Discourse About Cultural Policy and the Politics of Culture in Saskatchewan 1944-1987

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February 1989

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Abstract

This thesis attempts to identify and then to analyse the definition of culture within cultural policy discourse produced in Saskatchewan from 1944 to 1987. Saskatchewan society has given rise to an agrarian socialist movement which culminated in the election of the CCF in 1944 and the subsequent government of the CCF/NDP for almost 40 continuous years. The CCF/NDP has been responsible for some pioneering cultural policy initiatives.

After outlining a history of cultural policy in Saskatchewan we attempt to locate cultural policy within the political and social matrix. To do this we employ a discursive analysis of some important documents.

By comparing policy discourses generated during the CCF/NDP period with those generated during periods of Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments, we discover some homologies as well as some contradictions between discourse and ideology.

We conclude that cultural policy discourse has been a site for ideological discourses and that the definition of "culture" within these discourses reveals, as Raymond Williams suggests, "a complex argument about the relations between general human development and a particular way of life, and between the works and practices of art and intelligence".*

* Raymond Williams, Keywords, (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1985), 91.

Résumé

Cette thèse s'attache à identifier et analyser les definitions de la culture contenues dans le discours politique culturel produit en Saskatchewan entre 1944 et 1987. La société de la Saskatchewan basée sur l'agriculture a produit un mouvement socialiste qui a conduit à l'élection du CCF en 1944 et le quasi-constant maintien au pouvoir du gouvernement CCF/NDP pendant près de 40 ans. Des initiatives d'avant-garde en matière de politique culturelle sont à placer à l'actif du CCF/NDP.

Après avoir résumé l'histoire de la politique culturelle en Saskatchewan nous nous efforçons de placer cette politique culturelle dans la matrice sociale et politique de la province. A cette fin, nous analysons le discours de quelques documents importants.

Comparant les textes de politique culturelle produits durant la période CCF/NDP et ceux produits sous les gouvernements libéral et conservateurs, nous découvrons quelques homologies et quelques contradictions entre discours et idéologie.

Nous concluons que les textes de politique culturelle abritent le discours idéologique et que la définition de la «culture» dans ces textes, comme le suggère Raymond Williams, est faite d'un «débat complexe sur les relations existant d'une part entre le développement humain en général et un mode de vie particulier, et d'autre part entre les oeuvres et la praxis de l'art et de l'intelligence.»*

*Raymond Williams, Keywords, (Londres: Fontana Paperbacks, 1975), 91.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all of those individuals who gave their time, and some valuable ideas and information, during the course of interviews. I have listed their names on the last page of the "Bibliography".

I would especially like to thank my thesis advisor Dr. Marike Finlay, for her time and patience, and for helping me to awaken from my idealistic slumber.

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Introduction

The Extent of the Inquiry

Though seldom recognized as such, "cultural policy" has been a function of government since early times. The Pharaohs commissioned works of art to influence their people's religious or social life. Ceremony, with music, dress, and dramatic literature, has been essential to even the most primitive of societies.

Since the birth of liberal democracy in the 1700s one finds certain activities of governments, their departments and agencies which are designed to encourage or give assent to certain types of cultural expression through grants of money and through programs of public education designed for the education or the "cultivation" of the public.

Cultural policy usually involves the making of choices between a wide range of possible cultural activities and cultural expressive forms either according to prescribed criteria or subjectively by an informed elite. Though in later years there has been at least a nominal attempt to "democratize" the selection process, most kinds of cultural policy assume a level of influence by those who hold political power.[1]

Culture and cultural expression take many forms, and herein lies a great problem when one tries to study cultural policy. The term "culture" is often thought to refer to certain critically accepted forms of music, literature, dance, drama

and visual arts. But the term "culture" is also thought to refer to the folk arts or those expressive crafts practised outside of or beyond the scrutiny of the society's major institutions.

Culture as a concept may also be thought to refer to what in post-industrial society has come to be called "mass culture" or "popular culture".[2] Most generally, one can consider the anthropologist's definition of culture, and thus consider the languages and the behaviour patterns of a given society -- its family life and its patterns of work and leisure -- as expressions of culture.

In this light all and any government policy can be seen to affect the culture of the people a government serves and represents.

A similar problem arises if one attempts to study "social" policy. Though many governments today have a set of acts and laws specifically designed to affect the social welfare of their people (and some governments have even set up special departments of social welfare), many government policies have social implications.

As regards the study of culture, the problem will be seen to be one which holds an important key to understanding cultural policy, its origins and its implications. We therefore wish to discuss culture in its broadest possible sense in order to ascertain which aspects of culture are recognized by government policies.

Entertaining a narrower sense of the term "cultural policy", we would turn to the accepted definitions of cultural

policy within institutions in Saskatchewan and Canada. We consider a statement by a round table on cultural policy begun in December 1967 by UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization:[3]

> . . . "cultural policy" should be taken to mean the sum total of the conscious and deliberate usage, action or lack of action in a society, aimed at meeting certain cultural needs through the optimum utilization of all the physical and human resources available to that society at a given time.[4]

Cultural policy, as a specific function of government, is a relatively recent phenomenon. In Great Britain a post-war Labour government drafted legislation whose purpose was to distribute cultural resources and opportunities previously available only to an economic elite (i.e., classical music, theatre and visual arts) and to encourage communities to develop and promote their own cultural forms.[5]

Our own study concentrates on the years from 1945, when cultural policy became a specific activity of government both in Saskatchewan and in Canada.

We focus on Saskatchewan because it was the place in North America which pioneered certain aspects of cultural policy under the first socialist government in North America.[6]

Procedure Followed in Our Inquiry

We are here inquiring into existing documents, housed for the most part in archives. Much can be learned from a strict textual analysis, but a full understanding of a text requires

an understanding of the context in which it was produced. In a study such as this, one also must recognize the importance of intertextuality -- the relationships between relevant texts, or how one idea in one text has been determined by other texts. Most importantly, one must recognize that texts -- particularly texts produced on behalf of institutions -- have a discourse all their own which sees some aspects of their topics as more important than others while systematically excluding other aspects.

This set of assumptions is essential to our study. Our task is to reveal some of the properties of cultural policy discourse as it exists in important documents from the period under examination.

In order to explore these properties we focus our textual and contextual analysis upon two important moments in the history of cultural policy in Saskatchewan: The election of the CCF in Saskatchewan, which was followed by the formation of the Saskatchewan Arts Board, the first such institution in North America, and the re-election of the NDP in 1971, which was followed by the formation of the Department of Culture and Youth.

To help make explicit the discursive features of these two important moments, we consider discourse produced during eras when political power was in the hands of the political antitheses of the CCF/NDP. Specifically we consider the formation of the Provincial Youth Secretariat under the Liberal Party of Ross Thatcher in 1966 and a campaign to promote

culture as part of business and economic development under the Progressive Conservatives of Grant Devine, who came to power in 1982.

We begin with an examination of the history of Saskatchewan based upon existing historical texts. Most of these texts make a number of assumptions regarding history as "development" and history as "determination".[7] Other texts concentrate on party politics and therefore exclude important social, political and economic events which may be germane to a study of culture as we have defined it in its broadest sense.

In order to flesh out our study, and to help us to avoid the historiographic pitfalls of secondary sources, we considered certain texts of a cultural-expressive nature and critical texts from the fields of literature, drama, the visual arts, anthropology and political science. We have systematically surveyed a number of primary sources located in archives and elsewhere and conducted a number of interviews with individuals who have been concerned with cultural policy in Saskatchewan in the years on which our study focusses.

After outlining a general history of cultural policy in Saskatchewan we explain the potentials and limitations of a systematic discourse analysis as it relates to the textual material available.

We assert, within our section on method (Chapter 2), that the task of understanding traditions and power relations within the institutions of cultural policy must proceed simultaneously with an analysis of the discourses that these

institutions employ. This is because discourse itself is a specific social practice which is bound inextricably with non-discursive social practices.[8]

Our discursive analysis begins with a critical interpretation of various texts produced in Saskatchewan and of those texts which have influenced the Saskatchewan texts. We take it as given that no text can stand on its own. Each text participates in discourses which began much earlier in human history and continue into the future. Any one idea in any one text is like a thread in an enormous fabric, and participates in that fabric in many ways beyond the purview of any single inquiry. Likewise, there are many interdiscursive links to other texts which are beyond the purview of a single inquiry.

Nonetheless, there are certain texts or discourses which can be said to influence a contemporary text far more than others. It has been our job, during the course of our historical survey, to determine which of these texts and discourses have been the most important or most influential.

For convenience and for clarity we present our findings chronologically. Sources for our findings are duly recorded in "Appendix 2" and the "Bibliography".

Other Tasks of the Inquiry

Aside from attempting a discursive analysis of some specific documents, this inquiry has also marked the beginning of a number of other tasks relevant to the field of

communications and cultural studies.

First of all, this study has, in a general way, reflected upon the broader context and thus points to some important influences on thought about culture in Canada between 1944 and 1987, particularly among those who describe and make government cultural policy.

Secondly, given the demarcation of specific theoretical frameworks for the examination of culture and policy, this study uses the specific example of Saskatchewan to show the processes by which discourse about a given sphere of human endeavour (in this case "culture") influences the making and implementing of government policy. And also, how government policy influences discourse about culture.

Thirdly, given specific theoretical frameworks and focussing on the topic "cultural policy", the study has identified some common characteristics of the discourse of government publications and shows how this discourse reflects or occults actual practices by government.

"Culture" -- a Discussion of Semantics

Following Raymond Williams,[9] we begin by discussing the term which is central to our study. We started by examining the range of usages which has pervaded the history of the English language. We did so in order to understand the range of possible usages which could enter into cultural policy discourse within the present context.

The term "culture" is used widely, and has both concrete

and abstract signifieds.[10] Most importantly, the acceptance of one definition or another has political ramifications.

Relevant to our study we find two uses of the term. The first has the term referring to a body of artistic creations or creative activities which have achieved assent by society's most supported "cultural" institutions (art galleries, conservatories, theatres and universities).[11]

There are variations within the set of signifieds depending upon which text is consulted. For example, the kind of art which is considered within the mainstream by Saskatchewan art galleries may include works which are not considered within the mainstream by art galleries in the so-called major art centres of the world. This does not mean that there is disagreement as to the definition of culture, but only as to the set of signifieds.

The second use of the term comes from the academic field of anthropology. This usage has "culture" referring to all of the nuances in language, manners, styles of living and presupposed views of living which identify a particular economic, social or geographical subset of society. In this usage it is not necessarily the artistic products of a society, but the very way of life of that society which is referred to.[12]

The first usage assumes a certain mainstream, a certain set of artistic products which have achieved assent because of a particular judgement regarding technical quality, intellectual intricacy or moral superiority. The process of

selection presupposes a process of exclusion. This is because the set of "acceptable" artistic products is not infinite and cannot possibly include all human endeavours. Value judgements of all kinds are presupposed by a philosophical viewpoint, a philosophical viewpoint is often the result of a political ideology which has material motives. In other words, it is in the vested interest of some individuals and communities to place greater social value or economic exchange value on certain culturally expressive forms than on others.

The second usage assumes that all human expressive activities are cultural and are therefore of relatively equal value. Therefore the way that members of a Los Angeles street gang talk to each other, or the way farmers in Watrous, Saskatchewan dress or arrange their farm yards are expressions of deep seated cultural conventions which can be decoded by a skilled anthropologist as a complex world-view laden with ideological presuppositions. Within this second usage it is the extent to which social groups have distinguished themselves among themselves and against the wider society that is the factor in cultural identity and not the acceptance by a larger institution.

Both forms of usage refer to similar human impulses and are maintained through the actions and interactions of individuals.

There is yet a third category of usage which we should mention, that of "mass culture." Mass culture entails expressive forms which had their beginning in high culture and

folk culture, but whose continued maintenance is a product of the commercial mass media and of other commercial interests.

In this study we have accepted a definition of culture which has been influenced by discussions by and between Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall and Terry Eagleton about culture in Great Britain during roughly the same period discussed in this enquiry. Our work here may be considered a continuation or an appropriation of the work started there.

To Raymond Williams, culture is a whole way of life or lived experience. Underlying expressive forms there is a structure of feeling which determines both the daily interactions and intercommunications of a people and the art which that group produces. It is not our objective here to explain how this occurs. Suffice it to say that culture in Williams' definition both determines and is determined by the daily lives of a people or a class of people and that its maintenance occurs at the level of language and symbolic interaction.

Williams' definition of culture is an argument against a view of culture as a process where certain artistic ideas and styles of artistic production are given assent because they conform in some ways to a tradition or to a set of aesthetic standards.[13]

It is evident that the definitions of culture outlined earlier would engender two different kinds of cultural policy. On the one hand we find the grand tradition of art as nurtured in "cultural institutions" and artistic communities. On the

other hand we find efforts by individuals and institutions to preserve, produce and promote their own cultural identity through various expressive forms The distinction between the two definitions of culture, and their political ramifications, bears on our discussion. In particular, a cultural policy which defines culture it its first sense (i.e., as a set of "objects") may see culture as apolitical, as a form of recreation and leisure time activity, or as connected in some ways with the learning of language and aesthetic appreciation (i.e., an appreciation of the cultural traditions of one's civilization).[14]

However, a cultural policy which sees culture as a process and as an expression of community may see the promotion of culture as intricately connected with a lively political dialogue. Such a view may see cultural development as part of social development which helps to empower people to take control of their lives rather than yield to a dominant culture, whether that be the culture of the moneyed classes or the culture which is promoted on behalf of commercial interests.

