprehensions that were expressed to the Committee about the idea of a cultural ministry. One of these concerns the need to guard against the undue subordination of cultural aims to other government purposes. The fact that ministerial functions tend increasingly to be exercised collectively means that, in relation to their respective portfolios, ministers cannot be – and should not be – expected to serve as single-minded champions of the interests with which they deal. As was noted before, they are increasingly preoccupied with ensuring that the policies and programs under their supervision reflect *all* the objectives and concerns of the government. We would emphasize, however, that the primary safeguard of cultural values and purposes is to be found in our recommendation that those cultural activities most vulnerable to the intrusion of noncultural objectives be confided to boards of trustees insulated from political direction and entrusted with the full care and management of operations.

A further concern is that because a minister exercises greater control over departmental operations, he or she will be tempted – and encouraged by departmental officials – to distort the allocation of resources in their favour and to extend them into areas that are more appropriate to the autonomous agencies. Associated with this is the apprehension that a cultural ministry will tend to develop a large bureaucracy which, while lacking the direct experience acquired by the agencies of the conditions and needs of cultural activity throughout the country will, because of its relationship with the minister, exercise a disproportionate influence on government policies, priorities and programs.

That these apprehensions are widely shared is clear from statements made to the Committee in briefs and at our public hearings. It should, moreover, be clear that the Committee agrees that the jurisdiction of the agencies should be protected against departmental encroachment, that the resources necessary to their tasks should not be diverted to other channels more susceptible to political direction and control, and that the agencies' experience and understanding of cultural needs should carry due weight in the development of cultural policies and programs. But no juggling of organizational forms and relationships can effectively ensure that these conditions are maintained. The inescapable reality remains that the role and status appropriate to cultural agencies depends, in the last analysis, on ministerial and parliamentary acceptance, of which the best guarantee is a productive, spontaneous and confident cultural life permeating society.

7. The Government of Canada should include in the portfolio of the minister responsible for the cultural agencies a mandate to act as a central reference point in cabinet for cultural matters – in effect, an advocate before government on behalf of the arts and culture community. This mandate would leave with cultural agencies and other departments – particularly the Department of the Secretary of State – the responsibility for developing cultural policies and programs within their respective areas of concern.

Department of Communications

The mandate suggested in Recommendation 7 for the minister responsible for the cultural agencies implies certain functions for the minister's department. If the minister is to be an effective advocate for the arts and culture within government, departmental officials must provide him or her with sound and well-informed counsel on broad cultural policy objectives. One function clearly not implied by the mandate is the design and administration of programs requiring specific value judgments and consequent funding of artistic and cultural achievement. Nevertheless, when an Arts and Culture Branch was formed within the Department of the Secretary of State in 1972 (the branch having been transferred along with ministerial responsibility for the cultural agencies to the Department of Communications in July 1980), a process began of building up within the department a staff whose interests sometimes tended to duplicate those in the cultural agencies. That process has prompted the concern, stated above, over the inherent departmental tendency to regard the department itself as the appropriate vehicle for delivery of new forms of cultural funding.

We acknowledge the fact that some cultural programs may be more suitably placed within the department than within any of the existing agencies, such as programs providing assistance with capital projects or disseminating the results of cultural research. But by delineating, earlier in this chapter, the essence of the arm's-length relationship of cultural agencies to the political process and therefore to the department itself, we have explained the reasons why programs to benefit the cultural and artistic life of society should be confided in normal practice to the relevant agency. This is hardly an idea original to our Committee, but is a tradition which we believe has so great a value that it should be sustained and protected.

Only if a funding program is manifestly inappropriate for any cultural agency to undertake, and is sufficiently impervious to being subjugated to political ends, should it be undertaken by the department. And even then, the department should assume the program only after consulting fully with the agency(ies) concerned, in order to take advantage of their professional expertise and contacts and to clarify respective program roles.

For cultural policy purposes, the department's chief function resides in providing an environment in which Canada's cultural life and the federal cultural agencies themselves may best flourish.

This is a responsibility whose significance extends far beyond the more specific influence exercised by any particular agency. We see this departmental responsibility being exercised through cabinet advocacy, as described in Recommendation 7, but additionally in three broad and important ways, through:

- regular consultation with the arts and culture communities and with other levels of government, ensuring that lines of communication are kept open in order to bring to bear on cultural policy development the broadest possible range of informed concerns;
- development and maintenance of a vigorous program of cultural research;
- exploitation on behalf of artists of the department's expertise in new communications technology.

In pursuing the first of these three functions, the minister and departmental officials have immediately available a major resource of knowledgeable advice in the cultural agencies themselves. Through the exercise of wise choice in agency board appointments, the minister can be assured of receiving the commensurate degree of insight required in the weighing of cultural policy alternatives. Beyond the agencies, however, the minister has the broader constituency of the arts and culture communities throughout the land. A continuous flow of information and advice to and from these communities, on the part of both the cultural agencies and the department, is essential to the development of cultural policies and programs that genuinely serve the needs of society.

In sustaining that flow of information and advice, a special role is played by the many national and regional service organizations in the area of arts and culture. These organizations, ranging from trade and professional associations of artists and cultural producers to more general umbrella organizations, can be highly effective liaison and advocacy bodies on whom the minister and departmental officials should rely for experienced opinion.

For service organizations related to particular disciplines and operating with true representativeness and effectiveness on behalf of their members, federal funding should be assumed or maintained by the cultural agency in the best position to judge the quality of the organization's work. For umbrella organizations representing diverse disciplines and activities, such as the Canadian Conference of the Arts, assistance commensurate with performance should be continued by the department.

The existence of effective service organizations at both the disciplinary and general level is essential, in the Committee's view, and can greatly enlarge and improve the value of the advice available to the minister.

Two-way communication need not and should not be restricted by the department to the cultural agencies and service organizations. During our public hearings it became amply clear that many Canadians were dissatisfied with their ability to obtain either information or an adequate hearing on

cultural matters of concern to them. When the Department of the Secretary of State had responsibility for the Arts and Culture Branch, its regional offices performed a valuable service in fostering liaison with local citizens and cultural groups. Now that the responsibility resides with the Department of Communications, we urge that department to use its existing network of regional offices not only to implement technical functions in the communications sphere, but also to serve the equally pressing information needs of culture and the arts. A department specializing in the development of the latest technological means of communication will assuredly be able to fill this communications gap.

On a more formal and political plane, there is a constant need for consultation on cultural matters among federal, provincial and municipal authorities, a need that grows year by year as provincial and municipal governments step up their cultural programs. In addition to the talks held each year by ministers responsible for culture and heritage, a group known as the Assembly of Arts Administrators brings together provincial and federal cultural officials to discuss mutual concerns and exchange information. We are also aware of the effectiveness of working consultations that sometimes occur between staff of cultural departments and agencies of all three levels of government, and we feel encouraged by the prospects for improved inter-government dialogue emerging from the West with the establishment of the Tri-Level Arts Liaison Group in British Columbia in 1977, followed by formation of a similar group in Alberta in 1980. The Committee warmly commends these types of initiatives, bringing together as they do all levels of government, private foundations and the business community to promote informal discussion and information exchange on issues in the arts. While we recognize that the Department of Communications cannot alone represent the federal government in such consultations, and we acknowledge the impossibility of uniform and binding federal positions because of the cultural agencies' autonomy, nevertheless we urge the department to encourage and even to coordinate the consultation process.

In the conduct of cultural research, too, the department plays an important coordinating role. By cultural research, we mean development of a knowledge base about arts and culture activities in Canada – not research in-to artistic or cultural material, which is usually carried out by scholars and critics, often with the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

The Cultural Statistics Program is currently operated by Statistics Canada in close cooperation with the Department of Communications. The key elements in this program are timeliness, reliability and comprehensiveness. Data must be collected and published on a regular cycle, soon enough after the time period studied to be relevant and useful; the form and content of data must provide an accurate reflection of the field under study and be generally accepted as such; and the various sectors of arts and culture must be comprehensively covered, requiring the program to be extended to sectors not yet served. The department has the responsibility for

ensuring that these conditions are met and that the data are monitored and interpreted knowledgeably, a task in which the involvement of the cultural community is essential if the community is to be served well. The Committee is pleased to note that such consultation is increasing.

Both the department's research and statistics directorate and its policy sector conduct their own research studies, the latter in the area of broadcasting and electronic communications. These departmental research units should increase the amount of research by independent outside researchers, in order to fill information gaps and to keep open a variety of information sources. Wide-ranging research, resulting in reliable information, is essential to successful policy development in the arts and culture as in any other area. Equally essential is that the information be widely and effectively disseminated to those who need it.

Over the past 10 years, a base has been laid for collecting and interpreting cultural statistics. This important work must continue in order to bring this service to the necessary level of effectiveness. We believe that Statistics Canada should continue to assume responsibility for the collection of cultural statistics as an essential part of its ongoing program and to allocate the required funds for this activity from its own appropriations. In order to confirm the needs and priorities of the program, full consultation should be established with government departments, agencies and the cultural community, all of which have a great need for reliable statistics in determining their own policies.

We also consider it essential that the attendant analysis and research be conducted by the Department of Communications as a service integral to its policy development process. Similarly, most agencies must interpret and analyze aspects of their fields in their own way, whether through their own research departments or through outside contracts or commissions. The cultural agencies should therefore expand their research activities, and ensure that the Statistics Canada program serves their needs and those of their clients.

There is an additional contribution that the department is in a unique position to make to cultural and artistic life. When responsibility for cultural affairs was transferred to the department also responsible for telecommunications and broadcasting, it was felt, correctly in our view, that communications technology should no longer be allowed to develop in isolation from the cultural implications of its use. The evolution of what is called "hardware" – such as Telidon, satellite technology and computerized office equipment – should be able to benefit from a close working association with people in all cultural fields, and the attitudes, insights, principles and policies that guide their work. Since the transfer of responsibilities was made in 1980, it is our estimation that only a modest beginning has been made in encouraging a meaningful interaction between the arts and the communications wings of the department. It is our hope that a greater emphasis will be placed on the need to realize in organizational, personnel and policy terms the hoped-for benefits that motivated the move in the first place. The 1981-82 annual

report of the Communications Research Advisory Board, which advises on the research program of the department, made just such a recommendation, stressing that the availability of appropriate content is critical to the acceptance of the new communications technologies and the two must evolve together.

The very real shortage of "software," the creative output on which this Report centres, presents Canada with an opportunity that may not reappear for decades. In this Report, we are expressing the view that our country is blessed with an abundant potential for creative work that needs to be realized and exploited. Canada has been a world leader in developing communications technologies. These affect our culture in ways that are at the same time frightening and invigorating. What we have not done in Canada is promote the use of this technology by creative people at the same rate as we have developed the hardware.

We in Canada must grasp this opportunity. The product emerging from our communications laboratories in government centres and what have become glamorous "high-tech" industries must be understood and used by individual artists, producers and performing arts companies. We know about the exciting work of our musicians and video artists, supported in many instances by the Canada Council, in seizing on the possibilities of the new technology and producing works of world standard. We would like to see this activity continued. *But we also see a vital, stimulative role for the Department of Communications in the high-technology field, and would encourage development of an arts and technology program within the department. The objectives should be the promotion and funding of research and experimentation, and the provision of access to research results and the hardware itself to artists across the country.*

There exist additional functions within the department in the administration of lottery funds for cultural purposes and the subsidized postal rates for mail of a cultural nature, but these will be addressed, respectively, in Chapter 3, "Marshalling Resources," and Chapter 7, "Writing, Publishing and Reading."

8. A primary function of the federal department housing the Arts and Culture Branch is to assist in providing the environment in which cultural life may flourish and the cultural agencies may best achieve their purposes. In the course of advising the minister on broad cultural policy directions, departmental officials should pursue this primary function by fostering communication and consultation, providing an accurate knowledge base for cultural activities, and assisting artists and cultural groups to make the fullest use of appropriate technologies.

The Canada Council

The Canada Council will be discussed in many chapters of this Report, since its funding policies and programs play such an important role in different aspects of our cultural life. But precisely because the Council has had such a multifaceted and pervasive influence, it requires a more general discussion here. Not only does the Council's mandate cut across many arts disciplinary lines, it also embraces the primary producer (the central concern of this Report), the individual creative artist. The Council's mandate is therefore a uniquely sensitive and fundamental one, and certain principles about its operations must be understood.

The Council was founded 25 years ago from the time of writing, as a result of a major recommendation of the Massey-Lévesque Commission. Its programs provided support for artists, arts organizations and scholars in the broad fields of the arts, the humanities and the social sciences. In 1978, in line with the government's decision to rationalize funding for research activities, the humanities and social sciences division was split off from the Council and a new agency, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, was formed, leaving the Canada Council to concentrate entirely on support of the arts.

In the past 25 years, the Canada Council has experienced dramatic growth parallel to the growth of the arts themselves. When considering this period in the arts in Canada, it is important to remember that the Council did not *make* the artistic explosion of the period happen. The energy, creativity and talent of artists, as well as what the Massey-Lévesque Report termed the "prevailing hunger" for what they could give, were out there in the land, and much fine work was already being done. But the Council served as a catalyst and an enabler, and in that supporting role it served well.

Perhaps the main reason why the Council did serve well is that from the beginning it consistently sought the advice and guidance of the arts community, and has maintained close contact with that community through its system of juries and panels and through hundreds of individual assessors. In addition, the Council was (and still is) staffed by individuals with a knowledge and understanding of the arts and artists. It has been able to attract many of its staff from among practitioners in the arts, who normally return to their own fields after a stint at the Council. The movement of people between arts production and arts support can only be stimulating and useful to both sides, and we encourage the Council to maintain this practice.

The crucial matter of budget allocations among the various artistic disciplines is a matter for decision by the Council itself, advised by members of the staff. These, in turn, draw on the advice and guidance of the Advisory Arts Panel (composed of practising artists, writers, teachers, artistic directors, arts administrators and others), their contacts in the arts community, and their own experience. The specific granting decisions within each section's programs are also made by the Council, acting on the advice of the staff. Applications for grants are adjudicated by panels or juries of specialists in each

discipline or by individual assessors. Final decisions rest with the Council itself, as the organization's supreme governing body.

These carefully worked out decision-making procedures, with their system of checks and balances, are an attempt to ensure that the governing principle in awarding grants remains the excellence of the project or artistic activity. This system derives from, and is central to, the Council's statutory power to make its own program policy and granting decisions, and represents the essence of the arm's-length relationship between the Council and government.

Much was said to us during our public hearings about the merits and failings of the Canada Council's jury system in awarding individual artists' grants. Although there appeared to be among our intervenors substantial majority support for the system, we heard a number of recurring criticisms about the way in which it is administered. It must be acknowledged that most of these criticisms originated in the field of the visual arts (see Chapter 5), although professionals in other disciplines also made suggestions for improvement.

We have concluded that the jury adjudication system can serve the arts and artists as well as, if not better than, any other system of awarding individual artists' grants. It is essential to the fairness and credibility of the process that its integrity be maintained and be seen to be maintained, and to this end we urge the Council to take all reasonable care in its selection of juries. In particular:

- There should be fair and adequate representation of artistic background and philosophy, region, sex and age among members of juries.
- A very large pool of qualified jurors should be drawn upon, representing a wide range of knowledgeable people, and membership should be rotated frequently so that no individuals or representatives of specific groups may exercise undue or prolonged influence on jury decisions.

We understand that the Council does attempt to follow these principles. But they are worth stating here because they are so crucial in maintaining the credibility of the system. Juried competitions in which there are a limited number of grants available will inevitably produce more disappointed candidates than successful ones; a certain amount of disillusionment with the system is therefore unavoidable. We feel that the results of jury adjudications will be more widely accepted if Canadians have faith in the integrity of the process and of the people operating it. The Council could therefore do more to explain its adjudication process both to the arts community and to the public.

Closely related to this concern is the need for regular and effective communication and consultation by the Council with the arts and culture community and the public. Given the ability to communicate with increasing ease

and efficiency, with electronic tools at hand that can provide a quick and effective flow of information from one part of Canada to the other, we believe that the Council would be wise to forego its longstanding plan to develop its own regional office network. Canada Council officers travel a great deal, as they must, and the jury and advisory units fundamental to the operation of the Council also provide a basis of understanding the needs and issues specific to various parts of the country. Direct contacts between clients and the Council's officers and decision-makers are an essential part of the operation in any case. But in addition to these modes of communication, the Committee encourages the Council itself to undertake periodic public hearings in various parts of the country to strengthen its contacts with its constituency. Furthermore, in our preceding section on the Department of Communications we recommended a greatly strengthened arts and culture component within the department's regional and district office network, and it seems to us that this network could serve the Council effectively, by providing the interested public with the Council's publications and information brochures and by passing on queries to the relevant Council personnel.

Community arts support is another area in which we believe the Council must become more committed and active, extending its responsibilities to nonprofessional arts activities of quality and local or regional importance. We have frequently heard the argument that the Canada Council must not weaken its position on "excellence" as a criterion for arts support, and that a large, differently oriented staff would be required to handle the vast clientele involved in community arts. We have no desire to see the Council's concern for the highest possible standards compromised in any way. At the same time, we cannot see how the Council can continue to give such low priority to community arts activity in theatre, visual arts or music-making at all levels when it devises its policies for particular arts disciplines. In addition, it has been made clear to us that professional artists can develop valuable and productive relationships, to say nothing of sources of revenue, through working with and for such groups. *The Canada Council should therefore build up a carefully prescribed program of assistance to enable community arts organizations to employ arts professionals, with the objective of enhancing the quality of community arts work and public enjoyment of the arts generally.* The elements of the kinds of support activities we have in mind are already in place at the Council in programs such as Explorations, and these should be extended and made more generally applicable.

Clearly an expansion of the Council's activities, such as those we propose in the succeeding chapters of this Report, would require an increase in the Council's annual parliamentary appropriation. Such an increase is required in any case, merely to allow the Council to continue the crucial work that it has been doing. In spite of its record of achievement, the Council has been perceived by the artistic community for the past several years as being in a state of crisis. And if the Council is in crisis, it follows inevitably that the arts in Canada must be in a similar condition. The central problem was summarized for us in the Council's brief to the Committee:

probs
involved?

"Today the Council finds itself faced with an increasingly eroded field of clients and potential clients, with the growing expectations of both artists and audiences, with double-digit inflation and an effectively shrinking budget. With the erosion of the spending power of our funds, we have been forced to forego supporting new ventures and new initiatives. Survival, rather than achievement, is becoming the order of the day."

In the realm of the arts, the consequences of such a situation are far more calamitous than a little enforced belt-tightening. In order to flourish, the arts require daring, experimentation, risk. But because of several years of budgetary restraints and even cutbacks at the Council, "support to new companies, to younger artists, to those inventive spirits on the frontiers of art, is simply not possible unless we rob Peter to sponsor Paul," to quote the Council's brief again.

The Council was correct in terming its parliamentary appropriation over the five years 1975-76 to 1980-81 "a sustained diminuendo." The value of the appropriation in real economic terms fell by an average of 2.1 per cent a year. Indeed, the Council estimated that its budget would have required an additional \$13.3 million in 1980-81 dollars merely to have kept pace with inflation during that period. The consequences for artists and arts organizations that have been sustained by the Council – theatres, orchestras, dance companies, galleries, publishers – can be imagined, and will be described in the chapters that follow.

The consequences to others are at least as great. When funds are scarce, sustaining the established operations becomes a priority; we dare not lose our arts organizations of quality and experience. As a result, the new, the emerging, the experimental – in fact the future – must wait in the wings until funds are once more available in sufficient quantity to enable their appeals to be considered, too. We cannot deny ourselves that future. Although there are indeed other channels within the federal government offering support to arts programs and cultural activities, only the Canada Council among federal agencies is concerned with sustaining top-level arts organizations and encouraging the emerging or established individual artist. The Council's funds should not be allowed to be eroded to the point where it is no longer able to fulfil its responsibilities to the country as a whole.

9. The federal government should regard the Canada Council as a primary instrument of support to the arts. Accordingly, it should augment the Council's annual parliamentary appropriation, having regard for the real, as distinct from the nominal, value of the Council's grants and sustaining support and for the consequences that will follow if the real value of that support is allowed to diminish.

Parliamentary appropriations must be of a magnitude that will permit new initiatives, both inside and outside the Council's current areas of support, to be developed and sustained.

The Implications of Federalism

The federal government is not, of course, alone among Canadian governments in concerning itself with the support of culture. Provinces and municipalities have been similarly involved – in the operation of libraries, archives, museums, and in the encouragement of the visual, applied and performing arts, of writing and publishing, and of the newer cultural industries. All provinces have vigorous ministries for culture or the arts and four (Newfoundland, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan) also have arts councils similar to the Canada Council. The Saskatchewan Arts Board was Canada's first. The provincially based systems of public schooling provide the primary channels for cultural transmission to the young, and provincial and local education authorities give varying degrees of training in and for the arts.

It was not part of the task of this Committee to examine the cultural policies and programs of these other jurisdictions, although in the course of our hearings across the country we were able to meet, either publicly or privately, with many ministers and provincial officials involved. But no examination of federal cultural policy would be complete without giving some attention to the implications of the concurrent activities of the other governments.

In the representations made to us, in briefs and at public hearings, relatively little was said about federal-provincial questions of jurisdiction. The dominant mood, in fact, was one of impatience – amounting at times to exasperation – arising from the sense that pleas of lack of jurisdiction were being used by one or another government to justify inactivity in the face of urgent needs, or that confusion was being caused by the failure of authorities in the various levels of government to consult one another and to harmonize their activities.

The views of this Committee on the role of government in cultural matters have, we believe, important implications for the relationships among governments on such matters in the Canadian federal system. If cultural life is to be autonomous and self-directed, it is important that it not become excessively dependent on one source of support – and especially on one governmental source. For this reason alone we welcome the support of all governments – federal, provincial and municipal – to cultural activity, and would wish, in fact, that all might increase their exertions in this direction.

But there is, we believe, an even more compelling reason why it is both unnecessary and inappropriate to differentiate the roles of the different levels

of government with the aim of endowing each or any of them with exclusive powers. What has been said about the need for federal activity in support of culture to be directed to cultural purposes applies with equal force to comparable activities on the part of all other governments. And as long as this imperative is respected by all, there should be little sense of rivalry among them. When jurisdictional conflicts erupt over cultural matters, the inference may be drawn that one or both of the contending parties is bent on using cultural programs for political ends and finds its ambitions thwarted by the other. The effect of this can only be to politicize the support of culture by all governments.

Only in one matter among all the aspects of cultural policy that we have examined do we find concurrent activity unacceptable: namely, in the exercise of regulatory powers, especially over broadcasting. Only if there is a single regulatory authority will it be possible to sustain and expand Canadian production of high quality that will serve the widest possible range of interests and tastes and provide the greatest access by Canadian talent in all parts of the country to its potential audiences. As will be seen in Chapter 10, "Broadcasting," we consider that this need is, if anything, reinforced by the dramatic technological developments, actual and prospective, in the delivery of visual images to Canadian homes.

Regulatory functions of this kind are, however, a special case. In the general support of culture there is ample room – and need – for all levels of government.