The meaning of terms is important, and reflects deep-seated divisions between groups in society. This view is essential to the present discussion about cultural policy discourse, and has been examined and explained by Raymond Williams and his colleagues in Great Britain. In specific reference to the many senses of the word <u>culture</u>, Raymond Williams says:

> The complex of senses indicates a complex argument about the relations between general human development and a particular way of life, and between both and the works and practices of art and intelligence.[15]

The kind of cultural policy adopted by a government at a given time and place says a great deal about the kind of "culture" (in its broadest sense) that government would like to support.[16] Governments have a vested interest in forming cultural policy that will help create the kind of society which will further its goals while excluding those of its opponents.

We recognized, rather early in our research on the Saskatchewan documents we examined, there are two distinct attitudes toward the wide ranging activities which people call "culture". Each of these attitudes have influenced the way culture and cultural policy have been discussed since about 1945 in Saskatchewan.

One of these attitudes is that culture and the development of culture is a factor in the development of community.

The other attitude is that cultural activities are a form of economic activity which is connected to a more important agenda of "economic development".

The central thesis, then, is that there are distinct ideological motives underlying discourse about cultural policy in Saskatchewan and that cultural policy discourse is a site for a rhetoric which reflects deeper ideological divisions.

Organization of This Inquiry

Our task, after providing some historical background to Saskatchewan's culture and politics in Chapter 1, is to choose from the enormous range and number of documents examined during the course of this study, a few documents which we would call key documents, and submit them to a discursive analysis. Our basis for choosing these documents is partially that these documents are widely recognized as seminal or pivotal by the wide range of communities which we surveyed. But for the most part we have chosen these documents because they contain examples of the major discursive procedures which we see at work throughout cultural policy discourse in Saskatchewan. Though there is inevitably a degree of chance or randomness in the selection of documents for examination, we try to employ a systematic approach based upon the most sophisticated theory of representativity that we can. The relatively new discipline of discourse analysis provides us with some guidelines.

More is said about the potentials and limitations of discourse analysis in Chapter 2. Later in Chapter 2 we discuss the criteria for the selection of documents used in our own inquiry.

Chapter 3 is an analysis of some publicity documents and documents central to the development of the Saskatchewan Arts Board while Chapter 4 looks at documents and texts of speeches produced by Saskatchewan culture agencies, starting with the Provincial Youth Secretariat under the Liberals, the Department of Culture and Youth under the NDP and the Department of

Culture and Recreation (later merged with another department to form the Department of Parks, Recreation and Culture) under the Progressive Conservatives.

Chapter 5 is a brief analysis of the Report of the Cultural Policy Secretariat and of public reaction to the Report as contained in four volumes of submissions to "The Culture Talks" held in the closing days of the NDP government. Here we discuss whether the Report and public response to the Report are a relevant means to explore how the discourses of government publications examined in earlier chapters function within the political and economic matrix.

We conclude that no fair assessment of the quality of cultural policy can be conducted outside a specific definition of culture and of cultural policy. Given this discovery, we propose a definition which we feel appropriate within the humanistic approach we have chosen here.[17]

Potentials and Limitations of the Inquiry

As with all historical studies, our choice of documents for examination, indeed our definition of what constitutes an important event or moment within that history, is strategic. Our goals are defined within the context of a specific theoretical debate regarding the definition of culture.

It should be recognized, however, that this study, unlike some other historical studies, attempts to avoid historicism -- the belief that history has some mechanical or organic

determining factors. It attempts to avoid historicism by concentrating upon discourse or upon what documents claim as their truth conditions, rather than trying to read some "truth" about history itself. Although history is often chaotic, discourse used to describe history is often logical and systematic. By learning more about discourse, one is able to understand more about the sources of power within history and how power is exercised through the control of knowledge.

Our task here is to follow discourse through documents produced by a large number of individuals, with a wide range of personal agendas. Discourse, manifest in statements, then, has its own history which is there for our examination on the written page. Michel Foucault, who devoted much of his career to an examination and exposition of discourse, compares traditional historiography with a study of the statement:

> Instead of being something said once and for all -- and lost in the past like the result of a battle, a geological catastrophe, or the death of a king -- the statement, as it emerges in its materiality, appears with a status, enters various networks and various fields of use, is subject to transferences or modifications, is integrated into operations and strategies in which its identity is maintained or effaced. Thus the statement circulates, is used, disappears, allows or prevents the realization of a desire, serves or resists various interests, participates in challenge and struggle, and becomes a theme of appropriation or rivalry.[18]

The challenge of a discursive analysis is to read these statements for what they actually say about the institutions which generate them, rather than taking these statements as some kind of representation of the truth.

We attempt to reflect upon a wide range of perspectives by considering a wide range of sources and checking these sources one against the other. We conducted personal interviews and examined archival records and legislative gazettes in addition to the documents listed. Still, one is left with the uneasy feeling that there are more perspectives to consider, more documents to examine. Indeed, the task of critical hermeneutics does not have a logical end. All historical data is ever open to reinterpretation in light of new facts and new theories.

Ultimately we rest our case on a maxim of the very young methodology of discourse analysis that texts, particularly the texts generated by institutions, entail a finite number of discourses with a finite number of definitions and presuppositions. This means that discursive regularities can be spotted within a corpus, and once recognized, can be explained in terms of the traditions, formations and power relations within the institutions which are responsible for the documents in question.

So, although we focus upon a very small number of documents, what we are able to say about the discourses we find at work within these documents helps us to say something about the institutions which generated the documents. And in the process of exploring these institutions (through our extra-textual or contextual analysis using accepted theoretical frameworks from the field of political science) we at the same time learn more about the documents which are the objects of our textual analysis.

In both our textual and our contextual analysis of politics and political processes, we find two authors most influential: Raymond Williams and Jürgen Habermas. Both writers have chosen to examine politics not from the specific perspective of the discipline of political science, where the intent and method is mainly one of defining the complex interplay of power, but from a perspective which takes account of communicational practice (i.e., language), work (labour) and power. Like Foucault, both Williams and Habermas consider an understanding of language and culture of essential importance to an understanding of all social and political processes.

Though this thesis begins with a historical summary, and its key task is an analysis of a few important documents, our main interest is in political behaviour directed towards the creation and maintenance of culture in its broadest sense. To that end we can only hope that our work here will provide some clarification or direction for future study.

Notes: Introduction

[1] It is widely believed in liberal democratic society that there is an effort made by the powers that be to reduce the level of influence upon cultural activities by elite groups. But such a belief presupposes some notions about liberal democracy which have proven problematic. "Democracy", then, is an idealistic concept. The real world of liberal democracy is a world of power politics, "political economy" and rhetoric. The rhetoric of liberal democracy is dominated by "liberalist" ideology.

> Liberalism, in fact, reveals a series of paradoxes which relate closely to the problem of culture and social change. It exhibits an active and sometimes agonised concern with humane value, community, personal fulfilment, yet stops short at the precarious frontier where such a critique of value and relationship passes over into a critique of the concrete socio-economic structures in which the values are rooted.

Terry Eagleton, "The Idea of a Common Culture," Literary Taste, Culture and Mass Communication, ed. P. Davison, R. Meyersohn, E. Shils (Teaneck, New Jersey: Somerset, 1973) 1:11.

> In Mill, Eliot, Arnold and Mrs. Gaskell, we can watch this liberal humanism in action, at different levels of sensitivity and intelligence. The problem which dominates the nineteenth-century liberal mind is really this: how is culture (fine living, fine art) to be disseminated widely throughout culture (a whole, rapidly-changing society) without the values themselves undergoing radical re-definition, and so challenging the very structures through which they are transmitted?

Eagleton 12.

See also C.B. Macpherson, The Real World of Democracy (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1966) and Jay Jensen, Liberalism, Democracy and the Mass Media (Urbania-Champaign: U of Illinois, 1976).

[2] For a deconstruction of the complex debate regarding the constitution of the concept of "the popular" see Morag Shiach, "The Concept of 'The Popular' in Cultural Analysis," Working Papers in Communications, (Montreal: Graduate Program in Communications, McGill U, 1986).

[3] The UNESCO round table of 1967, and other UNESCO events have been important to the development of cultural policy in Canada since as early 1949. See Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-1951 (Canada: The King's Printer, 1951) 370.

[4] UNESCO, Cultural Policy: a Preliminary Study (Paris, 1969) 8.

[5] UNESCO, Cultural Policy in Great Britain (Paris, 1970) 9.

"Cultural policy" in the form of mechanics' institutes and other adult education or community development activities, has been in effect in Great Britain since as early as the mid-1800s. See Raymond Williams, "The Idea of Culture," Literary Taste, Culture and Mass Media (Teaneck, New Jersey: Somerset, 1953) 1:55.

[6] The CCF/NDP, Canada's socialist parties, held political power in Saskatchewan for forty years. But that the CCF/NDP are "socialist" in the Marxian sense is a matter for debate. Lipset (1971) says that the CCF started out with socialist principles, but it gradually turned into yet another liberal party. Teeple (1987) feels that even the earliest manifestation of the CCF, the League for Social Reconstruction (formed in 1932) was just a "Canadian Fabian Party".

> The LSR, like the Fabians, was to provide the research, the intellectual groundwork, for a reform party whose role was to curb the corruption of the old parties and to extend the tenets of liberal democracy to include a greater acceptance of social responsibility.

Gary Teeple, "Liberals in a Hurry: Socialism and the CCF/NDP," Capitalism and the National Question in Canada, ed. Gary Teeple (Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1972) 232.

[7] An alternative vision of history is possible. To the master categories of history proposed by the liberalist, classical theorists one may oppose other categories. To causality, linearity, subject-drivenness, and evolutionary inevitablity, Foucault opposes the categories of continuity or regularity versus discontinuity, irregularity and transformation. To the motor force of history as a transcendental, historical subject one might suggest the possibility of change through chance, or consensually agreed upon

> irregularities. (Veyne, "Foucault revolutionne l'histoire," 1978).

Marike Finlay, "The Unrevolutionary Communications Revolution or the Classical Episteme Revisited", Sociocriticism 3.2, 6 (Pittsburgh: International Institute for Sociocriticism, 1988) 17.

[8] Discursive practices are not purely and simply ways of producing discourse. They are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behavior, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which, at once, impose and maintain them.

Michel Foucault, "History of Systems of Thought," Michel Foucault: Language, Counter-Memory, Practise, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithica: Cornell UP, 1977) 200.

[9] Raymond Williams, Keywords (London: Fontana, 1985) 87.

[10] Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English Language.

Williams 87.

[11] Because culture is a process rather than a physical object, it is difficult to discourse about. So there is a tendency to speak of culture in terms of objects which are the result of cultural processes, such as "the work of art" or "the performance" or "amateur hockey". This set of objects then becomes the signified of a discourse about culture. In capitalist society, human activities are often evaluated in terms of their exchange value, so the cultural objects themselves rather than the processes are given assent -- they become the objects of common discourse. This phenomenon has been examined by Baudrillard:

> Baudrillard asserts that the strategy of the capitalist system is to generate this abstract structure of signification of which the commodity is merely one example. What happens in political economy is this: "the signified and the referent are now abolished to the sole profit of the play of signifiers, of a generalized formalization where the code no longer refers back to any subjective or objective 'reality', but to its own logic. The signifier becomes its own referent and the use value of the sign disappears to the profit only of its commutation and exchange value. The sign no longer

> designates anything at all. It approaches in its truth its structural limit which is to refer back only to other signs. All reality then becomes the place of a semiological manipulation, of a structural simulation. And whereas the traditional sign . . . is the object of conscious investment, of a rational calculation of signifieds, here it is the code that becomes the instance of absolute reference."

Mark Poster, introduction, The Mirror of Production, by Jean Baudrillard (St. Louis: Telos P, 1975) 9.

[12] The arts, like other ways of describing and communicating, are learned human skills, which must be known and practised in a community before their great power in conveying experience can be used and developed. Human community grows by the discovery of common meanings and common means of communication. Over an active range, the patterns created by the brain and the patterns materialized by a community continually interact. The individual creative description is part of the general process which creates conventions and institutions, through which the meanings that are valued by the community are shared and made active. This is the true significance of our modern definition of culture, which insists on this community of process.

Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (London: Chatto and Windust, 1961) 38.

[13] In this regard Williams may be situated with other 20th century critics such as Leavis and Eliot. But he rejects these other critics on their own terms:

> (Williams) defines himself in the 1940's against the two main groups concerned with culture not as a static inheritance of certain works of art, but, as the living, problematic and contested field of human thought and values. In the work of Leavis and Eliot it was argued that only a minority, embattled or ascetic, can preserve a deeply felt quality of response to life against the increasing pressures, in their formulation, of a "mass", "commercial" society; an argument Williams rightly rejected for its pessimism about potential social change and about the capacities of most human beings, written off as a 'mass' (see his critique, Culture and Society . . .)

Michael Green, "Raymond Williams and Cultural Studies,"

Literary Taste, Culture and Mass Communications, (Teaneck, New Jersey: Somerset, 1978) 13:214.