Inevitably, the cultural activities of each actor in the federal system will impinge on those of others. In some situations, such as the development of countrywide library and archival systems, and the preservation and public enjoyment of heritage resources generally, there will be elements of interdependence among the various public agencies involved at different levels of government. And as patrons of the contemporary arts, authorities within each jurisdiction are likely, in the very nature of things, to pursue their own distinctive courses – reflected in their ranking of priorities and choices of criteria. Confronted by this multiplicity of public patrons, each applying its own standards and conditions, cultural organizations may well experience a certain confusion and frustration at times.

This is not, however, an argument for the concerting of all public programs in a single countrywide "system" of patronage. The fact that agencies at different levels develop their programs within different cultural perspectives is, in our view, not only necessary but desirable, and we must caution against an undue preoccupation with intergovernmental coordination.

The essential need is for a willingness to consult, coupled with a free flow of information among public authorities within different jurisdictions. It is our clear impression, in fact, that most cultural agencies and offices need little urging in this direction and sense a strong community of interest with their counterparts in other levels of government – and, for that matter, with those in the private sector who are deeply involved in the support of cultural

activity. Certainly we have found this to be generally true of the Canada Council, the National Library and the Public Archives, and we would expect the establishment of a Canadian Heritage Council, which we propose in Chapter 4, to improve relationships within the museum community.

As we noted above in the section on the Department of Communications, federal and provincial ministers responsible for cultural affairs, and their respective departmental officials, will continue to be involved in this consultative process. But it follows from our general view of the role of governments in the support of culture that cultural affairs need never be a contentious item in the agendas of federal-provincial ministerial conferences.

4

Heritage

4

Heritage

In April 1949, the Privy Council of Canada set in motion the work of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, referred to in this Report as the Massey-Lévesque Commission. The order-in-council stated as a first principle that "the Canadian people should know as much as possible about their country, its history and traditions, and about their national life and common achievements." There is still no better justification for the many varied activities and institutions now devoted to the preservation of Canada's national heritage.

Our heritage begins with the land itself and its many natural wonders. It encompasses prehistoric remains and the traditions of the Indian and Inuit peoples. Our national heritage is made up of the tangible and the intangible. It includes folk tales and family histories, paintings and prime ministers' papers, old houses and old stones. It is present in the countryside and in the urban centres of our country, in public museums and private collections. Our heritage inspires, enlightens and enriches contemporary Canadian experience.

The preservation of these irreplaceable heritage resources has been assumed by heritage institutions sponsored by all levels of government, as well as by private corporations and citizens. Museums, art galleries, archives, historic buildings and sites, and specialized public and private collections are all custodians of heritage resources.

At the federal level there has always been some recognition of the importance of what we now refer to as heritage. In 1867 Canada already possessed a significant architectural and engineering heritage, as well as archival and library materials in all the existing provinces. Canadians and visitors to Canada in Victorian times were fascinated by our natural heritage and left a legacy of writing and painting inspired by it. From the first, a few farsighted federal officials managed with very limited funds to create the foundations of our national heritage collections. There were, for instance, Sir William Edward Logan and G.M. Dawson of the Geological Survey which preceded the former National Museum of Canada; Marius Barbeau and Diamond Jenness of what became the National Museum of Man; John Macoun of

what was eventually called the National Museum of Natural Sciences; Eric Brown, H.O. McCurry and Kathleen Fenwick at the National Gallery of Canada; Arthur Doughty and W. Kaye Lamb at the Public Archives of Canada, to name only a few.

In spite of the prodigious contribution of these individuals and others who worked with them, federal involvement in the heritage field, until the formulation of the National Museum Policy in 1972, could be characterized as negligible commitment rather than wilful neglect. The Centennial celebrations in 1967 marked a change in both public and government attitude toward our national heritage. Canadians are now more aware and concerned about their heritage than ever before. This is reflected in the astounding growth of custodial institutions and historic sites and parks, and the numbers of visitors they receive. The Canadian Museums Association told us that "the 1,600 custodial agencies in Canada serve an estimated audience of 40 million visitors annually."

Canadians have shared in the increasing international interest and concern for the preservation of heritage since 1976 by recognizing the International Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The World Heritage List established and monitored by the World Heritage Committee of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), which includes world renowned treasures such as the pyramids of Egypt and Mont-Saint-Michel, now includes seven Canadian natural and cultural sites.

The growing public interest in and support for heritage activities in Canada was recognized in the increased funding provided for heritage programs through the National Museums of Canada, the Canada Council and the Heritage Canada Foundation. Without this support, many heritage activities would not have been undertaken and much of the riches of our heritage would not have been disseminated across Canada and overseas. Heritage is inevitably a growth area, by its very nature always expanding and seldom contracting, yet since 1976 there has been no increase in the real value of funds allocated to the National Museums of Canada or to the Canada Council, while the Heritage Canada Foundation has seen its endowment diminish. Heritage institutions in Canada are currently unable to conserve, catalogue or adequately display the material they now possess. How then can they be expected to enlarge their collections significantly or undertake new activities?

The consequences of the current situation for Canadian culture should not be underestimated and are a matter of grave concern to this Committee. It must be recognized that our past is too precious to lose because of inadequate funding. Heritage is irreplaceable; it cannot be ignored or neglected for years and then retrieved; it needs constant preservation. We direct the attention of governments at all levels to what one brief described as "the *totality* of our inescapable heritage responsibilities." *We urge governments to make a substantial commitment at once to the preservation of our heritage, to recognize its unique nature, and the need to maintain this priceless inheritance for ourselves and for generations to come.*

There must also be a renewed commitment to effective management of heritage interests by existing custodial institutions. We agree with the National Museums of Canada, the federal agency which deals with many heritage concerns, that, in future, these institutions

"may have to accept limitations on growth and place much greater emphasis on cooperative ventures, including not only shared sponsorship of exhibitions and other programme activities, already fairly common, but shared conservation, storage and research facilities and joint stewardship of collections as well."

Technological advances over the next 20 years undoubtedly will have an impact on the management of our heritage resources. Even though in recent years great advances have been made in techniques for preservation and conservation, it is still necessary, because of Canada's distinctive problems of distance and climatic extremes, to discover better and cheaper ways to protect, accommodate, distribute and display the tangible evidence of our past. Great technological changes in information disposal systems have also occurred over this same period, yet access to heritage material has not become proportionately any easier. Even so, no information retrieval system, however efficient, could ever be an adequate substitute for the exhilarating experience of actually viewing at first hand a unique object, specimen, work of art or building of historic interest.

These considerations, and the more detailed ones which follow, have led us to several conclusions about various aspects of our national heritage, its due recognition and its preservation. We have, however, two central recommendations which are interdependent and reinforcing, and which underlie many others and so should be stated at once, leaving specific observations to emerge in context.

To give adequate expression to the importance we attach to heritage as a distinct and vital component of Canadian culture, we propose the establishment of the Canadian Heritage Council, a new independent agency with broad national objectives. Further, because we also attach special importance to federal heritage institutions in the National Capital Region, we propose that the Board of Trustees of the National Museums of Canada devote itself entirely to the supervision of the existing four national museums, together with any future museums or galleries located there or elsewhere in Canada which may be created in response to other recommendations in this Report.

15. The Government of Canada should establish an arm's-length agency to be known as the Canadian Heritage Council, to be a visible champion of heritage interests in Canada, recognizing the importance and particular characteristics of those interests, to promote heritage arts and sciences and to support heritage institutions.

16. The National Museums of Canada, guided by its Board of Trustees, should retain supervisory responsibility for the four existing and any proposed federal heritage custodial institutions in the National Capital Region or elsewhere. It should, however, relinquish to the proposed Canadian Heritage Council responsibility for the various categories of grants and assistance now given to nonprofit museums throughout Canada under the Museum Assistance Programmes, for the continuation of the National Inventory of the cultural heritage, and for the Canadian Conservation Institute – all of which are at present administered and funded by the National Museums of Canada as part of the National Programmes.

Current Problems in Heritage

Effective resolution of the problems experienced today by heritage institutions and disciplines will greatly affect the management of heritage resources in the future. These problems have arisen in organizations involved with movable heritage, such as archives and museums, as well as in institutions concerned with fixed heritage, such as natural sites and the built environment. The provision of additional funding is obviously a basic need but it is not by any means the only solution to the difficulties evident in various aspects of heritage – recognition, acquisition, conservation and dissemination.

Recognition of Heritage Value

Problems in the identification of heritage material worthy of preservation arise mainly in relation to fixed heritage, especially historical and archaeological sites and materials found on them. Parks Canada, through its National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, is the federal agency which has an important cultural responsibility in the identification, protection and preservation of many of Canada's significant *in situ* historic, architectural and archaeological resources. The Parks Canada brief drew our attention to a difficulty which will require legislative action to resolve.

The Minister of the Environment, to whom Parks Canada is responsible, may designate a site as being of national significance under the present Historic Sites and Monuments Act, but unless the Crown acquires the site there is no way of ensuring it will remain unaltered. The Parks Canada brief pointed out that federal designation, unlike provincial designation which in almost every case imposes legal restrictions on the future use of the property, "places no restrictions, other than moral ones, on the disposition of property in private hands or property held by other levels of government." The essential purpose of the recognition of the heritage value of a site is frequently thwarted by formal federal designation and, distressingly, such designation

has often led to theft or vandalism. Parks Canada has been forced to designate secretly, but not mark officially, certain potentially vulnerable sites.

The Department of the Environment now has the authority to prevent the destruction of Canada's natural heritage through the duly authorized Environment Assessment and Review Process. A similar process should now be established in law to give protection to designated historic and archaeological sites from unconsidered alteration or destruction. The Committee supports the view expressed by Parks Canada and recommends that:

17. Existing federal legislation relating to the designation of historic sites should be strengthened to compel heritage impact studies to be carried out and reviewed before any such site is sold, developed or in any way altered from its present use.

More effective legislation is, in our view, also required to protect heritage resources in the Northwest Territories. In this case the resources are virtually all located on Crown land and their protection is therefore clearly a federal responsibility. Unfortunately, as we were told by the Director of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, neither the federal nor the territorial governments have assumed this responsibility, with the result that these "priceless, nonrenewable resources are being disturbed and destroyed at an alarming rate."

Minimal protection is now provided by the Northwest Territories Archaeological Sites Regulations (under the Northwest Territories Act). These regulations are outdated, ineffective and offensive to the residents of the North. They require that all specimens found in the Northwest Territories be deposited with the Archaeological Survey of Canada in Ottawa. While this prevents private interests from assuming ownership of important heritage material, it effectively prevents this material from being exhibited in context. This deprives Canadians who live in the North of opportunities to see objects which are part of their own heritage in the region in which they were found.

18. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, as the federal department which administers the Northwest Territories, should review the existing Northwest Territories Archaeological Sites Regulations with the Archaeological Survey of Canada and the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch. It should proceed at once to develop a comprehensive heritage preservation act which clearly states the responsibilities and obligations of government, industry, special interest groups and individuals for the prehistoric and historic archaeological resources of the Northwest Territories, and gives recognition to the interests of Canadians in the Northwest Territories to retain such materials in the context in which they were found whenever possible.

Throughout Canada much greater recognition of the value of our "built heritage" could also be given by federal authorities. The Department of Public Works has on its inventory of buildings owned by the Crown many structures dating from 1867 and earlier. Federal public buildings often shaped the towns that grew up around them. Parks Canada and the Department of National Defence have control of other historic federal properties. Officials of the Department of Public Works, appearing on March 10, 1981, before the Senate Committee on National Finance, gave assurances that new criteria were being developed for a policy on heritage buildings. The Department of Public Works has for some time required that proposals submitted to it for construction or land use projects include an assessment of their possible impact on existing heritage properties. Recycling a heritage building to meet contemporary building code and client requirements admittedly presents difficulties, but such a solution, in our view, should always be the first consideration. Both Public Works and the Heritage Canada Foundation have found by experience that adaptive re-use of a heritage building can be an economically competitive solution, with the important additional gain that an architecturally and historically significant structure is preserved in its original context.