Williams' argument for a common culture, stated in Culture and Society and continued in his later work, has come under attack by critics of the "new left" who say that Williams' view of culture is unclear, and is in many ways an appropriation of the ideas which he sought to criticize. See Terry Eagleton, "Criticism and Politics: The Work of Raymond Williams", New Left Review 95 (Jan/Feb. 1976):15.

[14] Marxists call these self-justifying attitudes "ideological". By pretending that traditional values do not have political ramifications, one voluntarily joins forces with a community which accepts the status quo and rejects social change.

[15] Williams, Keywords, 91.

[16] Culture is linked clearly to class . . . Cultural policy is thus likely to alter the manner in which different classes participate in culture and ultimately see and participate in society and politics.

John Meisel, "Political Culture and the Politics of Culture," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7, 4 (December 1974):608.

[17] Humanism is a tradition in western literature and philosophy which has its roots in Italy during the second half of the fourteenth century and which has found modern expression among thinkers as diverse as Marx, Sartre and Schiller. See Nino Langiulli, trans. "Humanism" by Nicola Abbagnano, The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan and The Free Press, 1972) 4: 69-72.

Among the writers of the Middle Ages the humanities -- poetry, rhetoric, history, ethics, and politics -- were discussed with the conviction that "these disciplines alone educate man as such and put him in a position effectively to exercise his freedom." See Langiulli 70.

Freedom is a central theme of humanism. To the Medieval humanist philosophers, freedom must be the goal of institutions such as the church and government. Man must be considered the centre of the universe -- his freedom to form the world must come foremost.

In our current era humanism finds expression in Marxist and existentialist views of humanity. As such there is an implicit belief that the capitalist hegemony and its expression in liberalist institutions and liberalist rhetoric tends to place restrictions upon man's ability to perceive his world and

to change his world. Man seeks freedom from oppression and freedom from his own tendency to oppress others. Society must offer him opportunities to learn about the world and to change the world when it is appropriate to do so. Government, while not necessarily structured in such a way as to promote change, must at least not restrict change. Government must avoid inequality and oppression. This does not suggest a subscription to Communism or some other political doctrine. Rather, it implies an openness to or an encouragement of any institution, public or private, which offers opportunities for people to achieve greater freedom of expression and freedom from oppression. A society in which democratic discussion and democratic praxis are encouraged is therefore a humanistic society. Such a society, one where rational discussion and rational decision making processes are an integral part may then be called a society in which rational humanism is a leading principle.

[18] Michael Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge (London: Tavistock, 1972) 105.

Chapter 1

The Context: Cultural Policy in Saskatchewan

The purpose of this chapter is to provide some background or a context for the discourse analysis which is the central focus of the thesis. We provide this background because many readers will not be familiar with the history of Saskatchewan. Other readers may harbour myths about the agrarian socialist movement which preceded the country's first "socialist" provincial government. It is hoped that this chapter will help to dispel these myths and replace them with an understanding grounded in facts. Appendix 1 contains a table of dates relevant to our study.

Early History of the Province

The region North of the 49th parallel midway between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean had few settlers before 1880. With the coming of a transcontinental railroad in 1885, and concerted efforts by the Canadian Pacific Railway and by the Canadian government, the great plains saw an influx of settlers from all across Europe. The greatest period of immigration and settlement began after 1880. According to the Census of Canada the population of Saskatchewan rose from 19,114 in 1881 to 91,279 in 1901. It peaked at 921,785 by 1931 and fluctuated around the 900,000 mark until the 1960s.[1] By June 1987 it had reached 1,010,198.

In 1905 the Province of Saskatchewan and the Province of

Alberta were formed out of the Northwest Territories by the Government of Canada. There was by this time a network of communities connected by rail branch lines serving the primarily wheat-based economy. The government had granted homesteads of varying quality to people whose families had very few possessions back in Europe. Before 1880 most of the settlers had come from eastern Canada and Great Britain, but after 1880, many of the settlers came from other parts of Europe. By 1941 Saskatchewan had a diverse population. The Census of Canada, 1941, reveals that the largest population group in the province was British (44.4%), followed by Germans (14.5%), Russians and Ukrainians (11.8%), Scandinavians (7.7%) and French (5.7%). "Native Indian" people made up 2.5% of the population.[2]

There was much to learn about the harsh climate, and farming methods applicable to Europe and in eastern Canada were inapplicable to the prairie west. The hardiest of settlers were able to adapt and invent appropriate farming methods, and eventually to create a viable agricultural economy for the province.

Culturally most influential were the British. The extent of this influence could be seen in such institutions as government, the school system and classroom materials, and the public architecture that remains to this day. But because of the large distances between communities, and because new immigrants tended to settle in homogeneous communities, many immigrant groups were able to preserve and maintain their own

language and many aspects of their traditional culture. These diverse expressions of European culture were given official recognition with the passing of the Multicultural Act in 1972.

Aboriginal people, as was the case across Canada and the United States, had been forced on to reserves and small communities through economic segregation and through official policy. At the same time a process of assimilation had been initiated by both church and government, so that only remnants of Indian language and culture survived against the homogenizing effect of European language, religion and education.

In the early years the amount of cultural activity in a given community was normally a function of the enthusiasm of its leading citizens for such activity. School teachers and the clergy would organize activities in the arts, and would make efforts to expose people to aspects of "high" culture as well as the traditional or folk culture of the old countries. Later the wheat pools and grain companies would help organize agricultural and craft fairs and would offer prizes for the best efforts.

We have chosen to examine cultural policy in Saskatchewan starting from around 1945. This is an important year for a number of reasons. Most significantly, for the purposes of this thesis, the post war years would begin a long history of government by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and later by the New Democratic Party (NDP) in Saskatchewan.

Populist social democratic movements had been gathering

support across the prairies in both the United States and Canada during the depression and drought of the 1930s. In 1944 the CCF in Saskatchewan was responsible for the defeat of the Liberal government of William J. Patterson.

It is an assumption of this thesis that the existence of important cultural policies and cultural institutions in Saskatchewan has a great deal to do with the political structure and philosophy of the CCF/NDP. In order to support this assumption it is important to first of all understand what is significant about the CCF/NDP in relationship to other political parties. It is therefore useful to understand some of the significant historical conditions which gave rise to the CCF in Saskatchewan.

In his seminal book Agrarian Socialism (first published in 1950), American sociologist S.M. Lipset claims that prairie radicalism resulted from the inequities in the wheat economy precipitated by big business control of banks and the grain marketing system. These inequities were apparent at the community level.

> To the frontier farmer the business tactics of the local banker seemed erratic and ruthless. When times were good the farmer was urged to expand his use of bank credit, but in periods of depression he found himself caught helplessly in a vise. He faced chronic high freight rates and a grain-elevator monopoly. He was forced to sell his wheat to the local grain elevator and to accept the prices and grades arbitrarily set by the elevator agent.[3]

Although there were many European immigrants to the region who were familiar with the basic tenets of Marxist socialism,

trade unionism and fabianism (and its other European counterparts), it was the material conditions under which farmers lived which persuaded many of them to first embrace co-operation as a means to achieve control of their economic destiny.[4]

The earliest expression of co-operation began as the new settlers arrived. Survival in a harsh climate meant helping neighbours and being helped by neighbours. Money was in short supply so goods and services were exchanged and bartered.[5]

One of the first expressions of the farmers' desire to achieve control over their economic destiny was a marketing organization called the Territorial Grain Growers' Association (TGGA) founded on December 18, 1901.

By 1916, fifteen years after its founding, the organization, by then called the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association (SGGA), had 1,300 locals and a membership of 28,000.[6] The success of the SGGA, and other organizations like it, helped to raise the political consciousness of farmers to a point where it would become possible for grain marketing pools, and eventually political movements such as the CCF, to grow.

But how was it that a socialist movement could gain legislative control in the midst of a continent which was so clearly oriented toward capitalism?

> The factors that generated doubt in the old system and its institutions and prompted action were, first, the sense of helplessness of farmers before a remote business system of private grain elevators, middlemen, the Grain Exchange, the national banks,

> and the powerful railway system -- all of which habitually dictated to farmers according to rules of their own; second, the recurrence of violent fluctuations in wheat prices and crop yield, the sole basis of the wheat farmers standard of life; and third, the inability to get help fast enough and regularly enough from the reigning political parties.[7]

It is arguable that the rise of the CCF was not driven as much by a well-articulated Marxist-Socialist ideology as by a desire by prairie farmers to achieve economic benefits for themselves.[8]

Seen in this light the rise of the CCF is less a product of public acceptance of or adherence to socialist doctrine than of the basic social relationships which arose from political awareness at a community level. From the beginning farmers realized that in order to gain control of their own destiny, they would have to co-operate. This meant that many rural people would learn about and practise democracy for political action through direct involvement in boards and committees.

A highly motivated lot, with time on their hands at certain times of the year, farmers were not willing to leave decisions about their economic destiny to elected officials and certainly not to corporate moguls and bank presidents. The results of these early attempts at community organization included the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, local co-operative stores, and farmers' credit unions.

Lipset argues that, given the economic conditions of the time, farmers were developing a new kind of class consciousness similar in many ways to labourers' unions in industrial centres. The difference, of course, is that labourers do not own the

means of production and farmers do. However, Lipset, in a manuscript written in 1950, takes the somewhat idealistic view that the CCF was, for the purposes of his own study, similar to most radical movements.

> The success of the CCF to date presents us with a dynamic experiment-in-process in the development of a radical class consiousness. It offers a significant opportunity for a detailed study of the factors in North American society that are conducive to the development of organized radicalism.[9]

As in the trade union movement in the American cities, knowledge of Marxist economics and ideas about a world Marxist movement have always been a part of prairie radicalism. Some of the most radical doctrines of the new movement were embodied in the Regina Manifesto. It was drafted by the research committee of the League for Social Reconstruction (which drew its inspiration from the Fabian movement in Britain), under the direction of a committee of the provisional National Council.

A draft of the document was prepared by F.H. Underhill in 1932, revised by the National Council and adopted at the First National Convention of the CCF in Regina in 1933:

> We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supercede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality, will be possible. The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity. Power has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small, irresponsible minority of

> financiers and industrialists. . . .
> What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.[10]

The National Council would seek "a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits."[11]

The document does not make explicit the extent to which the CCF would eschew private enterprise. Nor does it indicate how quickly the program towards socialism would be pursued. In the years which followed, the socialist program was toned down to meet the political realities of a small pluralistic society in the midst of North American capitalism.[12]

There seems to have been two kinds of rhetoric generated by CCF speakers. On the one hand was the doctrinaire stand regarding economic justice. On the other was the concept of the social gospel, an idealist doctrine advocating a role for the state within the context of Christian ethics. Though the former undoubtably won many votes for the CCF, it was the latter that was employed most frequently when explaining the CCF platform to the average citizen. Two of the CCF's most important leaders, J.S. Woodsworth and T.C. Douglas, were ordained ministers. Woodsworth, who served as Member of Parliament as an Independent Labour Party member from Winnipeg starting in 1921, was a Methodist. Douglas, who was a Member of Parliament for Weyburn starting in 1935, was a Baptist.

The concept of social gospel had also been an important

factor in the growth of the trade union movement and Fabianism in Great Britain. In Saskatchewan, the employment of religious rhetoric in politics can be exemplified by the following radio address by Douglas:

> A new economic system is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. . . . We are desirous of building a more just and secure economy; but we are conscious of the fact that when we have improved the economic lot of mankind, we have only begun the much greater task of building a new society. . . . After all, "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesses": life at its best consists of spiritual values such as regard for truth, a love of beauty and a seeking after righteousness.[13]

Whether because of Marxist socialism, Christian ethics, or because of an impatience with the previous Liberal governments (in both its federal and provincial manifestations) the CCF won the 1944 election. It is likely that all three factors contributed. At any rate, the election of a socialist government in Saskatchewan strikes one as less surprising when one considers that in those same post-war years a Labour government came to power in Great Britain and the 1943 Ontario provincial election put 34 CCF members out of a possible 90 into the Ontario legislature.[14]

A socialist movement had been a factor in the United States, and has had a level of influence on mainstream politics there, but failed to win a major election.

> Most of the earlier socialist parties in Canada and the United States -- the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party -- were movements that sought to transfer to the North American environment the ideology of European

> Socialism.
>
> These movements failed to win significant national support for a variety of reasons that would take another series of studies to elaborate. It is significant, however, that the most successful socialist or semisocialist parties in the United States -- the Socialist Party of Oklahoma, the Non-Partisan League, the Farmer-Labour Party of Minnesota -- based their attack on the capitalist economic structure, not in terms of a Marxian doctrine of class struggle, but as a continuation of the tradition against "the vested interests" of eastern bankers and Wall Street, the symbol of concentrated wealth.[15]

Most important to an understanding of the growth of the CCF/NDP is not its ideology, as reflected in documents such as the Regina Manifesto of 1933. The most remarkable aspect of the CCF/NDP has been its organizational structure. The CCF party organization, perhaps more than that of any other political organization, gave a great deal of control to the ordinary members, and offered many opportunities for members to help formulate party policy. Considering the success of the co-op movements and the grain marketing pools, it is easy to understand why this kind of grass-roots political activity was acceptable to so many.