Our concern for recognition of our built heritage has a special application in the National Capital Region. The nation's capital should be a showplace for our accomplishments, a place in which we have pride, a symbol of our rich and varied past and present. Its buildings should tell both Canadians and visitors how we view ourselves and how we value our achievements. The National Capital Commission and the Department of Public Works are to be commended for the care taken to preserve the parliamentary precinct and the heritage context of Sussex Drive, and for the imaginative use of the historic Rideau Canal, to cite some examples.

Federal departments with construction responsibilities have shown some sensitivity to the value of the built heritage, recycling, reconstructing and restoring large and small properties in Ottawa and elsewhere, but many buildings have also been lost.

It is the view of this Committee that the federal government must actively demonstrate that it puts a high priority on the preservation and use of the heritage properties under direct federal control, so that Canada's built heritage receives from others the recognition, protection and preservation required to ensure that Canadians never lose their sense of place and continuity with their past.

Collection

We consider it relevant to heritage policy to make some observations about the balance between Canadian and non-Canadian content in our national heritage collections. The work of creative artists from many countries has always been collected by Canadian galleries, while many Canadian museums have specialized collections from around the world. It is appropriate that

Canadians should have the opportunity to become familiar with the accomplishments of other countries. In this connection, the Royal Ontario Museum quoted to us the wise comment by Northrop Frye that "It is only when we have made the effort to understand other ways of life that we can come to see our own as a specific culture too."

Pride of place in Canadian heritage institutions should, however, always be reserved for the works of our own creative artists of the past and present. This is not at present evident in major collections other than those of the four federal museums. Unhappily some aspects of Canadian creative endeavour are underrepresented or entirely missing in the present collections of both federal and non-federal institutions. These areas include Native art and archival material, the applied arts (including unique crafts and industrial design), films and photographs, radio and television tapes, and often the most innovative and experimental contemporary creation. Many of these omissions can only be amended by the creation of entirely new collections within a new custodial institution which we propose in Chapter 5.

In this general discussion of current problems in heritage, certainly the most serious problem in the collection aspect concerns Native peoples' art and archival material. We have previously indicated that, in our view, the peoples of Indian and Inuit ancestry must have a special place in Canadian cultural policy. It is therefore distressing to find that, of the national museums, only the National Museum of Man systematically collects Native art and artifacts and even that museum has only recently given some emphasis to contemporary creation. The National Gallery of Canada neither collects nor displays the work of Indian or Inuit artists. Many works by these artists have for years been successfully shown in other countries where they are now sought by collectors. Two extensive and important collections of Indian and Inuit art, assembled by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, have never been shown to the public or even systematically organized until recently.

Federal collections of historical records of the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples should also be strengthened and made more accessible. The history of these peoples is almost entirely an oral tradition. Unfortunately, to quote from the brief presented by the Inuit Cultural Institute, "this body of information is not being retrieved and disseminated fast enough. That is a disastrous loss to Canadian scholarship in general, and Inuit culture in particular." This could also be said, with truth, of the loss to Indian and Métis cultures as well.

On a happier note, Canadian collections of heritage materials have been greatly assisted by the creation of the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board, a quasi-judicial body established in 1977 under the terms of the Cultural Property Export and Import Act. The objective of that legislation was to provide means to ensure that the best examples of Canada's heritage in movable cultural property are kept in the country. The Act authorized three ways to achieve this objective: export controls, tax incentives to encourage donations or sales of private collections to designated

public institutions, and grants or loans to help designated institutions buy objects which are stopped at the border by the control system or to repatriate cultural property of heritage value (and deemed significant to Canada) which is offered for sale often outside Canada.

To give an idea of the increasingly successful application of this legislation, it is interesting to note that in 1980-81 the Review Board issued 279 cultural property income tax certificates. These certificates establish an acceptable fair market value of proposed sales or donations. As a result nearly \$15.5 million worth of cultural property was transferred to designated collecting institutions and public authorities, of which almost \$13.5 million was in donations. During the first five years of the program, acquisition grants to designated non-federal institutions in every province totaled nearly \$1.2 million, while federal collecting agencies received \$2.5 million. Grants are given to supplement funds provided by institutions from their own varied resources to meet the purchase price of a desired property.

The Review Board has consistently drawn attention to certain difficulties it has experienced under the present statutory arrangements. In each instance the changes the Review Board desires are, in our view, not only compatible with the original purpose of the legislation, but would also benefit both artists and institutions. We wish to comment here on those which most directly affect the collection of heritage properties in Canada.

The Review Board has queried the method and level of funding for the grants which the enabling legislation authorizes it to give. The amount allocated for this purpose each year has, in the opinion of the Review Board, never been large enough to ensure that it could meet the costs of a major emergency purchase of heritage property, nor does it now reflect the realities of the international art market or the reduction in the purchasing power of the Canadian dollar. Furthermore, the unspent balance of this allocation cannot be carried over to the next fiscal year. This jeopardizes the often protracted and delicate purchase negotiations. In both cases this is an unnecessarily restrictive arrangement which should be altered at the first opportunity to recognize the uncertainties inherent in the art and heritage properties markets.

19. The annual sum appropriated for grants made by the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board should properly reflect the unpredictable and high prices of the international art market. Unspent balances from this appropriation should be carried forward to succeeding fiscal years and the Cultural Property Export and Import Act should be amended to provide authority to do this.

The Review Board has, we believe, fulfilled its functions well. The members of the Board are appointed by the Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Minister of Communications, and its administrative

services are provided by the Department of Communications. These arrangements cause the Committee some misgivings. Because of the nature of its duties, the Review Board must be free of the merest hint of political influence. The composition of the Board is crucial to the effective operation of the program, and Board members must command professional respect earned by their expertise. Recommendations made by the minister should, in our view, always be based on consultations with the various heritage disciplines directly affected by the Board's activities. The Review Board and its support staff should also be removed from their present direct departmental situation. Although the duties of the Board are important, they are relatively narrow in scope and do not justify a completely independent status. We consider that the Canadian Heritage Council we have recommended as the principal agency for heritage activities would provide the appropriate administrative framework within which the Review Board could work independently, in the way that the Canadian Commission for Unesco now works within the administrative framework of the Canada Council.

20. The Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board should, while retaining its independent status, be associated for administrative purposes with the proposed Canadian Heritage Council.

Conservation

Conservation is the fundamental activity in the heritage field. Without conservation our heritage will disintegrate and eventually disappear; without conservation the objects and ideas which link us to our past will vanish, never to be retrieved. The present situation is very grave. Canadian custodial institutions lose more of our heritage every year through deterioration and lack of conservation than they gain through acquisitions. Archivists, for example, often find that 20th century documents are on poor quality paper which quickly disintegrates, making imperative the need to find new ways to conserve these irreplaceable records. Heritage groups protest the destruction of a number of historically significant buildings every year. Curators of scientific specimens and artifacts and of works of art, both ancient and modern, are today fighting a losing battle even to keep in existence the objects they now possess.

The four national museums and the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch have always had the capacity to carry out some conservation of their own collections. This individual federal conservation activity was extended by the opening of the Canadian Conservation Institute in December 1976 as one of the constituents of the National Programmes of the National Museums of Canada. The Institute treats artifacts in collections in museums and galleries throughout Canada on a regular and emergency basis from its laboratories in Ottawa and on site through its mobile conservation units. It has a small internship program to provide on-the-job training in conservation

techniques and conducts some research into conservation methods and problems. Results of these research activities are published in technical bulletins. The demand for the conservation services available from the Institute has been so great, however, that essential development of its research and education activities has been delayed.

This important service was initially also provided in regional conservation centres, which were closed in 1978 when government budgetary restrictions reduced the annual appropriation to the National Museums of Canada. The closure of these regional centres has further increased the conservation workload of the Canadian Conservation Institute in Ottawa. This is far from ideal. Conservation work should always be done as close as possible to the collecting institution. Major museums in all parts of the country should have their own in-house conservation facilities where the results of the research into new techniques carried out by the Institute might be applied and where smaller regional museums could be assisted with their conservation problems.

It is heartening to note that some provinces now have mobile and other conservation units offering a necessarily limited service to local collections which need basic conservation assistance. The Canadian Conservation Institute, however, has a national role to play in basic preventive conservation training and particularly in research to find new conservation techniques. The preservation of contemporary documents on wood pulp paper is an important example of the need for research in this field. The work of the Institute should be for the benefit of all the heritage institutions of Canada. As such it would, we believe, be more appropriately associated with the proposed Canadian Heritage Council. This change would serve in part to emphasize the primary research function of the Institute and its role as a national resource during an emergency rescue operation for heritage materials.

21. In recognition of the fact that conservation is a vital national aspect of heritage, the proposed Canadian Heritage Council should give special consideration to requests for grants which will ensure that every region of Canada has access to regional conservation facilities. The Canadian Conservation Institute should report directly to the Canadian Heritage Council and receive its funding from appropriations made to the Canadian Heritage Council. The Canadian Conservation Institute should give priority to research into new conservation techniques, the results of which it should share with all Canadian heritage institutions.

Research

Lack of research, like lack of conservation, jeopardizes the whole heritage field. Without research, it is impossible to identify what should be preserved,

how it should be kept and the ways in which this knowledge can be made accessible. Yet research, the least visible activity in the heritage process, is usually the last to be funded and the first to be cut. Everywhere in Canada we met representatives of heritage institutions who emphasized the neglect of long-term concentrated research based on actual collections. There is also an acute need for published material based on the Canadian heritage experience for use in training curators, conservators and educators. Research publications on how Canadian geographic and climatic conditions affect preservation and conservation would, for example, be extremely useful. It was put to us that because research is the basis for all heritage programs of exhibition, publication and interpretation, it requires sustained support.

Research based on collections can only be undertaken effectively if collections are well managed. Appropriate accessing, identification and cataloguing leading to comprehensive inventory control must be carried out with precision. If these processes are not in place, collections are not accessible and are therefore virtually useless. We were told that there is a pressing need for inventories of archaeological material and historic buildings. Federal institutions, including the Public Archives of Canada and the four national museums, urgently need to improve their collections management. Other custodial institutions across the country have benefited, to a certain extent, from funds available for registration upgrading through the National Museums of Canada's Museum Assistance Programmes. Nonetheless, it is fair to say that virtually every heritage institution could and should adopt new, improved methods for collections management and uniform methods using current technology, which are relatively simple to process and financially more efficient over the long term.

The need to have easily accessible information about the content of collections and of existing heritage buildings to facilitate research and collections management prompted two federal agencies to set up inventory programs early in the 1970s. The Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings was begun in 1970 by the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch. It is a computerized program to survey, analyze and classify existing old buildings which may be worthy of preservation. Much valuable data has already been accumulated in this inventory. Exteriors of about 200,000 buildings have been surveyed and their features indexed. The interiors will also be surveyed, and approximately 1,800 have been completed.

In 1972 the National Museums of Canada, as part of its National Museum Policy, began a National Inventory program to compile a computer-based inventory of all the public, scientific and cultural museum collections in Canada. In its first eight years expenditures on this program have totaled about \$7.5 million. The Secretary General of the National Museums of Canada told a parliamentary committee in February 1982 that the original purpose of the inventory had been to provide the museum community with an information bank which could be used for research, exhibitions and

educational purposes. However, with increased emphasis on more efficient collections management by the Auditor General and the central agencies, the inventory has also been made into a more effective tool for planning and control of acquisitions. The National Inventory will ultimately give access to information on an estimated 34 million objects in Canadian collections, including those in museums, university collections and collections of government departments. Of these, about nine million objects are in the care of museums, 1.5 million in the National Museums of Canada. There are 150 participating institutions in this inventory project.

There have been problems with both the mechanical and factual aspects of the creation of the National Inventory. To begin with, there was no clear conception of the scope of the collections to be included because participating museums across the country had no idea themselves of what they had in their custody. By February 1982, the Secretary General of the National Museums could report that 42 per cent of items given high priority by the museum community had been inventoried, or in other terms, 37 per cent of the man-made objects. He estimated that within five years all nine million objects in the 150 participating museums will have been entered. The cost of completing the project is estimated to be \$2.7 million, but researchers in the participating museums will then have access, through widely available computer terminals, to this extraordinary information base.

Both the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings and the National Inventory program should be completed with all possible dispatch. They are of enormous potential benefit to all heritage activity in Canada. As basic information resources which will require sustained support, both national programs should be transferred from their present departmental jurisdictions and placed under the administration of the proposed Canadian Heritage Council.

22. The National Inventory program and the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings should be completed as soon as possible to facilitate collections management, exhibition planning, research and education activities based on heritage collections throughout Canada. The proposed Canadian Heritage Council should assume continuing responsibility for the National Inventory program and the Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings.

Display and Dissemination

Display and dissemination are the ultimate goals of collection and conservation. A justification for retaining the works of the past is that they will be seen and will be available for interpretation and reinterpretation. Since the establishment of the National Museum Policy in 1972, the National Museums of Canada has been active in facilitating and promoting the dissemination of movable cultural heritage to museums in all parts of Canada and abroad,

through a group of five programs which are collectively called the National Programmes: the Museum Assistance Programmes, the Canadian Conservation Institute, the National Inventory, Mobile Exhibits and the International Programme.

As recommended above, the Canadian Conservation Institute and the National Inventory should, we believe, be transferred to the proposed Canadian Heritage Council. As we see its future role, the Canadian Heritage Council should be primarily concerned with grants to increase access to and knowledge about heritage. It follows then that the Museum Assistance Programmes should also become a responsibility of the proposed Canadian Heritage Council.

The Mobile Exhibits program circulates heritage materials from the national collections throughout Canada in three theme-coordinated caravans called Canada North, Atlantic Canada and Canada West. Over two million Canadians have visited these caravan museum exhibits since they began circulating. The earlier Discovery Train which had a similar purpose has now been dismantled. This extension activity of the National Museums should remain with that organization, but other methods of dissemination including travel grants to individuals, publications and films might be fostered by the Canadian Heritage Council.

Access to our nonmovable culture – such as heritage buildings and natural sites – is, at present, provided by the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch and through the work of the Heritage Canada Foundation. The former is discussed elsewhere in this chapter. The Heritage Canada Foundation was established in 1973 and endowed by the federal government to act as an independent, nonprofit organization “to encourage the preservation and demonstration of the nationally significant historical, architectural, natural and scenic heritage of Canada.” The Heritage Canada Foundation concentrates its energies on the preservation of the built environment and to this end has purchased buildings, encouraged the training of architects and artisans in the skilled work of restoration of heritage buildings, provided advisory services and conducted research.

The Heritage Canada Foundation, during its short life, has achieved notable success in restoring, preserving and therefore assuring to present and future generations access not only to individual buildings of historic interest but also to entire streets or areas of heritage significance. However, the effectiveness of this foundation is being reduced by the decreasing value of its endowment. The Heritage Canada Foundation must continue to be independent but should receive support from the proposed Canadian Heritage Council, not only in the form of additional funding for its restoration activities but also for its training and advisory services.

Access by inhabitants of the North to their own art and artifacts presents special problems, and these were raised with us by many groups during our hearings. The federal government has clear responsibility for artifacts in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. Despite the efforts of the

only territorial custodial institution having staff and facilities, the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife, much of the cultural material of Canada's north country is either ignored or shipped south. As mentioned above, under the Northwest Territories Archaeological Site Regulations all specimens found in the Northwest Territories are deposited at the Archaeological Survey of Canada, in Ottawa. Specimens found in the Yukon have been shipped south because no environmentally secure storage has been provided for them there. This, in effect, denies the inhabitants of those regions access to their own past.

This is no longer acceptable. Northern Canadians are proud of their heritage and want to see it displayed in their own communities. *Environmentally secure display centres should now be opened in various places in the North, so that art and artifacts can be seen in context by the local inhabitants and visitors, and so that traveling exhibitions of artifacts taken from the North, now held in Ottawa and elsewhere, can be returned for placement or circulation in the originating communities.*

Over the past 10 years, the National Museum Policy, with its emphasis on democratization and decentralization, successfully increased the number of heritage facilities and encouraged public interest. However, in doing so, it has caused the basic heritage activities of collection and conservation to be seriously neglected and minimally funded. As a result, some of our unique collections are now in jeopardy. It is desirable that public access to heritage materials not only continue but increase. Nonetheless, it must be recognized that the basic support activities of collection, conservation and research are essential to sustaining public interest and are equally deserving of financial support.

Curators responsible for heritage materials must constantly be aware of the audience likely to view the exhibitions and displays they arrange. Viewers are not all alike. Their interests, aspirations and sensitivities differ widely from region to region. It is entirely reasonable that institutions in each region should develop collections and exhibitions which reflect the distinctive characteristics of that region. We fully agree, for instance, with the contention of the Inuit Cultural Institute that it is counterproductive to attempt to impose "southern" notions of cultural development on the North. It was apparent to us from our countrywide discussions with those involved in heritage activities that the National Museums of Canada, in pursuing the objectives of the National Programmes, has not always been as sensitive as it could have been to provincial and regional priorities, interests and standards, and has sometimes acted in a directive rather than a reactive way toward the non-national museums.

Federal support must also be made available for the dissemination of non-Canadian material. It, too, is part of our past. Access to the culture of other countries by purchasing works for Canadian collections is an expensive proposition. So, too, is the borrowing of objects from other countries for international exhibitions; the borrower must not only pay the transportation costs

to Canada, but also the extremely costly mandatory insurance on these objects. Many countries have adopted indemnity legislation which enables them to underwrite the costs of such insurance. The Art Gallery of Ontario presented the case for a similar Canadian indemnification plan which, it was estimated, could save Canadian cultural institutions about \$1 million annually in insurance premiums.

A formula to share risks associated with insuring exhibitions was adopted in principle in May 1982 in Regina, by federal-provincial ministers responsible for culture and historical resources. It is encouraging that the basis for agreement on how to solve this burdensome, recurring problem has been established.

One other aspect of dissemination must not be overlooked. Until now heritage materials have been disseminated by a few traditional methods and except for the use of computer-stored information in the National Inventory and the planned computerized bibliographic network of the National Library, newer communication systems have been virtually ignored. In future, heritage institutions will undoubtedly take more advantage of the opportunities to display their collections to larger audiences provided by television and to increase the exchange of information by the use of videotex systems such as Telidon and other information retrieval and display technologies.

23. The proposed Canadian Heritage Council should encourage and support the dissemination of heritage materials throughout Canada, and in order to do so should assume from the National Museums of Canada direct responsibility for grants now given under the Museum Assistance Programmes. To facilitate access to nonmovable heritage, the proposed Canadian Heritage Council should cooperate with the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch of Parks Canada, and with the Heritage Canada Foundation, and should assist activities of the Heritage Canada Foundation financially if requested.

Staffing and Training

Many intervenors told us about another problem endemic in the heritage field, the lack of qualified staff. There are very few fully qualified curators and museum administrators in Canada because, until recently, no qualifying courses were available here. The graduate degree program in museology at the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum began in the late 1960s. When the Canadian Conservation Institute was set up in 1976, there were not enough trained experts anywhere in Canada to staff it adequately. Competition for the limited qualified personnel has existed among heritage agencies for years.

Since 1972, when federal training grants to colleges and universities became available through the National Programmes of the National Museums

of Canada, a number of colleges and universities have offered courses designed to prepare students for professional careers in various aspects of museum operations. These include a museum technicians' course developed by Algonquin College in Ottawa and the conservation course given by Queen's University in Kingston. Even so, many students must still leave Canada to receive advanced training.

In many of the specialized areas of heritage, "learning-on-the-job" is virtually the only form of training possible. For instance, there was in all of Canada no formal diploma training program in archival science until 1981 when the University of British Columbia introduced such a program. There must be more initiatives of this kind in other branches of the heritage field. A steady infusion of well-qualified professional custodians will increasingly be required for the successful management and development not only of Canadian archives but of other heritage resources as well.

24. The proposed Canadian Heritage Council should support initiatives to develop training programs in professional heritage management.

Volunteers and Service Organizations

National service organizations in the heritage field take a special interest in maintaining and developing professional standards in training and performance. At present, grants to such organizations are quite haphazard, some receiving assistance and others not. We suggest certain criteria for the funding of such bodies in our discussion in Chapter 2 of the respective functions of the Department of Communications and of the cultural agencies. The operation of national service associations in Canada is expensive, given the distances to be traveled to meetings and the bilingual character of their publications and discussions. These factors should be considered by the proposed Canadian Heritage Council when the criteria for grants to national organizations – such as the Canadian Museums Association or the Canadian Archaeological Association – are established.

We have received many comments about the important contribution made by volunteers who perform essential services in heritage institutions which would not otherwise be provided. Unfortunately, many institutions have recently noted that the number of volunteers active in this work has decreased. And this has happened at a time when museums need more staff to cope with the increased use of their facilities but have less money to acquire such staff.

The degree of dependence on volunteers by heritage institutions can be judged by the results of a recent survey conducted by the British Columbia Museums Association which showed that over 68 per cent of the staff of the British Columbia Museums was voluntary. Clearly these essential, committed volunteers must be adequately trained. But there are difficulties. We were

reminded by the Chairman of the Board of the Restigouche Gallery that many of the dedicated people who have made things happen in their community are often not able to finance trips to the seminars, workshops and conferences that have been arranged to help them enlarge their skills. We therefore make the following recommendation on behalf of volunteer staff in heritage institutions, suggesting that training assistance must be provided for these essential services through existing or proposed federal funding programs.

25. Encouraging volunteers in heritage organizations by offering them special training is money well spent, and grants for the purpose of training volunteers should now be made through the Museum Assistance Programmes of the National Museums of Canada and, ultimately, by the proposed Canadian Heritage Council. In addition, recognized national heritage service associations should be eligible for financial assistance toward the cost of annual meetings and publications.

Accommodation for Heritage Collections

The improvements in the accommodation of heritage institutions during the past 30 years have been outstanding. These changes are due to a very large extent to the substantial support given for this purpose by the National Museums of Canada and the Departments of the Secretary of State and Communications. The National Museums brief stated that "135 museums and art galleries have received federal grants for new or renovated facilities, better equipment and more sophisticated environmental controls." Provincial governments and private donors have also contributed heavily to the cost of building new heritage facilities and upgrading old ones. Today, most provinces have efficient facilities for the preservation and display of their collections.

It is unfortunate that federal institutions have not benefited nearly as much during this period, with the single exception of the now inadequate building shared by the Public Archives of Canada and the National Library. The February 1982 decision to provide \$185 million for the construction of facilities for the National Gallery of Canada and the National Museum of Man goes some distance toward meeting the desperate need for safe and adequate display and storage of these important national collections.

The Board of Trustees of the National Museums of Canada has for some time strongly urged the central agencies, the Treasury Board of Canada and the Privy Council Office, to provide funds for new accommodation for national museums. It has been stated that the process of designing and building the new quarters for the National Gallery of Canada and the National Museum of Man will take five years. It is imperative that construction plans for these buildings be developed and brought to fruition with all possible speed.