> The CCF pattern of organization differed both in degree and in kind. It not only involved continuous party activity, but it included influence from the bottom up. The CCF achieved permanently active local units by giving them a voice both in central planning and in policy. . . . The previously moribund periods between election campaigns were used by the CCF for rank-and-file discussion of issues and party policy. Not only was interest thereby sustained, but considered views were advanced from the bottom of the hierarchy as well as from the top.[16]
>
> This policy is a reflection of the 19th Century idealist liberal philosophers, who believed that people should govern as directly as possible where

> the representative assembly would truly consist of representatives (delegates) of their constituencies.[17]

The 1944 provincial convention exemplifies this kind of organization. Policy was advanced in the following manner: Each of the 52 constituency associations sent 10 delegates. Those delegates, along with Members of Parliament, Members of the Legislature and Provincial Council Members broke into "panels" on important issues. The panels formulated resolutions which were voted on by the entire convention.[18]

> Direct democracy, in short, was to be achieved by a combination of constituency control, party influence, and the influence of interest groups.[19]

Annual Conventions have been the source of much CCF/NDP policy, but not all policy. Once in power the CCF found that the business of government required many day-to-day decisions, so a more traditional form of cabinet government, in which MLAs made many policy decisions themselves, was adopted. These policies still were open to scrutiny by the convention, and some MLAs over the years have been especially sensitive to the vox populi, or at least the voice of their CCF/NDP constituents.[20]

It is also notable that the CCF/NDP party president played an important role in policy decisions during the early days of the CCF government in Saskatchewan.

> I was president for fifteen years and acting president for one year before that, almost the same number of years as Mr. Douglas was premier. We consulted each other regularly, the president of the organizaton and the leader of the government. And I

> mean frequently. For fifteen years, I went to Regina on an average of once every two weeks, and on Saturday afternoons Mr. Douglas and I sat down in his office, smoked our pipes at one another, and plotted how to do good for the people of Saskatchewan.[21]

The history of the CCF/NDP is a mainly a history of attempts to deal with questions of economic justice. From the beginning the Party adopted a policy of supporting co-operatives such as the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and of lobbying for economic stabilization by supporting organizations such as the Canadian Wheat Board.

But the history of the CCF/NDP also contains a number of examples of innovative social legislation, including a universal medical care system and a set of progressive labour laws which encouraged the development of a workers' compensation board and collective bargaining by civil servants.

As well, in accordance with the CCF program set forth in documents such as the Regina Manifesto, measures were taken towards the nationalization of key industries. Crown corporations were formed, not just in the essential services (light and power, telephones) as many provinces and American states had advocated, but in mining, manufacturing and insurance.

As for matters of culture, which are the main interest of this thesis, one must consider a number of concerns which have existed within the CCF/NDP regarding culture and cultural development. These include a desire by many to promote co-operative ideals and practices through pedagogy and through adult education. Such an approach entails a recognition that

co-operation is a mode of behaviour which must be explained and encouraged.

As mentioned in the "Introduction", it would be possible to see the entire CCF/NDP program as a kind of cultural policy, Indeed many of its efforts toward social reconstruction shortly after World War II can be said to affect the society and the people of the region. But it would be misleading to assume that socialism in its more doctrinaire form had much direct influence upon the values which formed the basis of the culture.

Even if the CCF had attempted to introduce a radical program, they would have met resistance from many. For example, attempts to introduce certain ideas which would roughly be termed "socialistic" into the school curriculum (i.e., a scholarly comparison of co-operation with competition, socialism with capitalism, and pacifism with a policy of compulsory military training) met with strong resistance.[22]

Given the North American and Canadian context, a socialist movement has a great many compromises to make, both in the cultural values which it seeks to advocate and in the political changes it seeks to introduce. As perhaps one of the best examples of a socialist government in North America, the early years of the CCF reveal the extent and the limitations of socialism within a capitalist context.

> The fact remains, however, that with few exceptions the CCF, like many other reform governments, has not innovated where the consequences would endanger its electoral support, because the transition period between the old reform and the

> smooth operation of a new pattern is, in a democracy, also an electoral period. Left-wing critics of the government, both within and outside the CCF, suggest that the government has been too conservative and too cautious in its policies, that it has been afraid to take risks or that it sees risks where none are present. However, even if the government had been more venturesome, the broad, over-all problem would still exist -- the problem of maintaining sufficient equilibrium between elections to maintain office. The question of how to reconcile the need for change and still keep a basically democratic structure seems to be one of the most crucial issues of our age.[23]

It is against the liberal democratic structure of North American society that the development of the CCF/NDP must be understood. There has been in Saskatchewan what one might identify as a socialist culture, but it is more a reflection of the material conditions which gave rise to medicare and the large co-operatives than a set of ideals such as those expressed in the Regina Manifesto.[24]

Co-operatives have been successful in Saskatchewan, and governments of all political stripes have, perhaps for their own political survival, given rhetorical support to co-operative philosophy. But even the large co-operatives have not addressed themselves to socialist philosophy. For example, the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and Federated Co-operatives (a retail chain) have grown to a size where economic viability in the midst of a capitalist context has meant adopting attitudes very similar to private companies. For example, both advocate and sell products produced by multinational companies with some questionable policies towards labour in the Third World. Left wing elements of the CCF/NDP have continued to refer to the Regina Manifesto and to other

elements of radical doctrine, but the party itself has come to resemble other political parties to a large degree.

Developments in Policy 1945-1987

Now in power, the CCF had more to do than gradually mold society in an image of socialism, it had to govern, and there was much to do in order to maintain a reputable government service. Also, there were many social, political and economic developments against which the government had to formulate responses quickly.

And there were political realities with which to deal.

> Very early in the CCF period "practical politics" took precedence over considerations of fundamental change and it is debatable whether such change had ever been foremost on the agenda of those elected. It was soon realized that, while public support to elect a government had been available, broad support for radical social and economic change had not been mobilized. Second, the major potential ally for social ownership, the co-operative movement, was not willing to seize the opportunity to expand its role in the economic arena. Third, as soon as the election was over and a Cabinet appointed, a prime consideration of the key players always became the next election. With a time scale of four years, the possibility of achieving major economic and social reform was clearly severely limited.[25]

Though progress was not as fast as some might have hoped, the CCF managed to introduce educational reforms, and to improve the systems of social welfare, which were given relatively low priority under previous governments.[26]

A significant social trend during this era was the migration to larger and larger rural centres and cities. There

were 125,612 farms in 1946 and 85,686 in 1966. The average size increased from 473 acres to 763.4 acres in the same 20 years.[27] The shift was due to the following factors: Land prices had risen quickly and the economy of scale had begun to win out. The subsistence family farm was disappearing and the more successful or prosperous farmers expanded. Technological advances on the farm meant less need for human labour and more need for capital. Consequently, farmers who could not obtain capital sold out to the farmers that could.[28] These economic and technological changes meant that by the 1960s small towns began to suffer due to rural depopulation. In the ensuing years the CCF claimed, through its campaign rhetoric, to initiate policies to maintain a viable rural life. Its constituents were still primarily rural, so much of the rhetoric of the party and consequently many of their policies were aimed at rural people. Stemming the tide of urbanization and the trend toward larger and larger farms would prove a difficult task for any government given the caprices of the world agricultural market-place.

When it first came to power, the CCF attempted to diversify the economy with oil and mining. The economy grew because the demand for low-cost wheat and crude oil continued. But fluctuations in world prices for wheat and oil still caused fluctuations in the provincial budget. The CCF attempted to even out these ups and downs with industrial expansion. In an attempt to diversify the economy, they introduced a government-owned shoe factory and a blanket mill in Moose Jaw

and took over a box factory in Prince Albert. Though the box factory had some success, the other two enterprises proved to be unsuccessful. It became painfully apparent that Saskatchewan, a small population base many miles from the industrial markets of both Canada and the United States, might be forever dependent upon an agricultural and resource-based economy.

The CCF remained in power until 1964. Its defeat is attributed in part to its introduction of universal medicare against some strong opposition.

> Ironically then, the CCF's greatest victory over an entrenched centre of power, the medical profession, may have been the event that brought it down. But this is a price active politicians must be prepared to pay in democratic society. By upsetting the status quo, they contribute, in the short run at least, to the pool of active oppositionists. In the long run, of course, they must believe that those changes that improve the lot of the population will return them to office.[29]

The CCF was replaced for seven years by the Liberal government of Ross Thatcher. Thatcher, a strong leader who had been an elected CCF Member of Parliament from 1945 to 1949, later waged a war against "socialism". Once in power as the Liberal premier, he changed relatively little of the CCF's program.

> As the leader of a party in opposition to Canada's most successful socialist party, Thatcher was often depicted as a conservative. This had been Douglas's estimation of him from the first, and it was the view many CCF sympathizers held. As an interpretation, however, it was far too simple, projecting the socialists' own political dichotomy to others. By 1959 it ought to have been clear that Thatcher was not consistent in his political actions, although he was repetitive in his

> rhetoric. He compromised his private enterprise commitment on more than one occasion to allay the fears of potential supporters that the Liberals would subvert the most popular policies of the socialists. For this contradiction he was labelled by Saskatchewan Liberals a pragmatist and by his opponents an opportunist. A third group, the federal Liberals, whose opinion of the provincial leader was important to the Saskatchewan party, most often described him as a "right-wing Liberal."[30]

When the CCF (now the New Democratic Party of Saskatchewan) was re-elected in 1971, it continued its social democratic mandate until the defeat of the the Blakeney government in 1982 by the Progressive Conservatives led by Grant Devine.

The Blakeney era began as a seller's market for oil, potash and of uranium, of which Saskatchewan had a large supply. Blakeney had a special interest in crown corporations and their potential for resource development and processing, so he tried to bring even more of this sector under government control.[31] Blakeney was riding high on the crest of support and used his recognized aptitude as a statesman to argue with Ottawa on behalf of the provinces for a greater share of resource revenues.

By 1980 Blakeney's and the NDP's popularity had started to wane inside Saskatchewan in spite of their popularity among other Canadians. This is most often attributed to a rising discontent among groups and individuals who felt the NDP had lost touch with its social democratic roots and with the labour and social activist coalition which had supported its election.[32]

The defeat of the NDP in 1982 is difficult to analyse adequately in a few lines, but it is widely conceded that it had much to do with the fact that normally committed support within the party was disappearing and being replaced by voters who considered the NDP not as a populist social democratic movement, but only as one of a number of parties, none of which was intrinsically better than the others.

Given this scenario, it is not surprising that the Devine Progressive Conservatives were able to lure voters away from the NDP with election promises such as the elimination of the gasoline tax, a 13 3/4% Mortgage Interest Reduction Plan and a program to help farmers obtain capital to purchase more land.

The NDP organization, unified under the leadership of Woodrow S. Lloyd, was by the 1980s divided into factions of the left and the right. Groups which had traditionally supported the NDP (labour, the disadvantaged) were becoming disgruntled. The Saskatchewan NDP party, under the leadership of Blakeney, began to look more like an electoral machine than a grass roots socialist movement.

After the election Blakeney conceded that the ambitious economic programs his administration had attempted had not gained enthusiastic public support because, unlike social programs, the benefits are not immediately visible.[33]

Perhaps the only way to "sell" these kinds of projects is with rhetoric, by recalling some of the socialist values upon which the CCF/NDP had built its initial support. In fact the Blakeney government tried to tap into these values at an

emotive level with an ambitious advertising campaign in support of its "Family of Crown Corporations". The campaign ran during the last year before the 1982 election. A series of television advertisments recalled the values of family and rural life which had been an important part of the CCF/NDP program.

The campaign came under attack by the rising Progressive Conservative Party, who turned the "family" slogan into an ironic statement -- equating the NDP government with a family which takes care of its own members first.

The Conservatives' campaign rhetoric centred on the slogan "There's so much more we can be" and argued for a government that would be more responsive to small businesses in Saskatchewan which wanted to expand, and out-of-province businesses which could develop Saskatchewan's resources. They also aimed much of their rhetoric at rural voters -- building on leader Grant Devine's rural roots and "down home" manners of speech.

The NDP, meanwhile, tried to build upon the good reputation of its leader and upon the CCF/NDP's traditional concern for the welfare of its citizens above the concerns of business. One of its main pieces of campaign literature was entitled "Blakeney and the New Democrats: People Who Care".

When the Conservatives came to power they set up a new department -- Economic Development and Trade, and expanded the tourism department, calling it "Tourism and Small Business". They proceeded to privatize the assets of the Department of Highways and the Department of Northern Saskatchewan. Many of

the programs initiated by the CCF/NDP were retained, but not expanded. Their second term in office has been characterized by massive cutbacks to social programs and to health programs (such as the Prescription Drug Program) and to hospital services.

This has been a summary of the political history of Saskatchewan up until about 1982. It is provided to shed light on some of the factors within Saskatchewan which have been responsible for the development of cultural policies during that same period.

For reasons which will become obvious, we discuss cultural policy in Saskatchewan according to three major periods. The first saw the development of the Saskatchewan Arts Board, the second the development of the Department of Culture and Youth and the third the development of the Saskatchewan Council of Cultural Organizations, which draws its funding from lottery funds administered by SaskTrust for Sport, Culture and Recreation.