We would be delinquent, however, if we did not also draw attention to the crowded conditions of the Public Archives of Canada and the National Library, as well as the detrimental and unsuitable locations in which the National Museum of Natural Sciences and the National Museum of Science and Technology now operate. If we wait until the recently authorized federal museum buildings are completed before the next ones are even considered, the provision of proper accommodation for our immediate and pressing heritage needs alone will take at least 25 years, while future technological advances, particularly in preservation and conservation, will undoubtedly necessitate structural changes in existing buildings. We must not dismiss accommodation as a concern simply because heritage institutions in many parts of Canada are housed today better than they were before.

26. Suitable buildings should be provided for the National Museum of Science and Technology, the National Museum of Natural Sciences, the Public Archives of Canada and the National Library of Canada as soon as possible, in line with the accommodation priorities established by these institutions for the heritage collections for which they are responsible.

Funding

Inadequate funding is the root cause of many of the current problems in heritage already discussed. It is our firm conviction, and therefore worth repeating, that heritage is both perishable and irreplaceable; it cannot be put in limbo for lack of money and later retrieved unimpaired.

Funding for heritage activities now comes from many sources. We found general support for the principle of multiple sources of funding among non-federal heritage institutions which recognize the desirability of seeking support from federal, provincial and municipal levels of government, as well as from benefactors outside government. Multiple-source funding gives these non-federal institutions a measure of protection from the disappointments which can occur if dependence is placed on a single source of funds.

Representatives of the smaller museums and galleries outside the major cities told us in some detail about the extra costs they incur by virtue of their size and location. It is simply much more expensive for small institutions to initiate, receive and circulate exhibitions because services such as packing and shipping and similar unavoidable support requirements are not readily available. These extra costs have evidently not been considered in determining the size of the grants smaller institutions receive. There is much good sense in the proposal made by the Saint Mary's University Art Gallery that "a policy of equalization be implemented rather than the present practice of 'the richer you are, the more funding you get'."

This problem is particularly acute for the National Exhibition Centres, which are located in smaller communities across Canada. These centres,

mostly established since 1972 with encouragement and capital grants from the National Museums, were never intended to become full-fledged collecting museums, but rather to be environmentally secure places capable of receiving traveling exhibitions. It was also expected that they would enjoy sufficient community support to cover basic operating costs.

Unfortunately, neither expectation has been met. The larger museums – that is, the four national museums and the 21 designated Associate Museums – have been unable to produce the numerous, inexpensive exhibits the centres expected to receive. The National Exhibition Centres have been obliged to create their own exhibitions and programs to fill the gaps. Furthermore, community funding has not been sufficient to permit them to stay open without federal assistance for core funding. The National Museums of Canada recognizes that in the future the needs of these centres, like those of the Associate Museums, can only increase. If the principle is accepted that our heritage should be available to everyone, it is necessary to equalize funding to allow smaller institutions to mount exhibitions and programs that will attract support from the communities where they are located.

27. There should be increased federal assistance to smaller heritage institutions, including the National Exhibition Centres. Other levels of government, interested individuals and corporate sponsors should consider commensurate increases in support.

International Heritage Activities

In 1975 the National Museums of Canada set up an International Programme to promote interest in international museum activities, and to coordinate international exhibitions coming to Canada and other international exchanges in the heritage field. This program has been associated with a number of notable exhibitions made available to museums in all parts of Canada. Officials responsible for the International Programme in the National Museums work closely with the Bureau of International Cultural Relations in the Department of External Affairs and take part in the advisory committee of that department on international cultural affairs.

The International Programme is the second of the five components of the National Programmes which, in our view, should not be transferred to the supervision of the proposed Canadian Heritage Council. As a result of our review of international cultural relations, which can be found in Chapter 11, we recommend the creation of a new international cultural agency. The National Museums' International Programme should become a part of that new agency when it is formed. The Canadian Heritage Council would, however, be a source of counsel on heritage matters as they relate to international activities and could be expected to give grants to help bring international exhibitions to Canadian museums.

The National Historic Parks and Sites Branch coordinates Canada's participation in international heritage activities organized by the Paris-based headquarters of Unesco, and gives an annual grant for that purpose which is largely concerned with natural heritage. We consider it appropriate that this heritage activity should also be assumed by the proposed Canadian International Cultural Relations Agency in cooperation with the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch as required.

Federal Heritage Activities

The federal government is heavily involved with heritage. Not only is it directly responsible for nonrenewable resources owned by the Crown, but it is also responsible for the preservation and availability of existing national collections. In addition, the federal government has given substantial funding or program assistance to a wide variety of non-federal heritage organizations in all parts of the country.

The all-encompassing nature of heritage is reflected in the number of federal departments and agencies with responsibilities or interests in this field. At least 52 federal organizations have a heritage role. While the principal responsibilities are divided among Environment Canada and the Department of Communications and its related agencies, particularly the National Museums of Canada, there is extensive activity in other federal departments and organizations as well. At least 12 organizations maintain collections for exhibition. Besides the museums within the National Museums of Canada, these include the Canada Council, the Department of External Affairs, the National Film Board, the Canada Post Corporation and the Bank of Canada. Scientific research collections are maintained by departments such as Agriculture and Environment, as well as the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources.

At least 14 federal bodies are involved in funding or program assistance for heritage purposes. These include the Canada Council, the National Capital Commission and the Departments of Communications, and Indian and Northern Affairs. In addition, many of these federal agencies either manage historic buildings or devote resources to their restoration and to giving the public access to them.

Despite the number of federal organizations involved, federal activity in support of heritage concerns has often been covert, uncoordinated and dispersed. This lack of real commitment does grave injustice to the importance of our heritage. The federal agencies and departments with prime responsibility in this area must not only adopt realistic heritage policies but also implement these policies in the most effective possible way. In this connection, we have some comments to make on past policy, and some suggestions to offer for the future.

The National Museums of Canada

One of the principal federal bodies concerned with heritage is the National Museums of Canada. This Crown corporation was established in 1968 to be responsible for and provide services to the four national museums – the National Gallery of Canada, the National Museum of Man, the National Museum of Natural Sciences, and the National Museum of Science and Technology. The Canadian War Museum became a division of the National Museum of Man, and the National Aeronautical Collection was incorporated into the National Museum of Science and Technology. The purposes of the corporation, as stated in the enabling Act, are "to demonstrate the products of nature and works of man, with special but not exclusive reference to Canada, so as to promote interest therein throughout Canada and to disseminate knowledge thereof."

In 1972 a National Museum Policy was announced and funds were made available for improved assistance and services to museums generally, including non-federal institutions. As a result, a network of 21 Associate Museums was organized and 25 National Exhibition Centres were established; the Canadian Conservation Institute and the National Inventory were created; training programs were developed and an Emergency Purchase Fund was authorized to cope with costs of unforeseen acquisitions. Since 1974, the National Museums of Canada has been divided for administrative purposes into six operational units: each of the four national museums, the Corporate Secretariat and Services, and the National Programmes.

In examining the effectiveness of this important Crown corporation, it is helpful to look at the reasons for its formation. In the 1960s, it became clear that new legislation was needed for all the national museums. Two bills were prepared, one for the National Gallery of Canada and one for the three other national museums. The two draft bills were virtually identical since they dealt with the basic functions of a museum which are the same regardless of the character of the collections. The bills emphasized function rather than discipline; they were concerned, in the main, with management authority, financial and other controls rather than with aesthetic or disciplinary considerations. It was evidently assumed that if the three museums, each having quite different collections, could be joined together, a fourth, the National Gallery of Canada, could be added with equal validity.

The amalgamation of the four national heritage institutions was to bring about the use of common administrative and financial services, making it possible to pool scarce resources and avoid duplication. These centralized services, in short, were to reduce the burden of housekeeping for the four museums and to provide more cost-efficient services. Furthermore, to those sponsoring the legislation, combining four separate institutions was thought to be more desirable since the resulting single museum corporation was likely to be more forceful in its dealings with the central agencies.

The individual museums were to retain their separate and specific identities. The legislation confirmed that each museum had the status of a

separate cultural body, the corporate framework being solely for administrative purposes. The directors of the individual museums were given direct reporting responsibility to the Board of Trustees. Directors retained overriding responsibility for the management of their respective museums, including the full exercise of professional judgment, while the newly created position of Secretary General of the corporation was given responsibility for the coordination of the day-to-day activities of the corporation, particularly its common services.

This important and subtle balance between the role of the directors on the one hand and the role of the Secretary General on the other was altered by the addition of the National Programmes to the corporation in 1974 as part of implementation of the 1972 National Museum Policy. This addition modified the corporation's original role considerably. It was no longer simply an organizational and service umbrella for the national museums; it was now also a well-funded federal cultural agency instigating national programs and providing national services.

The National Programmes, set up as a new section of the corporation, became the responsibility of the Secretary General who was recognized by the central agencies, for accountability reasons, as the chief executive officer, a title not explicitly authorized by the Act of incorporation but subsequently recognized in the bylaws. Thus, between 1968 and 1974, the role and organization of the National Museums of Canada changed considerably and in such a way that the original intent – the operation of four federal museums in Ottawa – was subsumed under a larger national policy.

The original reasons for placing the four national museums in a single organization – reduction of administrative costs by amalgamating common services, more autonomy under a Crown corporation than in a department and increased clout with the central agencies of the government – on balance still seem reasonable to us. The addition of the National Programmes to the structure of the corporation as originally established was, however, in our view, ill-conceived. As well as causing new problems, this change seems to have exacerbated continuing problems implicit in the administrative arrangements made by the 1968 Museums Act.

At present the National Museums of Canada functions as a Schedule B Departmental corporation under the Financial Administration Act, the Public Service Employment Act, and the Public Service Staff Relations Act. Hence it is subject to the same controls imposed on departments of government. For the corporation, these include the requirement that ministerial approval be sought for acquisitions costing more than \$200,000 and Treasury Board approval for purchases exceeding \$1 million; that parliamentary appropriations for acquisitions lapse at the end of each fiscal year; and that the Public Service Commission recruit all employees, except the directors of the four museums and the Secretary General. In recent years, under pressure from the Comptroller General and the Auditor General to make Crown corporations more accountable, the central agencies have increasingly encroached on the independence of the National Museums' Board of Trustees. This, in our view,

is regrettable. As previously stated in Chapter 2, under the headings "Policy Direction" and "Administrative Controls," the Board of Trustees of the National Museums of Canada, like the boards of arm's-length agencies, would be a more effective manager if it had more independence from ministerial direction and bureaucratic interference in specific areas.

Several specific factors affecting the independent functioning of the National Museums deserve special comment. The first concerns acquisition decisions. Acquisitions are obviously vital to the establishment and maintenance of heritage collections. They involve highly sensitive decisions of an aesthetic, historic and professional nature. It is important that these decisions be made with integrity and impartiality, without undue influence, and in accordance with the highest professional standards. It is clear, therefore, that all acquisitions, at whatever price, should be made on the recommendation of the director of the museum concerned and with the authority of the board.

Secondly, the National Museums of Canada used to have a purchase account at its disposal. This was a special account in which acquisition funds left unspent at the end of a fiscal year could be carried forward for future use. Although a transition arrangement is in effect for two years, this account was effectively eliminated by the Adjustment of Accounts Act in 1980, when all similar non-lapsing accounts were set aside, again as a way of tightening controls on expenditures and commitments for future expenditures. The acquisition of heritage material is very difficult to plan for in advance. It is impossible to predict when a desired acquisition may come to the market and equally impossible to ascertain the length of time needed for purchase negotiations. While appreciating the motives for the Adjustment of Accounts Act, this Committee believes that the abolition of the non-lapsing account for acquisitions was an unwise decision which severely curtails the independence and the exercise of professional competence by the National Museums.