The Saskatchewan Arts Board

Many new programs were implemented during the first years of the CCF government. What we would today call "cultural policy" was the responsibility of the Department of Education under Minister Woodrow S. Lloyd. (Lloyd was later to become leader of the Saskatchewan CCF and was premier during the medicare controversy.) The most significant and controversial new program in this department was the creation of larger

school units to tap a larger tax base and thus provide better quality education services.[34] The plan met with some opposition from municipalities, who felt the plan to be an attack on their credibility and on their tax base -- a spark of discontent which was fanned by the Liberal opposition.

He also initiated a provincial library system to serve a wide rural public. Lloyd's education reforms were raised as an issue in the Legislature to which he once responded:

> Democracy involves things much greater than receiving petitions. . . . Democracy implies equality of opportunity and requires equal opportunities insofar as education is concerned.[35]

The Education department also took a major initiative in adult or continuing education. The Adult Education Division initated a program of adult classes called the "Lighted Schoolhouse" program and sponsored community conferences on various topics of local interest.

It was the Adult Education Division, under its second director David Smith, which was responsible for forming the Saskatchewan Arts Board in 1948. The Saskatchewan Arts Board was the first provincial arts board in Canada and preceded the formation of the Canada Council by eight years. Like the Canada Council, its mandate and its programs were set up on the model of the Arts Council of Great Britain, as stated in the Department of Education Annual Report, 1951:

> The form . . . was tempered by Western Canadian conditions, the comparative smallness of the cities, the thinly-spread population and the various limitations due to distances.[36]

The Saskatchewan Arts Board's own mandate is summarized in its first annual report:

> Since the first meeting of the Saskatchewan Arts Board in February, 1948, the Board has made progress in fulfilling the duty to provide increased opportunities for the people of the province to engage in in the fields of drama, the visual arts, music, literature and handicrafts. The Board has made it a matter of policy to give first consideration to people living in the smaller towns and villages. The response of the public to the services offered by the Board has come from widely distributed areas and from a variety of organizations, indicating that there has been a long felt need for cultural sustenance.[37]

The Arts Board was organized as an "arms's length" agency with its membership appointed by the government. As such it was responsible for grants to individuals and arts organizations and for educational programs for the developing artist. In the early years it worked closely with the Adult Education Division in programs of community development.

The "arm's length" principle was an important one, according to Dr. W.A. Riddell, a former chemistry professor and Dean of Regina College who chaired the Arts board from 1950 to 1964.

> In the early years there were reservations about the Arts Board because a number of people considered it an arm of the Department of Education. Fortunately, this was not widespread and most of the skeptics gradually recognized that the Board was, to a large extent, autonomous and that it was made up of members representing a cross-section of the people of Saskatchewan, many of whom had established reputations in the arts and crafts.[38]

The Arts Board's budget increased from $2,500 in 1949 to

about $1 million by 1980 and about $2.2 million by 1987. The Arts Board survived through the Liberal government of Ross Thatcher and has continued under the Conservative government of Grant Devine. A budget purge in 1987 by the Devine government posed a threat to the Board's budget and to the powers granted to the Board, but a protest was organized by artists' organizations such as the Saskatchewan Arts Alliance and Saskatchewan Writers Guild. The government reaffirmed its commitment.

A detailed analysis of the Board's publications is undertaken in a later chapter. At this point a chronology of a few of the Arts Board's major programs gives a sense of the range of activities initiated over the years.

In the first years the Board provided a grant to the University Stage Society to assist a group of 72 young people to take a play to 60 towns and villages, it bought silk-screen reproductions of paintings by Canadian artists for circulation through the province, it provided grants in order to help musicians to tour the province, it published a periodical called Community and Recreation (jointly with the Adult Education Division) to inform people across the province of cultural issues and cultural opportunities, and it produced recordings of historical interest in the arts in co-operation with the School Broadcast Division of the Department of Education. The Board also sponsored the first of a number of handicraft conferences in an effort to provide a forum for individuals working thoughout the province as amateur and semi-

professional craftspeople. The Arts Board also began a number of programs to serve the entire population, though clearly the projects were more to the benefit of professional artists. These included grants to professional artists and aspiring professional artists, the beginning of a visual arts collection (involving the purchase of works by Saskatchewan artists), encouraging the Government of Saskatchewan to purchase and display art works from Saskatchewan visual artists, and conducting workshops in drama, music, writing and the visual arts.

In 1954 a scholarship and bursary program was initiated and the first of the visual artists' workshops was held at Emma Lake in co-operation with the arts school at Regina College. Regina College would later gain an international reputation as the home of a group of abstract expressionist painters known as "The Regina Five".

In 1960 a Northern Handicraft Co-operative was established in the community of La Ronge in order to help native craftspeople to produce marketable products for southern and urban consumers.

In 1961 an architecture symposium was held. In 1962 there was a symposium on drama and a band music workshop. In 1963 the first of over 30 civic arts councils was started in the city of Weyburn and was provided with some Arts Board funding.

In 1965, the Arts Board became sponsor of the Saskatchewan Music Festival Association, which had been operating informally

since 1908.

By 1966 professional theatre had become established in Saskatchewan and grants were provided to the Globe Theatre in Regina and the Circle in the Centre in Saskatoon. The Globe Theatre would continue while the Circle in the Centre would survive only a year. Later, Arts Board Funds would be provided to two professional companies in Saskatoon: Persephone Theatre and 25th Street House, both of which exist in 1987.

By 1967 many summer school arts programs were brought together in their permanent home at a former tuberculosis sanitorium near Fort Qu'Appelle.

In 1969 the Saskatchewan Writers' Guild was established. In 1974 the Organization of Saskatchewan Arts Councils was formed and in 1975 the Saskatchewan Craft Council was formed. The Saskatchewan Drama Association was formed in 1976. Each of these organizations received initial funding from the Arts Board.

Saskatchewan Culture Departments

The Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth was formed under the NDP government of Allan Blakeney in 1972.

When the Progressive Conservative Party under Grant Devine came to power in 1982, the Department changed its name to Saskatchewan Culture and Recreation. In 1987 that department would be joined with the Department of Parks and Renewable Resources to form Saskatchewan Parks, Recreation and Culture.

Through its history some new programs were initiated with the stated purpose of stimulating and supporting community

activities under the general categories of "sports", "culture" and "recreation".

Upon formation, the Department immediately took on responsibility for the Saskatchewan Arts Board, but left the "arms length" structure of the Arts Board as it was. Nonetheless, there was some concern and some discussion within the Arts Board as to its role given the existence of a new cultural entity in Saskatchewan. According to Riddell, the Board was able to adjust itself according to the changing conditions, some of which it itself had initiated:

> The role of the Arts Board has changed greatly since its early years and is currently undergoing further changes. When first established, it had only a few thousand dollars to promote its programs. People in the communities were enlisted to co-operate in the various workshops, conferences or festivals. This was obviously an excellent way to start because it has resulted in the formation of the many arts councils which are soundly rooted in the communities concerned. Now, however, there is less need for the Arts Board to reach out to the communities.
>
> The formation of the Department of Culture and Youth, with its emphasis on community activities, has inevitably resulted in changes in the responsibilities of the Arts Board. The major function of the Board has become the development and support of the professional in the arts and crafts.[39]

The Department of Culture and Youth began as the Provincial Youth Agency in 1966, which grew out of a study initiated by the Thatcher government and administered under MLA Cy MacDonald entitled "Youth -- A Study in Our Time":

> The Review Committee . . . conducted a study of all government services for youth, youth programs in other countries, programs in 118 Saskatchewan communities, reviewing 242 briefs from youth-serving

> organizations at public hearings at eight Saskatchewan points.[40]

It explained its reason for concern:

> Canada's future as well as the development of its own significant culture and preservation is directly dependent upon the capabilities of this country's future citizens. Canadian youth who soon will assume leadership and, with it, the responsibility, must be prepared to determine the future paths of this nation.[41]

With the formation of the Provincial Youth Agency, Regional co-ordinators in 11 centres dispensed information about grants with titles such as: "Leadership Development Programme", "Recreation Leadership Initiating Grant" (to hire a full-time professional leader), "Lighted Schoolhouse Grants" (to enable schools to offer night classes in arts, crafts and sports).

In addition, the Agency dispersed grants to municipalities, regional recreation associations and others. They had a Saskatchewan Provincial Parks Recreation Leadership Program, co-operated with Canada Manpower on a job placement service called "Teenpower", operated an "Opportunity Caravan" for youth and rented out a "Showmobile" mobile stage to regional performers.

By the publication of its 1970 report, the Provincial Youth Agency had developed a "Provincial Programs and Research Division" to evaluate its programs. The Regional Field Services were by now well established and special new programs were set up for Native Youth and for "Transient and Disengaged"

Youth.

Their rhetoric had also become more confident, their mandate more clearly defined, as this quote from the 1970 Progress Report indicates:

> The primary objective of the Provincial Youth Agency is to improve the quality of life though the establishment of greater opportunities for youth to discover and develop their talents . . . The roles of the Agency are, therefore, those of a catalyst, a consultant, a stimulator, a reseacher and a helper.[42]

In 1972 the programs of this Youth Agency were adopted by the newly formed Department of Culture and Youth.

Part of the mandate of this new department, aside from the mandate to continue the programs of the Youth Secretariat, was to develop a cultural policy and a multicultural policy. Under Executive Director Louis Jule, the Cultural Activities Branch stated the following objectives:

> 1. To facilitate the process to make the arts, multiculturalism and heritage activities part of the life, personal expression and identity of all citizens of the province, and to formulate policy in response to related needs;
> 2. to decentralize cultural activities across social and geographical barriers in order to provide opportunity for participation and expression by all residents of Saskatchewan;
> 3. to conserve and protect the cultural heritage of the province;
> 4. to encourage reciprocity amongst all cultural communities in the Province of Saskatchewan (ethno-cultural, urban-rural);
> 5. to promote a constant and fruitful liaison with all Departments of Government between their programs and with regard for cultural policy . . . the objective of development is an enhancement of the quality of life;
> 6. to respond to the cultural concerns of our youth.[43]

The report of 1973-74 contained the following opening letter by deputy minister F. Bogdasavich, who had come to the Department after working with CUSO (Canadian University Services Overseas). The letter contained what could also be interpreted as a statement of future goals for the department.

> . . . issues to which it (the department) must effectively respond in the course of its work. Examples include a recognition that many individuals and groups either cannot or do not participate in the programs we presently offer for a variety of cultural and socio-economic reasons; the place of competition in cultural and recreational activities; the demand placed on both the public and private sectors for provincial recreation opportunities for the benefit of their employees; and the need to reinforce the cultural values of rural life, are among the policy issues with which the Department is presently grappling.[44]

That fiscal year the Department spent $4,584,350.79. A percentage of the budget would go to "cultural" as opposed to "recreational" programs. 1973-74 was also the year SaskSport was granted a licence by the provincial government to operate a lottery to raise funds for sport, culture and recreation.

The report also contained a summary statement which reflects a broader concept of culture than the one eventually adopted by the Arts Board:

> Culture is no longer synonomous with artistic skills, ability and knowledge, but equally with behavicural patterns, attitudes, lifestyles and communication. . . . From the foregoing, it is evident that cultural policy must reflect the needs of the people, both as individuals and as society.[45]

The Department presented cultural grants under three topics: multiculturalism, arts and cultural conservation. In

addition it presented facilities grants to museums and to major cultural auditoriums which had been built in Regina and Saskatoon during the previous few years.

In 1974-75 the department spent a total of $6,032,636.92. 1974 marked the passing of a Multicultural Act, which was the first legislation of its kind in North America.

In 1975-75 the department spent $5,929.500.61. In 1976-77 it spent a total of $5,667,619.30, increased programs for the handicapped and invested a separate fund of money from SEDCO (Saskatchewan Economic Development Corporation) in a feature film based on the important Saskatchewan novel Who Has Seen The Wind by W.O. Mitchell. This was a first by the Saskatchewan Government and raised the interest of many in the province in the possibilities of a provincial film policy mirroring the Canadian Film Development Corporation.

1977-78 began another era in the Department's history with the appointment of a new minister, Ned Shillington, to head the department. That year the department spent $12,166,728.00. The introduction to that fiscal year's annual report says:

> The objective of the Department of Culture and Youth is to encourage an equal opportunity for all residents of Saskatchewan for participation and achievement in cultural, recreational and sports activities. . . .
>
> This past year, the Department has continued a healthy co-operation between government and private organizations, between communities throughout the province, between groups and agencies, and between individuals concerned with the well-being of all the people.[46]

The period between 1977 and 1981 was probably the most

active in the history of the Department. The budget did not increase during that period, but it was maintained at the highest it had been.

In 1979 the Department established the Cultural Policy Secretariat under Gordon Vichert. Over a period of a year, members of the secretariat conducted more than 300 personal interviews and participated in a number of meetings called for the purpose of discussing cultural policy. The Report of the Secretariat listed 56 recommendations dealing with five areas of cultural affairs: community life, culture and education, arts and museums, cultural industries, special projects and administrative structures. Political science professor Doug McArthur served as Minister of Culture and Youth during this period.

In 1981 the Department was assigned a new minister: Dr. Clint White, a university teacher specializing in Saskatchewan history. White's administration initiated "The Culture Talks - Toward a Saskatchewan Cultural Policy, 1981", which received reactions to the recommendations proposed in the Report of the Cultural Policy Secretariat. Over 300 briefs were received in response to the report, and over 1,500 individuals participated in the Culture Talks.