And thirdly, the present complete integration of all of the corporation's employees, including, of course, those working in the four national museums, into the mainline public service, is not always in the best interest of the museums. The museum profession requires highly specialized professional and technical personnel. More flexible terms and conditions of employment, including part-time employment, internships and secondments from other museums, academic and research institutions, would increase the effectiveness of the operation. Such flexible arrangements could be explored with the Public Service Commission which has mechanisms to meet many of these personnel problems. This staffing problem affects other cultural agencies as well, a point discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

These then were the considerations which led us to the second of our major recommendations about the future direction of heritage policy – that the National Museums of Canada concentrate on running the existing or proposed national heritage institutions in the National Capital Region or elsewhere, but relinquish to the proposed Canadian Heritage Council responsibility for three components of the National Programmes – the Museum Assistance Programmes, the National Inventory and the Canadian Conservation Institute.

28. The Board of Trustees of the National Museums of Canada should be given full responsibility for the operation of existing and future national heritage institutions in the National Capital Region or elsewhere, for staffing those institutions and for negotiating acquisitions for its various collections from a non-lapsing account to which annual appropriations for this purpose are made.

Other Federal Heritage Activities

We have already described the workings of two other agencies which exist because of sponsorship and funding by the federal government but which are fundamentally independent. These are the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board and the Heritage Canada Foundation. Another independent agency is the Art Bank of the Canada Council. In many respects the Art Bank acts very much like a museum in that it collects and preserves art objects and displays its holdings. The Art Bank is discussed in Chapter 5.

Many other federal government departments have collections and some have museums. But, as no authorized guidelines are applicable to all federal museum activities, they do not have to meet the standards the federal government demands of non-federal museums supported by grants from the National Museums of Canada. Consequently, accommodation and display of collections, conservation practices, research and public accessibility vary greatly from department to department. Administration of these other federal collections is haphazard, depending on the interest and knowledge of a few individuals whose professional training may have been in disciplines remote from heritage preservation, working in departments whose policies are directed toward concerns other than heritage.

While the location of these other federal collections within agencies whose priorities are not primarily museological could cause some problems, it is not necessarily advisable to alter the present arrangements. Many collections form an integral part of the workings of their parent organizations and could not sensibly be separated from them. For example, to remove existing collections of technically heritage items from the Cape Breton Development Corporation, from Rideau Hall or from Agriculture Canada would work against the original reason for the creation of such collections and would render them virtually useless. However, some federal collections, including those of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch of the Department of the Environment, the Public Archives of Canada, and the National Library, are comparable to those in the national museums. These essentially heritage activities were also reviewed by the Committee.

National Historic Parks and Sites

The National Historic Parks and Sites Branch of Environment Canada controls and administers 23 national parks and 54 national historic parks and major

sites. Under the authority of the Historic Sites and Monuments Act, 1953, the minister responsible can mark or commemorate historic places, establish historic museums, acquire historic places, and provide for their administration, preservation and maintenance. The minister receives advice on these matters from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board which was first established in 1919.

The National Historic Parks and Sites Branch is clearly engaged in museological activities, in research, and in the collection, preservation and display of heritage material. There is some competition for staff and acquisitions between this branch of the Department of the Environment and the National Museums of Canada, and coordination and cooperation in these matters is limited. Each agency has its own conservation laboratory and both are located in Ottawa. Together they employ four-fifths of all the conservators in the country, but classifications and rates of pay are not uniform for jobs which require similar or identical qualifications. It seems clear that the purposes and broad methodologies of the Historic Parks and Sites Branch and the National Museums of Canada are very similar. Ideally they should be more closely associated administratively and operationally. This would help to underline the breadth of Canada's heritage, and would emphasize the fact that heritage as a national concern includes not simply objects in a museum but also natural sites and historic buildings. We do not wish to give this suggestion the force of a formal recommendation and we realize that there are reasonable arguments to be made in defence of the present departmental arrangements, but this proposal certainly merits future consideration.

Public Archives of Canada

The importance of preserving public records was recognized by the first federal Parliament which approved a grant for this purpose in 1872. A full-time Dominion Archivist was appointed in 1898 and the basic definition of the responsibilities of this office and the nature of archival material to be preserved was set out first in formal legislation in 1912. This Act assigned to the Dominion Archivist custody and control of "public records, documents and other historical material of every kind, nature and description." The Public Archives Act has not been significantly altered since.

The Public Archives of Canada is effectively a department on its own. The Dominion Archivist has the rank of a deputy minister, and reports to the Minister of Communications about Public Archives activities. In addition, the Public Records Order of 1966 assigned to the Dominion Archivist control and management of public records, which were further defined as "correspondence, memoranda or other papers, books, maps, plans, photographs, films, microfilms, sound recordings, tapes, computer cards, or other documentary material, regardless of physical form or characteristics" originating in departments of the federal government. In this capacity the Dominion Archivist is responsible directly to the Treasury Board. A Records Management Branch conducts this administrative function, and the Central Microfilm Unit provides microfilming services to government departments at cost.

To carry out its heritage activities the Public Archives is now organized into eight divisions, each one devoted to a particular archival medium: films, television and sound recordings; pictures, medals and seals; photographs; maps and architectural records; machine readable records; federal textual records; private manuscript documents and documents from other countries; and a library. In addition, the Archives has been given certain curatorial responsibilities. It looks after all portraits on display in the Parliament Buildings and, under the terms of the Laurier House Act which incorporated the terms of the bequest by William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Dominion Archivist has charge of Laurier House and its contents, which now also includes memorabilia of Lester B. Pearson.

Since 1912, then, the Public Archives of Canada has freely interpreted the single unrevised statement of its mandate to collect and preserve "other historical material of every kind, nature and description" as authority for its contemporary activities. These activities should now be more authoritatively defined in a complete revision of the Public Archives of Canada Act, which would not only reflect the scope of its current archival collections and the methods of their preservation but also give statutory authority for the records management duties the Archives performs by virtue of the 1966 order-in-council and clarify its curatorial responsibilities.

The Public Archives is a vital heritage custodial institution, similar in purpose to museums in the National Museums of Canada. The importance of archives was admirably delineated in the Public Archives brief to this Committee:

"If the archives of a nation, a government or an organization are not preserved, then the history of that nation, government or organization will be forgotten, and the price which a people pay for the loss of their history is a misunderstanding of their roots, a confusion in their identity and the misinterpretation or misrepresentation of the nature of their country."

Archival activity in Canada has been reviewed in depth by two inquiries in the last 10 years, first by the Commission on Canadian Studies which dealt with archives in that context in its report, *To Know Ourselves*, released in 1976, and later by the Consultative Group on Canadian Archives which reported to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council in 1980. Both these reports engendered a widespread response from government and nongovernment archives individually and collectively through their professional associations. Discussions have emphasized changes which should be reflected in a new Public Archives Act, which has been in preparation for some time.

The Public Archives of Canada is the largest in the country in terms of holdings and size of staff, but it is part of a nationwide archival community which includes provincial, municipal, business and private institutional archives. This extended archival network developed because it was recognized

that archives can "document the public, corporate, communal, cultural, commercial, intellectual, and private lives of Canadians. . . . Archives are a heritage for all Canadians for all time," to quote a past president of the Association of Canadian Archivists.

The growth in numbers of archival holdings, and the increased awareness not only of their heritage value but also of the imperative need for their preservation, suggest to us that the Public Archives should include the archival community in Canada in discussions about the new legislation which may also affect them. The two commissions of inquiry and the Association of Canadian Archivists proposed variations on the idea that a revised Public Archives Act should provide for the coordination of archival planning throughout the country, in order to make more efficient use of our total archival resources.

The consultative group of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, headed by Ian E. Wilson, Saskatchewan Provincial Archivist, initiated the discussion of this idea. It recommended that the Public Archives of Canada establish an extension branch to minister to the entire archival system on the basis of policies and priorities recommended by a National Archival Advisory Committee. This proposal has not been viewed as an appropriate solution by either the Public Archives itself or by the Association of Canadian Archivists. The latter organization put forward an alternative in its published response to the Wilson report and in its brief and discussions with this Committee. We fully support the proposal of the Association that a National Archival Records Commission be established to act as an independent funding and coordinating agency, through which the programs, studies and recommendations for a national "cooperating system of archives" could be instituted. On the basis of the submissions made to us, it is clear that this proposal accurately reflects the considered judgment of the entire archival community.

Funding for Canadian archives has never been generous. Even so there seems to be a consensus in the Canadian archival community that money is not the only solution to current problems. We were told that there is a "much greater need to identify major problems in the archival landscape and to develop priorities that will lead to their solutions." This will be the job of the National Archival Records Commission. The Commission will ultimately be expected to make grants for such priorities as capital projects, archival training programs and publications, research in conservation techniques for collections, and standards and building codes for new archival institutions.

The National Archival Records Commission should be created without delay. The need for it is clear. We consider that the Commission, while retaining its independence, should be administratively associated with the Canadian Heritage Council. Its national objectives are consistent with the role in the promotion of heritage interests nationally which we propose for the Canadian Heritage Council, and the separation of the wider interests of the Commission from the ongoing activities of the Public Archives of Canada would be emphasized by such an arrangement. The Commission would then bear the

same relationship to the Canadian Heritage Council as that previously recommended for the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board. Through direct or indirect representation on the Commission, archivists caring for provincial, corporate and Public Archives collections will be able to set standards for the effective preservation of historical records and ensure their future use.

29. The Public Archives Act should be revised, following consultations with provincial and private sector archivists, to reflect national needs of archival institutions throughout Canada.
30. A National Archival Records Commission, to be responsible for the coordination and encouragement of programs devoted to the preservation and use of historical records in the care of archives throughout Canada, should be established as an independent body associated with the Canadian Heritage Council for administrative purposes. The cost of carrying out the national objectives of the National Archival Records Commission should be included in parliamentary appropriations provided for the Canadian Heritage Council.

We have considered some of the specific future needs of the Public Archives of Canada and are entirely sympathetic to the view that the Archives and the National Library, which at present share one building, should have separate but closely connected accommodation. The present building was designed in the late 1950s but completed only in 1966, when the combined full-time staff of the two institutions was just under 450. It is already too small. In 1982-83 the authorized combined establishment totals nearly 1,300 and some units of the National Library are located elsewhere. In addition, the collections of both institutions have grown enormously in the past 15 years and will continue to do so. Indeed, the recommendations of this Committee, which propose the transfer to the Public Archives of the National Film Board film archives and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation sound and video archives, would increase the space requirements of the Archives considerably. However, the arrangement which provides common services to both institutions is sensible and should continue, since this is evidently acceptable to the Treasury Board as well as to the Public Archives and the National Library.

In pursuit of their individual responsibilities, the Public Archives and the National Library have created certain overlapping areas in their respective collections. Clarification and direction are needed about which of the institutions is primarily responsible for collections of music, maps and literary papers, in particular. We urge the Minister of Communications to resolve the conflicting and disruptive claims about these collections without delay.

The National Library of Canada

The National Library, a federal heritage institution, was formally set up in 1953 as a prompt response by the federal government to an urgent recommendation in the Massey-Lévesque Report. It is responsible for the collection of "library matter of every kind, nature and description... published by a publisher" relating to Canada. Canadian publishers are required to deposit copies of their books with the Library. Various services are provided to the government and people of Canada, including the compilation and maintenance of a national union catalogue of the holdings of major Canadian libraries and the preparation and publication of *Canadiana*, a national bibliography of books by, about or of interest to Canadians or produced here. The Canadian Library Association summarized the function of the National Library for us: "The National Library is, essentially, a library for libraries and its current budget of \$17 million represents, for all intents and purposes, indirect aid to libraries by way of services rendered."

In its relatively short existence the National Library has accumulated about three million volumes. It has a number of specialized unique holdings, notably its collection of Canadian newspapers, official publications, music, theses and rare Canadian books and manuscripts. It promotes Canadian books abroad in small exhibitions and by participation in book fairs and cultural exchanges. International scholars as well as Canadians benefit from the availability of National Library bibliographic materials through computer access and microfilm.