The 1980-81 Annual Report says:

> The Culture Talks were an outstanding success. Over the next year the concerns and suggestions expressed will be studied so that a cultural policy for the 1980's can be determined which will enhance cultural growth and maturity in the province to further improve the quality of life.[47]

By 1982, however, the Blakeney NDP government had been defeated by the Progressive Conservatives of Grant Devine. The minister assigned to the department was Paul Schoenhals. With these changes the department's personnel was changed significantly. However, some individuals who had participated in the Culture Talks were maintained on the Department's staff.

The following table shows a steady increase in the Department's spending through both NDP and Progressive Conservative administrations:

Table 1

Spending by Department in $1000s

1980/81	81/82	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86
Executive Administration:					
249	242	321	342	372	415
Administrative/Central Services:					
406	785	868	936	1,284	976
Regional Services:					
902	957	1,132	1,340	1,390	1,415
Youth Employment Services:					
129					
Culture and Multiculturalism:					
482	448	488	465	583	689
Film Classification:					
33					
Heritage Conservation: Heritage '85:					
498	665	788	418	424	477

Table 1 (continued)

1980/81	81/82	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86
Museum of Natural History:					
696	682	902	1,145	1,139	1,173
Sport and Recreation:					
454	506	460	473	531	528
Grants:					
9,607	8.350	9,070	11,597	14,249	14,512
TOTAL:					
17,233	18,361	14,030	16,716	20,992	21,431

Source: Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth and Department of Culture and Recreation Annual Reports.

With the new government the cost of administration in the Department's central services doubled, the youth employment service and film classification were eliminated. In general, all other costs remained about the same. The Heritage '85 program was a one-time expenditure on programs to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the North West Rebellion and the United Nations' International Youth Year.

The SaskSport Lottery fund

Though availability of funds is by no means the sole reason for a government to develop new policies and initiatives in an area of concern such as culture, more money means that more can be done in a given policy area. With the unexpected

increase in lottery revenues, government was for the first time faced with more money than it needed for existing programs. This situation was not to last as various groups across the province began to vie for the resources. The challenge for the government was to set up an equitable system for administering the funds.

SaskSport (Saskatchewan Trust for Sport, Culture and Recreation) was organized after the successful example set by the Quebec government's Olympic lottery. Initiated by the Department of Culture and Youth in 1972, SaskSport Trust was given its licence in 1974. Under the terms of the licence, which had to be renewed annually, 50% of lottery profits would be committed to sports, 40% to culture and 10% to recreation.

The terms of the licence were to be set by the Minister of Culture and Youth and revenues were to be distributed through the SaskSport Trust Advisory Committee to three Sub-organizations: SaskSport Inc., the Saskatchewan Parks and Recreation Association (SPRA) and the Saskatchewan Council of Cultural Organizations (SCCO).

The SCCO, formed in 1978, like SaskSport and the SPRA, consisted of a board elected by its member agencies. The SaskSport Trust Advisory Committee consisted of six elected members from SCCO, six from SPRA and six from SaskSport.

There was no guarantee as to how much money could be raised. However, the lottery fund revenues continued to grow as the following table indicates:

Table 2

Saskatchewan Lottery Revenues and Allocation to Culture

Year	Net Lottery Sales	Allocation to culture
1974		$ 68,000[a]
1975		180,000
1976	$ 949,198	124,400
1977	3,048,469	295,544
1978		560,000
1979	3,807,392	1,240,000
1980	4,590,316	1,218,000
1981	5,363,398	
1982	6,626,428	1,480,000[b]
1983	6,535,001	1,300,000
Year	**Gross Lottery Sales**	**Allocation to Culture[c]**
1984	36,546,716	1,612,000
1985	49,910,066	3,200,000
1986	63,193,951	4,000,000
1987	93,042,995	6,000,000[d]
1988	102,234,799	6,200,000

Source: records presented by the accountant for SaskSport Trust during interview, September, 1988.

[a] The 1974 total was for a period of six months only.

[b] The 1982 total was for a period of eighteen months.

[c] Due to a change in accounting procedure in gross lottery sales are presented in the records as of 1984.

[d] Interest was added in 1987 and 1988.

Of the lottery revenues raised, approximately 45% went to prizes, 3% went to administration of the provincial lottery and 8% went to the administration of the Western Canadian Lottery Foundation under an agreement with the other western provinces. Some of the remaining funds were paid to the federal government as part of a 1979 agreement whereby the federal government would allow the provinces to operate lottery funds and not compete with them by initiating one of its own.

In addition, approximately 2.8% was available for other sports, cultural and recreation programs at the discretion of the Saskatchewan Minister of Culture and Youth.[48]

This left approximately 15% to SaskSport Trust. The share available to cultural programs was approximately 6% annually.

The Department of Culture and Youth and the SaskSport Trust Advisory committee decided that the Arts Board had carved out its niche as the body responsible for professional artists and aspiring professionals while the Department itself had programs in place to serve the grass-roots cultural activities of Saskatchewan citizens. It was therefore decided to use lottery funds for provincial organizations which had up until this time operated on a volunteer basis. Some of the organizations had been in operation for many years (the Music Festivals Association since 1908), while others, like the Saskatchewan Cultural Exchange Society, came into being when a source of funds became available. The list of members as of 1987 includes:

Saskatchewan Archaeological Society
Organization of Saskatchewan Arts Councils

Saskatchewan Band Association Inc.
Saskatchewan Choral Federation
Commission Culturelle Fransaskoise Inc.
Saskatchewan Community Theatre Inc.
Saskatchewan Craft Council
Saskatchewan Cultural Exchange Society Inc.
Dance Saskatchewan Inc.
Saskatchewan Drama Association
Saskatchewan Society for Education Through Art
Saskatchewan Elocution and Debate Association
Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Inc.
Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society
Canadian Hostelling Association -- Saskatchewan Region
Saskatchewan Junior Concert Society Inc.
Saskatchewan Library Association
Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan
Saskatchewan Museums Association
Saskatchewan Music Educators Association
Saskatchewan Music Festival Association Inc.
Saskatchewan Natural History Society
Ukrainian Canadian Committee -- Provincial Council
The Saskatchewan Writers Guild
Yorkton Short Film and Video Festival Inc.

Associate Members:

Saskatchewan Organization of Folk Arts
Prison Arts Saskatchewan Inc.
Saskatchewan German Council Inc.

Conclusions

Over a period of years, there is a limit to what governments can spend according to what is collected in the form of taxes. When a government comes to power, the initiation of new programs proceeds according to a competitive system within cabinet. Of the infinite number of possible programs, a government must choose a few which it considers most important.

The NDP attempted to change the funding equation with its policy of nationalization. By assuming more control over natural resources, the NDP government aimed to increase the

general revenue and thereby increase allocations to government services. Given the fact that the Department of Culture and Youth was well supported during its term of office, it is apparent that the NDP also sought to increase allocations in the area of "culture".

Economic development (as well as social development) has always been an important aspect of CCF/NDP policy. But the goal of economic prosperity has partly been one of providing more government services. The assumption underlying this view has been that wealth in the hands of a few is not as desirable as a system by which all citizens may benefit from the wealth.

Also, throughout their tenure as the government of Saskatchewan, the CCF/NDP has advocated a system by which citizens have been encouraged to participate on an on-going basis in programs which affect their community. Such a system was an important part of T.C. Douglas's program for Saskatchewan:

> Douglas himself believed that occupational and other interest groups should be represented on government boards which are involved in the planning process.[49]
>
> This philosophy is a reflection of the 19th Century idealist liberal philosophers who believed that people should govern as directly as possible where the representative assembly would truly consist of representatives (of delegates) of their constituencies.[50]

Such a system has political advantages in that all citizens may feel that they have a voice in matters that affect them directly and may thus be inclined to support rather than

criticize the decisions eventually taken by the government. This theory of government can also be called "socialistic" (in an idealistic sense) because it is assumed that one can eventually see the evolution of a system of government in which all citizens participate through their own communities in the affairs which affect the society as a whole.

Though the concept of "democratization" of government services has become more and more prevalent among all governments, it is clear that a key assumption of both the Liberal Party and the Progressive Conservative Party in Saskatchewan has been that government's role is mainly one of providing only those services which are impractical for the private sector to provide. All other services, this theory maintains, should be provided by private enterprises competing in a free marketplace.

Just as the CCF appeared to soften its "socialistic" ideals while tolerating free enterprise, the approach of other political parties in Saskatchewan has also appeared to shift. The Devine Conservatives, for example, began their first term supporting government services and not significantly affecting crown corporations. However, by the middle of their second term they had begun a program which they call "privatization". Privatization entails either selling these enterprises to larger corporations or turning them into public corporations with individual and corporate investors.

Thus the lines of distiction between "social democratic" and "free enterprise" political parties are difficult to draw

given the actions of a government at any particular time. Clearly provincial governments have chosen to modify their positions according to the political climate rather than pushing forward with an unpopular political agenda. The Progressive Conservatives may have been ideologically opposed to crown corporations from the beginning, but rather than dismantling them immediately after their election, an action to which even some of their own supporters may have objected, they chose to wait until economic and political conditions became such that privatization seemed a more acceptable policy.

Clearly if one wishes to assess a political party, one must consider their actions in the long term, under a wide variety of economic and political conditions.

But there are some key differences between the CCF/NDP and its opponents at the level of ideology. These differences become apparent with a discursive analysis of some specific documents, which is the focus of this thesis.

In the next chapter we first consider public policy analysis as a method with which to draw some hypotheses about government policy. These hypotheses may then be used in an analysis of aspects of cultural policy in Saskatchewan.

Next we identify a research program using discourse analysis as a means to identify the values of the institutions which make and carry out cultural policy. We identify a corpus of documents which, by employing the tenets of policy analysis, combined with a discursive analysis, may yield a deeper understanding of cultural policy in Saskatchewan.

Notes: Chapter 1

[1] John Archer, Saskatchewan: A History (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980) 355.

[2] Archer 358.

[3] Seymour Lipset, Agrarian Socialism: Revised and Expanded Edition (Berkeley: University of California P, 1971) 18.

[4] Lipset 44.

[5] Archer 78-9.

[6] Lipset 60.

[7] Lipset 90.

[8] Prairie radicalism also gave rise to parties of the right such as the Social Credit Party in Alberta. See C.B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System 2nd Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1962).

> The farm base was simply co-opted by the Fabian leadership of the CCF. The farm adherence to the CCF in Saskatchewan was opportunistic; it followed Fabian leadership not because it was Fabian but because policies were proposed which appealed to the objective class positions of the farmers.

R.T. Naylor, "The Ideological Foundations of Social Democracy and Social Credit," in Capitalism and the National Question in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1972) 253.

[9] Lipset 34.

[10] CCF, The Regina Manifesto, University of Regina Library.

[11] CCF, The Regina Manifesto.

[12] Lipset 357.

[13] T.C. Douglas, "Religion and the CCF", radio address, 1944, Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon. Quoted in Albert W. Johnson, "Biography of a Government: Policy Formation in Saskatchewan, 1944-61," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1963, 99.

[14] Lipset 151.

[15] Lipset 190.

[16] Evelyn Eager, Saskatchewan Government: Politics and Pragmatism (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980) 72. See also Johnson 118.

[17] Johnson 118.

[18] Eager 72 and Johnson 127.

[19] Johnson 124.

[20] Johnson 122.

[21] Carlyle King, "The CCF in Saskatchewan" in Western Canadian Politics: The Radical Tradition (Edmonton: NeWest P, 1981) 40.

[22] We note several articles in the Regina Leader-Post and the Moose Jaw Times-Herald between 1940 and 1950 in which are reported statements by Liberal politicians and others labeling the CCF as "Communists". Reporting on a speech by a Member of the Legislature, the Regina Leader-Post says:

> Col. Embury charged the government had countenanced Communist activities without denouncing them and had printed and circulated Communist propaganda at the public expense. They had attempted to warp adolescent minds by teaching "doctrines of the Communist pattern of dissension and dissatisfaction with their country" and they had decreased the age of voting to 18 to take advantage of that policy.

"Embury Condemns CCF Totalitarian Tendencies", Report From the Legislature, Regina Leader-Post, February 14, 1947.

[23] Lipset 303.

[24] Socialist culture is expressed in folk music by Saskatchewan performers, in the works of some visual artists, in literature, and perhaps most visibly in theatre. Examples include 25th Street Theatre's Paper Wheat and Rex Deverell's Medicare! and Black Powder. See Diane Bessai, "Drama in Saskatchewan," Essays on Saskatchewan Writing, ed. E.F. Dyck (Regina: Saskatchewan Writers Guild, 1986) 223.

[25] Bill Harding, "The Two Faces of Public Ownership: From Regina Manifesto to Uranium Mining," The Politics of Social Policy: The Blakeney Years in Saskatchewan 1971-1982, Unpublished manuscript, Prairie Justice Research and Social Administration Research Unit, University of Regina, 10.

[26] See Jim Pitsula, "The CCF Government in Saskatchewan and Social Aid, 1944-1964," Building the Co-operative Commonwealth: Essays on the Democratic Socialist Tradition in Canada, ed. J. William Brennan (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1984) 205.

[27] Archer 297.

[28] Archer 293.

[29] Cynthia Krueger, "Prairie Protest: The Medicare Conflict in Saskatchewan," Agrarian Socialism, ed. S.M. Lipset (Berkeley: University of California P, 1971) 431.

[30] David E. Smith, Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan 1905-71 (Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1975) 284.

[31] John Richards and Larry Pratt, Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981) 250-278.

[32] The history of the Blakeney NDP government has been summarized by sociologist Jim Harding as falling into roughly four overlapping periods which coincided with four electoral terms:

> In the first (1971-1974), the legislation of the NDP reflects the attempt to implement some of the

> concerns of the reform coalition which brought the party to power. This period can be considered to have ended when the NDP government supported federal wage controls in 1975. In the second period (1974-1977), the NDP government intervened, fairly dramatically, into the resource economy. This is shown in such things as the "nationalization" (provincialization is a more accurate and less known and used term) of over half of the potash industry, and the creation of the crown corporations Sask Oil and Saskatchewan Mining Development Corporation (SMDC). In the third period (1975-1978), the NDP initiated what it called its period of "responsible restraint". This is shown by its moratorium on new or existing social programs, and the claim that quality services would be maintained. The continued expansion of government involvement in the resource economy was justified as providing the revenue to buffer Saskatchewan people from the ravages of the so-called fiscal crisis affecting all levels of government throughout Canada and the industrial capitalist world. . . .
>
> In the last period (1979-1982), widespread disillusionment began to set in with the NDP's policy priorities and actions. Restraint continued, and due to the decline of the world staples market and the NDP's own spending priorities, the revenue to fund social programs and protect Saskatchewan people did not materialize. This overriding public policy contradiction, and the fact that a variety of movements (women, labour, disabled, environmental, farmer, native) were becoming better organized and demanding basic reforms in policy directions, together with the emergence of a neo-conservative coalition around a reorganized Progressive Conservative party (which was criticizing the NDP's past state intervention) -- all contributed to the decline of the NDP support and the ultimate electoral loss in 1982.

Jim Harding, "Process and Product: The Origins, Objective and Scope of the Book," The Politics of Social Policy: The Blakeney Years in Saskatchewan 1971-1982, unpublished manuscript, Prairie Justice Research and Social Administration Research Unit, University of Regina, 1987.

[33] Allen Blakeney, speech to constituency association meeting, June 24, 1983.

[34] In the late 1940's many rural areas in Saskatchewan were still being served by one-room school houses with one teacher for twelve grades.

[35] "Seventy Large School Units Seen for Saskatchewan," Report from the Legislature, Regina Leader-Post, November 8, 1944.

[36] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board Fourth Annual Report, January 1 to December 31, 1951 (Regina: The Queen's Printer, 1952) 5.

[37] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board First Annual Report, 1948-49 (Regina: The King's Printer, 1950) 5.

[38] William A. Riddell, Cornerstone for Culture: A History of the Saskatchewan Arts Board from 1948 to 1978 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1966) 42.

[39] Riddell 41.

[40] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Secretariat Progress Report 1968-69 (Regina: Provincial Youth Secretariat, 1969) 1.

[41] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Secretariat Progress Report 1968-69 3.

[42] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Secretariat Progress Report 1970 (Regina: Provincial Youth Secretariat, 1971) 2.

[43] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth Annual Report 1972-73 (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, 1973) 21.

[44] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth Annual Report 1973-74 (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, 1974) 47.

[45] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth Annual Report 1974-75 (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, 1975) no page numbers.

[46] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth Annual Report 1977-78 (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, 1978) 5.

[47] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture an Youth Annual Report 1980-81 (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, 1981) 30.

[48] In 1986, for example, the Minister's discretionary fund totalled $2.8 million and was used for capital expenses such as the maintenance of the Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery and the Western Development Museum. Within the fund approximately $0.5 million was available for one-time funding of such high-profile causes as the Rick Hanson Marathon of Hope for Spinal Cord Research.

[49] Albert W. Johnson, Biography of a Government: Policy Formation in Saskatchewan, 1944-61, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1963, 124.

[50] Johnson 118.

Chapter 2

Towards a Discursive Analysis

In the previous chapter we used a traditional historiographic approach to outline the context in which our study takes place. Such an approach is valuable, particularly for those readers who are not familiar with the context, or for those who hold idealistic assumptions about the growth of the CCF/NDP in Saskatchewan from an agrarian socialist movement. What is wrong with a traditional historiographic approach is simply that it does not take us very far, and often merely echoes an interpretation of history sanctioned by the institutions involved.

In the main part of the thesis we wish to examine some documents and apply to them a systematic discourse analysis. In this chapter we attempt to situate discourse analysis as a theory or a method within the field of political and social scholarship.

We should also reiterate that the goal of this thesis is not specifically to analyse the quality of cultural policy. Our main goal is an analysis of cultural policy <u>discourse</u>, or how cultural policy is discussed within documents generated by various institutions. To this end, we have found it useful, in gaining an understanding of the evolving structures of language and power in Saskatchewan and Canada, to consider theses produced according to traditional social science paradigms.

Such a task is valuable for the main focus of our thesis.

An understanding of context is a necessary step toward an adequate textual analysis. Likewise, a good textual analysis will be able to give us a better understanding of cultural policy and other contextual matters. Our main focus, however, is textual.

Studies of policy making in Canada are contained in texts edited by Doern and Aucoin (1971), by Doern and Wilson (1974) and by Atkinson and Chandler (1983). These essays illustrate the mechanisms of policy in Canadian government, a government which has come to rely more and more on Royal Commissions, Task Forces, Federal-Provincial Conferences and Central Advisory Councils in addition to the traditional processes of Parliament.

An understanding of the policy processes in CCF/NDP governments in Saskatchewan can be gained through a reading of Saskatchewan Government: Politics and Pragmatism by Evelyn Eager (1980), Biography of a Government: Policy Formation in Saskatchewan 1944-61 by A. W. Johnson[1] and The Politics of Social Policy: The Blakeney Years in Saskatchewan 1971-1982[2]

Each of the studies cited above provide an understanding of specific cases of policy formation, implementation and/or evaluation. But we must do more than just become familiar with a number of specific cases. It is a convention in social science to determine a method with which to draw conclusions from the data assembled, then to formulate hypotheses for future discussion and research. An important task, therefore, given an accepted social science paradigm, is to attempt to

draw some conclusions and construct some models to explain political processes and political institutions within the Canadian and the Saskatchewan political systems. In doing so there is of course the danger of falling into the problematic belief that political behaviour is "structured" or is driven in a mechanistic way. Although some models or theories may at times be shown to be true, a model that is true for all cases is difficult to find. The challenge of social science is to search for the bases of social change and institution, rather than merely to propose models which only explain certain superstructural phenomena.

Ham and Hill (1984) approach the problem by taking account of a wide range of determinants within government processes: the political, the psychological and the economic.

> As we see it, the purpose of policy analysis is to draw on ideas from a range of disciplines in order to interpret the causes and consequences of government action, in particular by focussing on the processes of policy formation.[3]

They attempt to identify the major characteristics of capitalist states while also taking account of other important policy determinants which exist within capitalist states, but are not necessarily what one would consider part of the accepted constitutions of these states. Some of these determinants include: the political structures within the bureaucracy, the influence of individual aspirations within the organizations in question, the influence of various professional groups (i.e., the accounting profession and the

legal profession) and the influence of rationality as defined by current policy research paradigms employed within government itself. As political scientists, Ham and Hill approach policy studies from the traditional categories of political science. They consider the three accepted theories of the state: pluralist theory, elite theory and Marxist theory. Ultimately they argue for an "eclectic approach which draws on the strengths of different theories."[4]

They favour what they call "Radical Organization Theory", which combines the Weberian mode of analysis (which considers bureaucratic structural influences) with the Marxian structuralist approach which argues for a political theory that takes due account of economic power structures in political decision making.[5]

A statement about the major theoretical frameworks apparent in recent Canadian studies of policy can be found in "Strategies for Policy Analysis" in The Politics of Canadian Public Policy, by Atkinson and Chandler (1983).[6] They compare neo-Marxism and pluralism and conclude that both theories of the state apply to Canadian government. Canada is an advanced capitalist society within an international capitalist market-place. Power in Canada is intimately tied with economic interests. But Canada is also a state based upon a liberal democratic system of government, so there is a "political market-place" at work. This political market-place, which includes both the electoral system and other democratic institutions, can bring to bear influences which are not

necessarily tied with economic power. It is, according to these authors, against complex structures of power, both economic and political, that decisions about policy are made.

The studies noted above are useful for our research, and provide some insights into the workings of government in Canada and in Saskatchewan during important moments within the past half-century. But all of them are deficient in that they tend to see society in a reified form, either as a complex of "structures" or of "mechanisms". We would like to find a theory which allows us to integrate knowledge gained through the case studies noted above with a general theory of society as a process rather than a structure.

Two theorists who have pointed to ways in which we might be able to unravel the complexity of state power and its relationship to a changing society from what some might call a neo-Marxist perspective are Raymond Williams and Jurgen Habermas.

For Williams, the hegemony of the modern state is closely tied with, even synonomous with, the hegemony of capitalism. The hegemony of capitalism consists of the traditions, institutions and formations (power structures) of capitalism. Williams does not argue for a another kind of determinism, where the state is seen as animated by the economic forces of society. Rather, he suggests that discourse mediates all human activities. The dominant discourse of capitalist society is discourse which is under the influence of capitalist institutions: the market-place (advertising), the commercial

news and entertainment media, and those parts of government which interact with big business (i.e., world trade, industrial development, resource management).

Interacting with this dominant discourse are legal and constitutional discourses which have been formed through democratic decision-making processes. Given the pervasiveness of capitalism, even many of those processes and institutions tend to be supportive of capitalist economic interests.

Most importantly, Williams maintains that these social, economic and cultural elements have, over history, gone through various revolutionary changes. These changes have taken place due to the growth of literacy and the growth of various forms of community organization, all of which have contributed to the growth and influence of democracy in society.

Habermas also eschews a "social science" which sees society mechanistically -- he follows Marx's observation that society can learn from past mistakes if the material conditions are correct.

But whereas Marx argues for the primacy of <u>production</u> in formulating all social relationships, Habermas takes the view that there is more than just production to consider:

> Whereas Marx localized the learning processes that release epochal developments . . . in the forces of production, there are in the meantime good reasons for assuming that learning processes also take place in the dimension of moral insight, practical knowledge, communicative action and the consensual regulation of conflicts -- processes which are precipitated in maturer forms of social integration, in new relations of production, and

> which in turn first make possible the introduction of new forces of production.[7]

For Habermas, as for Williams, language and other forms of communicative action, play a central role in maintaining the hegemony of capitalist states while at the same time offering the opportunity for social change as society's communicative competence increases. Thus through a careful study of communications one may observe the subtle workings of hegemony and of social change. A study of language, conjoined with a careful study of economic and social phenomena, may provide an understanding of a changing society -- a society which may in fact be becoming more "democratic" as the population's general literacy increases.

In order to gain an understanding of social and political history, Habermas employs a pragmatically informed hermeneutics (interpretive understanding). A method with a long tradition in German social science and literary criticism, hermeneutics has its own methodology, which has been clarified by Hans-Georg Gadamer:

> The process of interpretation has a hypothetical and circular character. From the perspectives available to him, the interpreter makes a preliminary projection (Vorentwurf) of the sense of the text as a whole. With further penetration into the details of his material, the preliminary projection is revised, alternative proposals are considered, and new projections are tested. This hypothetico-circular process of understanding the parts in terms of a projected sense of the whole, and revising the latter in the light of a closer investigation of the parts, has as its goal the achieving of a unity of sense: an interpretation of the whole into which our detailed knowledge of the parts can be integrated without violence.[8]

Such a method is of limited value because the interpreter is himself a figure bound to his own historical epoch. If he takes his own historical epoch as the standard by which to measure other historical epochs, he runs the risk of merely echoing the particular prejudices of the political and cultural matrix of which he is an integral part. But Habermas does not see hermeneutics as an epistemological dead end. His solution is a hermeneutic interpretation which is conjoined with a critique of ideology[9]. Critique of ideology can be described as follows:

Hermeneutics succeeds if it is tempered with (a) a materialist language analysis, (b) a critique of ideology and (c) the paradigms of traditional social science (functionalism and structuralism) which can reveal structures of power present in all political entities of a specified type. By employing these three perspectives concurrently, one can gain a more clear understanding of the evolving forces of society: language, labour and power:

> Social action can only be comprehended in an objective framework that is constituted conjointly by language, labor and power (or domination -- Herrschaft).[10]

Given the theoretical premises of a Habermasian "hermeneutic" analysis, a thorough policy analysis would begin with a more precise focus on a particular policy "moment" and would be supplemented with more hard information regarding the specific processes of policy making in Saskatchewan in the period under examination.

Some future studies which would contribute to such a project would include:

1. An examination of the power structures of the CCF/NDP party and its relationship to the CCF/NDP caucus.
2. An examination of the power structures within the CCF/NDP caucus as it evolved during the period under examination.
3. An examination of the power structures within the culture and arts communities which impinged upon the policy-making bodies within the Arts Board, the Department of Culture and Youth and SaskSport Trust.
4. The broader (Canadian) context -- economic, political and ideological.
5. All of the above concerns examined from the standpoint of the constitutions and histories of the other key political parties in Saskatchewan.
6. All of the above concerns examined from the standpoint of the constitutions and histories of key cultural lobby groups in Saskatchewan.