The National Library, like the Public Archives, is for most purposes a department of government, and the National Librarian also reports to the Minister of Communications. The National Librarian is assisted in the development of library policies and plans by the National Library Advisory Board, which includes representatives of relevant federal agencies and outside interests including at least five professional librarians.

The composition of the National Library Advisory Board has been considered by the Canadian Library Association. In the Association's formal response to the paper on the future role and priorities of the Library, it recommended that the National Library Advisory Board be reconstituted to "serve as a useful body for monitoring developments in the National Library and information network." The Canadian Library Association suggested that the Advisory Board should closely represent the nongovernmental consumers of National Library services and the learned and professional societies. This valid concern was expressed by an Association which has 4,072 individual members and 964 institutional members representing libraries of all kinds and sizes in Canada. The suggestions it makes deserve close consideration, and we support them.

In December 1979, the National Library released a public report to its minister about the future of the National Library based on an intensive review process. In it the National Library made a major proposal for the

establishment of a national decentralized bibliographic and communications network to link the existing bibliographic databases of libraries across Canada, thus improving both information about the availability of books and access to them by library users. By the fall of 1981, the cabinet approved a pilot study on the implementation of the bibliographic network. The leadership of the National Library in this network approach to sharing library resources is uncontested. The brief from the National Librarian told us that four task force groups "consisting of experts from all parts of Canada" have been appointed to help the National Library develop various detailed aspects of the proposal. The National Library Advisory Board has also appointed two committees to participate directly in planning the bibliographic and resource-sharing network.

While not officially represented in this consultative process, the point of view expressed by the Canadian Library Association on most fundamental questions relating to the development of the bibliographic network has been taken into consideration through formal and informal representations. This broad consultation should ensure that the National Library proposals are translated into truly cooperative and acceptable library procedures relevant to the needs of library users. The National Library is obviously alert to the rapid, ever-changing refinements to the data systems which can make our printed heritage more accessible to all Canadians and to interested persons in other countries.

Postgraduate training is more generally available for librarians than it is for archival and museum management. However, the National Library reminded us that the extremely fragile nature of the heritage material for which it is responsible calls for specialized care. "The most significant problem in implementing any sort of a national preservation program in Canada is the dearth of trained conservators and binders in the country." Here surely is an opportunity for the community colleges of Canada to train young Canadians for a specialized, rewarding and uncrowded profession. There is a further urgent need for research in paper chemistry and other preservation methods for application in libraries as in the archives and museums.

Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions

The crucial task of preserving printed heritage material is also being undertaken on microfilm. In 1979 with funding for an initial five-year period, first from the Canada Council, then from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions was set up as an independent, nonprofit corporation. Its objectives are to improve access to and ensure preservation of Canadiana printed before 1900 located in Canada and elsewhere.

The National Library has cooperated fully with the Institute and benefits directly from its work through receipt of the master copies of its microfilms. The Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions could in future form the nucleus of a national preservation program coordinated by

the Canadian Heritage Council. The Institute is performing a vital conservation job which will benefit Canadian and foreign researchers for years to come. It should continue to receive federal assistance to fulfil its patently important objectives.

New Heritage Institutions

We have already commented about those areas of Canadian creative endeavour or of special heritage value which are underrepresented in existing Canadian collections. Some of these will require the development of an entirely new institution. For example, there has been a rich blossoming of visual and applied arts in Canada over the last 30 years, but at the national level only the Art Bank of the Canada Council has been able to respond to this interest in any sustained way. The existing national museums, with their very broad mandates, have been unable to devote necessary and adequate space, time and money to these creations of our contemporary heritage.

Like a number of other countries, Canada should have an institution capable of demonstrating to ourselves and the world at large the richness, variety and vitality of our present-day visual and applied arts. A further discussion and our recommendations on this matter appear in Chapter 5.

While the National Museum of Man has collections of an historical nature, it is not primarily a history museum. There are many missing elements, and we wish to draw attention to one of them in particular. Canada is geographically defined by three oceans and boasts that it stretches from sea to sea, yet we have no federal maritime museums to display our nautical heritage or to document the livelihood Canadians have for many generations derived from the sea.

There are other needs in the natural heritage field which will also require new institutions or new administrative arrangements. Canada still does not have the national aquaria, arboreta or zoological and botanical gardens urged by the Massey-Lévesque Commission. In fact, the conservation, documentation and exhibition of Canada's "natural" past are still beset by countless problems.

Some of these problems stem from too narrow an understanding of what constitutes our heritage. Too often we have restricted our definition to those things which people have made. The federal government has tended to separate the natural from the man-made, so that an institution specializing in the preservation, research and display of the natural habitat, such as a park or botanical garden, has not been considered a museum or a custodial institution, and has received different treatment. The most extreme case, as noted above, is the administrative separation of historic and natural parks from the national museums. Our national heritage does include the works of nature, and despite an evident preoccupation with our man-made heritage, we must have access to this vital natural component of our lives.

The heritage significance of heraldry, the study of armorial insignia, was put before us in a brief from the Heraldry Society of Canada. All levels of government, institutions of all kinds and individuals in Canada have petitioned for and received grants of arms from authorities overseas which include emblematic references to the historical traditions, geographical position and community aspirations of the bearer and which, therefore, have become distinctively Canadian in motif. We were told that "Canadian heraldry is now a living reality, in daily use across the land," yet Canada is not yet autonomous in heraldry.

The Committee agrees that it is consistent with this Canadian heraldic tradition that the authority which grants permission to use these emblems, officially registers them and later regulates their use, should be located in Canada, independent of, but cooperating with, heraldic authorities in other countries.

Canadian artists should be employed to prepare the unique and appropriate designs for the arms, flags, badges and insignia to be authorized by a Canadian Heraldic Authority. Such an authority would in all likelihood be self-sustaining; it might be suitably associated for administrative purposes with the Chancellery of Canadian Orders and Decorations of the office of the Governor General.

31. In addition to establishing a Canadian Heritage Council (Recommendation 15) the federal government should give consideration to setting up other federal heritage institutions such as maritime museums, a national aquarium, arboretum, zoological garden and botanical garden. The proposed Canadian Heritage Council should be called upon to give advice about the establishment of these long-awaited heritage institutions.

A Canadian Heritage Council

At the beginning of this chapter we recommended that there be established a visible champion of heritage interests in Canada. This is the single most important recommendation we have to make about the future management of Canada's national heritage.

Federal heritage policy extends beyond the activities of federal custodial institutions. The 1972 National Museum Policy of democratization and decentralization emphasized the necessity for national programs and services throughout Canada. That this support to the nonprofit Canadian museums and collections has been very helpful is clearly evident. Not only have these custodial institutions been able to improve their conservation and display techniques, but they have also been able to expand their services. Furthermore, the federal initiative encouraged similar provincial actions and ensured that our national heritage has received more public attention than ever before.

Yet these creative and innovative federal programs have also demonstrated all too clearly how much more remains to be done. As the National Museums of Canada candidly admits, many of its projected programs were ahead of their time, founded as they were on an overly optimistic assessment of the capacity of Canadian museums to make full use of them. Slowly the corporation has been forced to recognize that even our largest and richest museums urgently need support simply to maintain a minimum standard of care for their collections. In many instances heritage research, collection and preservation activities are not being carried out simply for lack of funds.

While this Committee believes that additional funds are certainly necessary to rectify this situation, we are also convinced that another part of the problem is one of attitude. As we said earlier, heritage matters are too often simply forgotten. They have no profile. Often they are not even identified for what they are, nor is their significance made clear. The National Museums of Canada, within its powers, has tried to promote such recognition but it was abundantly evident to us that there must be a new initiative to give wider recognition to the importance of our heritage.

At the same time, there is also a need for a separation of functions within the corporation and a need to correct what has, essentially, amounted to a conflict of interest caused by the present administrative arrangements which attempt to combine the four national museums with the National Programmes.

To address this problem we have recommended that the operational section of the corporation – that is, the four national museums and the Mobile Exhibits – be separated from the national service activities, the Museum Assistance Programmes, the National Inventory and the Canadian Conservation Institute. However, these components of the National Programmes are of vital importance. It is natural, appropriate and correct that they become the core functions of the proposed Canadian Heritage Council and we have earlier shown how they might operate within that organization.

We see the Canadian Heritage Council as an agency with a broad mandate, unencumbered by operating functions, and serving as a focal point for a renewed federal effort to provide the Canadian people with the maximum opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the Canadian heritage. In addition to those elements of the National Programmes transferred from the National Museums of Canada, it should encourage training and assist voluntary heritage associations. The Council, although not having operating functions, would nevertheless be actively involved in promoting and encouraging institutions and individuals to collect, conserve, research and display heritage materials.

The exact structure of the new Canadian Heritage Council will be determined by others. The Council will inevitably be called on to make many objective decisions on standards of quality and other sensitive matters in the course of its duties. We consider the Canadian Heritage Council should therefore be an incorporated agency and should be given the appropriate administrative independence to carry out its responsibilities.

32. The proposed Canadian Heritage Council should be given independent authority for staffing and be otherwise constituted to be able to operate with the maximum autonomy feasible for an arm's-length agency.

The Canadian Heritage Council as an Intermediary

The nature of heritage is such that many government departments not only will, but should, maintain activities in this field. It does not seem practical or desirable to unite all such activities in one institution, for heritage interests are often very closely tied to particular organizations – the collection of Canadian coins with the Bank of Canada, or the Postal Museum with Canada Post, for example. However, communication about heritage activities among departments and agencies is vital, if only to avoid duplications or omissions. Furthermore, a central repository of information on heritage activities would be most useful.

We frequently heard of the need for more and improved consultation among various levels of government. The director of the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery in Regina maintained that continued lack of federal-provincial consultation in establishing various guidelines, funding programs and grant criteria, and lack of federal-provincial consultation with the custodial institutions, often leaves those institutions falling between the boards, unable to meet the expectations of one funding agency because of the stance of another.

While many heritage bodies are anxious to obtain a greater proportion of their funding from individual and corporate donors, there is considerable uncertainty about how or whether this can be done. At the same time, private donors might be more willing to contribute to heritage activities if they could obtain more information about aspects which interest them.

33. The proposed Canadian Heritage Council should promote liaison among various federal departments and agencies involved in heritage, among all levels of government and between government and the private sector.

The Central Position of Heritage in Cultural Policies

Our heritage, our past, is also part of our present. Without widespread knowledge of what has gone before, without the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another, contemporary creation would be rootless. In this chapter we have called for a change in the general direction of federal policy in heritage matters and have recommended the major organizational changes needed to bring about this result. We believe these changes to be realistic ones likely to have a positive effect.

To summarize our previous recommendations about the responsibilities of the Canadian Heritage Council as we envisage them, it should

- provide assistance to non-federal galleries, museums, archives and parks;
- encourage and sustain conservation, research and inventory programs;
- assist the Heritage Canada Foundation and other deserving national heritage associations;
- offer administrative and financial support for the operation of the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board and the proposed National Archival Records Commission.
- promote liaison among government and nongovernment bodies concerned with our national heritage; and
- stimulate and operate programs designed to increase interest in heritage resources in order to heighten and widen their enjoyment by the public.

But structural change is only part, perhaps only a small part, of what is needed if Canadians are to have the opportunity to truly appreciate their own patrimony. What is needed most of all is a change of attitude on the part of governments, a new recognition of the central place that heritage must have in cultural policy. The new structures and institutions we have recommended can themselves play a major part in achieving this.

As one of our intervenors succinctly put it, our heritage collections are "among the principal deposits of whatever we know, the sources of all our judgments, of our intellectual and spiritual vitality and our ability to adapt and renew." When these truths are fully understood and acted upon by governments at all levels, heritage policy will have the best of foundations.