These six projects are well beyond the scope of this thesis. We mention them here because they would, as elements of a pragmatically informed hermeneutics, shed further light on the discursive analysis we shall begin here.

Discourse Analysis

Since the topic of this thesis has to do with communications and culture, we are particularly interested in a

research paradigm which attempts to take account of the interaction between texts and the cultural/political context.

The concept of discourse and the formal method of discourse analysis has been developing within the academic disciplines of history, literature, comparative literature and linguistics. It is notable that writers such as Williams and Habermas have employed a concept of discourse as a means to understand political institutions and their cultural and social interface. In our more modest project, our first task must be to identify a reasonable corpus to which we may apply a specific discursive analysis.

The corpus is subjected to an analysis which aims to understand the structures of knowledge and modes of knowing which formed the texts in question. Our task, which is the task of discourse analysis, is to examine the texts in order to propose, support, or reject hypotheses about the institutions which formed or constructed them.

In a study of the power structures behind state publications on legal processes, Burton and Carlen (1979) use a discursive analysis. Their method is based on an assumption that many official publications exist for the purpose of helping to maintain the legitimacy of state processes.

> The function of official statements is primarily to allay, suspend and close off popular doubt through an ideal and discursive appropriation of a material problem. Deconstruction is a reading that re-opens and denies the authorial claims of official closure, a reading that refuses the conflation of the order of the discursive into the order of the non-discursive.[11]

In our study, we take as our corpus some documents produced by the institutions we have identified thus far in our study. The process by which we select these documents is based on a method described in the section to follow.

On Identifying a Corpus

In searching for a set of texts to submit to a more detailed discursive analysis, our first impulse is to examine documents which have been saved in libraries and archives.

As pertaining to the topic under study, we find that there are acts and legislation, there are records of what was said in the Legislature of Saskatchewan, and there are some records of relevant board and committee meetings. We find other documents publicizing programs and new legislation. In some cases we find press reports and editorials. In some cases scholars have written analyses and commentaries. In Saskatchewan, we find that the CCF/NDP has records of resolutions and discussion from the party floor. Some of these resolutions and some of the discussion may have influenced the legislators regarding the kinds of programs they introduced in the Legislature of Saskatchewan. We also find that the CCF/NDP organ The Commonwealth has reported and commented on party resolutions.

Each of these documents reports something about what was said and what was done regarding culture and culture policy. A good historical study of the subject of cultural policy would consider all the available sources. But a good historical study would also focus on a more specific question for

discussion. We are not simply interested in discovering details about the past, though that task is also important. Our choice of documents is strategic. Ultimately we wish to say something which is not only applicable to past data, but has some relevance to the present and future.

Since our goal is to analyze the archival material available, our first task must be to consider the material critically in terms of the biases each document entails.

It is not sufficient to say that each of these documents offers a perspective, because saying this assumes that there is a common object which each perspective seeks to describe. The purpose of most publications is not the accurate description of an object. Instead, each document has its own rhetorical purpose, its own "desire to be heard" and its own desired audience.

The "object" of each discourse may be its least significant property, though it is the commonality of the object (i.e., "culture") which is the focus of our research here. Our research is not looking to identify a set of statements referring to one object -- "culture", but to show the range of statements which use the term "culture" and its semantic equivalents in a prescribed place and time.

The Discursive Constitution of the Object

On the topic of "objects", Michel Foucault maintains that discourses refer to objects, but they are objects of each discourse's own making. Foucault states that discourses are

practices that "systematically form the objects of which they speak"[12]

This is a radical statement, particularly when is applied to scientific discourses. The classical, empiricist institution of science has led us to believe implicitly that certain objects exist in the universe, and that it has been the (so far successful) task of science to identify, name and explain those objects. Indeed, most physical science refers to "objects" in a relatively unproblematic way. But since around the turn of the century physics has sought to describe objects which are not visible in the traditional, sensual manner. Subatomic particles and forces such as gravity and magnetism are not at all visible, and must be described within theoretical frameworks which are themselves suspect depending upon one's metatheoretical positions.

Similarly, certain terms in language refer vaguely or incompletely to theoretical objects which are themselves under constant scrutiny and revision. Foucault's statement is reasonable when applied to terms which refer to theoretical objects.

"Culture" is one of these theoretical objects. Furthermore, "culture" and terms used to describe other theoretical objects become important <u>rhetorical</u> terms in certain political discourses.[13]

But our study must go beyond a study of rhetoric. We are not merely interested in finding out what an institution wants its publics to believe, but we are interested in determining what

discursive practises are at the basis of these "objects" identified within our corpus. In other words, we wish to define what the institutions themselves presuppose. On the subject of "objects" Foucault says:

> Discursive practices are characterized by the delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories. Thus, each discursive practise implies a play of prescriptions that designate its exclusions and choices.[14]

Discourse analysis assumes that the statements made by an institution are in many ways constrained by the unwritten rules of the institution. These unwritten rules manifest themselves in discursive practices.

How do institutions constrain their discourse? One of the most common ways is by exclusion. Certain topics are simply not discussed, while others, which might in another context be thought of lesser importance, are emphasized.

Discourse can be examined and studied because, according to Foucault, it has properties. What is more, these properties are tied intimately to the traditions, formations and power relations of the social institutions responsible for the discourse (or participating in the discourse).

Our task, in this discourse analysis, is to determine how discourses constitute cultural policy and possibly even the culture itself.

The context is important to our study. If the discourse under study is produced by a legislative body, or a body under

the influence of legislation, one must be familiar with the traditions, formations and power relations which have created and which support that legislative body.

The task of understanding the traditions, formations and power relations within the institutions proceeds concurrently with understanding the discourses that the institutions employ. Maintaining a critical interpretive attitude, which is able to account for both text and context, is a task of a critical hermeneutics which is materialist and reconstructive in its intent.

But our objective here is somewhat more focussed than the task of general hermeneutics. Our task here is to use the corpus as means to understand something about the institutions of cultural policy. We need to gain an understanding of the context, but only to propose our corpus, formulate hypotheses and check our hypotheses. Our specific task here is to gain an understanding of cultural policy discourses and how these discourses relate to the institutions in question.

According to the tenets of Foucault's earlier program, discourse is always generated according to certain internal rules of formation. If these rules are like the rules of grammar, we should be able to propose hypotheses about these rules by examining the discourse which has been generated from them.

But Foucault later denies that discourse is rule-generated in the same way as grammar is rule-generated.

> The question posed by language analysis of some discursive fact or other is always: "according to what rules has a particular statement been made, and consequently according to what rules could other statements be made." The description of the events of discourse poses a quite different question: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?[15]

In Foucault's terminology, our task is to identify the set of relations, regularities and formations which are responsible for the discourses within our corpus. But how do we know when we have found a "discursive formation"?

> A discursive formation will be individualised if one can define the system of formation of the different strategies that are deployed in it; in other words, if one can show how they all derive (in spite of their extreme diversity, and in spite of their dispersion in time) from the same set of relations.[16]

By identifying the discourses within a given corpus, one can make inferences regarding the traditions, formations and power relations of the institution which produced the discourse. We can support our hypotheses about the institution by explaining why the institution has generated the discourse it has and showing that there is a regularity to the discourse it generates.

For initial guidance we turn to Greimas and Courtés, Semiotics and Language: An Analytical Dictionary for a definition of Corpus[17]:

> 1. In the tradition of descriptive linguistics, a corpus is understood as a finite set of utterances constituted for the sake of analysis. The completed analysis is supposed to account for this set in an exhaustive and adequate way.

> 2. The elaboration of the concept of corpus is an attempt at defining rigorously a natural language as object of knowledge. The demands of exhaustivity (as a rule for the constitution of the set and an instruction for the analyst) and of adequation (as a condition for the "truth" of the performed analysis) are set forth in order to guarantee the scientificness of the description . . .
> . . . This attempt is deficient because of its positivist presuppositions which can be seen in the way in which the relation between the knowing subject and the object of knowledge is determined: the corpus is viewed as "objective", as a thing in itself which has its own laws, whereas contemporary epistemology gives at least as much importance to the subject as constructing his/her own object.
>
> 6. It might not be impossible to propose a number of practical rules for a "good choice" of corpus. Elsewhere we have attempted to define the concept of representativity, envisaging two ways to reach it: the representativity of the corpus can be obtained either by statistic sampling or by saturation of the model (our emphasis). In the latter case, the model, constructed on the basis of a segment chosen intuitively, is later on applied for confirmation, complement, or rejection to other segments until all the data are used (this procedure is related, as is clear, to the projections of rules).

According to Greimas, we must attempt to identify our corpus according to the concept of representativity. We could do this by statistic sampling, but this method has some serious problems:

Problem I - If we are to do a statistic sampling, the first step we must undertake is to try to understand the constitution and the biases of the archive itself. Although there are certain conventions which dictate which materials are to be saved, organizations generate reams of documents each year. Which documents are to be saved? Often a decision is made hastily when file space runs out or the institution is forced

to move to more cramped quarters. One year an institution may find in its employ an individual who is careful about saving documents and correspondence or keeping written records. In another year the filing system may be ignored for more important matters. Looking back on all of this material from the historian's lofty perspective, there are some years that are more clearly documented than others. This may have to do with the fact that these were more productive years in the life of the organization, or it may simply be due to the fact that more staff or better staff were present to organize documents for the filing system. Given the haphazard way that archival data is saved, statistic sampling may prove to be an unsatisfactory method with which to establish representativity of a corpus. It is not sufficient to read the quantity of data on a particular subject as an indication of the importance of that data. Rather, we must attempt to read the content or the quality of that data.

Problem II - In descriptive grammar one tries to isolate one type of morpheme for analysis. Usually the type chosen has a large number of occurences, so we employ a process of random sampling upon the set of occurences, in order to get a corpus that is of a reasonable size, then search for a theory which accounts for the entire corpus. In discourse analysis, on the other hand, each occurence is a bit different. We may be able to recognize properties that are common across a number of occurences, or we may be able to recognize family resemblances, in the terminology of Ludwig Wittgenstein[18], among a number of

occurances. However, each occurence is different enough from the other to bring the process of arbitrarily classifying the occurences under suspicion.

So rather than proposing a random sample for analysis, we must begin by trying to understand all of the documents available. From that very large set of documents, we propose a corpus based on an intuitive understanding about which documents might illustrate the discursive formations most common among all of the documents.

Because we have chosen an intuitive rather than a statistical sampling, we must find a way to check our intuitive hypothesis lest we begin merely confirming our own prejudices. To do this we must follow Greimas's second suggestion that we institute a procedure called "saturation of the model".

> . . . the model, constructed on the basis of a segment chosen intuitively, is later on applied for confirmation, complement, or rejection to other segments until all the data are used.[19]

Our task then becomes one of seeking an appropriate corpus based upon an intuition which is in turn based upon an understanding of the entire range of documents available to us. This method of finding an hypothesis does not differ significantly from the task of hypothesis formation as suggested by philosopher of science Karl Popper. But Popper suggests that the task must not end with just a hypothesis, the hypothesis must be tested. In proposing an hypothesis, Popper suggests that:

> 8. Neither observation nor reason are authorities. Intellectual intuition and imagination are most important, but they are not reliable: they may show us things very clearly, and yet they may mislead us. They are indispensable as the main sources of our theories; but most of our theories are false anyway. The most important function of observation and reasoning, and even of intuition and imagination, is to help us in the critical examination of those bold conjectures which are the means by which we probe the unknown.[20]

In order to complete the task we must apply our hypotheses for confirmation, complement or rejection. In the physical sciences the testing of hypotheses is done through experimentation -- by seeing whether similar preconditions produce similar results. Since in the human sciences it is impossible to recreate precisely the conditions which produced the data we used initially in our hypothesis formation, we must instead consider our hypothesis in light of other data. Unfortunately in choosing this other data we often end up choosing data which is of the same type as that from which we generated our hypothesis. We may end up choosing only those examples which suit our purposes.

For this reason hypotheses considered intuitively can never reach the realm of "absolute truth" in the terms which might satisfy a philosopher of physical science such as Karl Popper. We must be satisfied with the designation of <u>reasonableness</u> or <u>validity</u> and must be able to argue our hypotheses with a wide range of examples.

Given our appreciation of Haberamas' (and Charles Peirce's) concept of a "public consensus" and a "community of investigators"[21], we present our hypotheses for discussion

in light of future studies.

Our choice of corpus begins with a definition of some important "moments" in the development of cultural policy in Saskatchewan.

In most cases, in this study, we have relied upon those documents which have been saved regularly as a matter of course, (i.e., annual reports) rather than attempting to put together a continuous history based upon the chance finding of a letter, a report or some other document. The reason for this formal constraint on our choice of documents has to do with a central property of official discourse: that it is the very "constitution" of the institution itself. Discourse analysis assumes that institutions maintain administrative continuity by publishing and then retaining official publications.

The Discourse of the Annual Report

Annual reports have their own discursive regularities which must be taken into account.[22]

What is important in annual reports, from the historian's perspective? Annual reports are required by law to make public the financial activities of public companies and public organizations. But because this has to be done anyway, there is justification by the organization's public relations body to spend the time and money involved to produce an annual report that is also a public relations tool. In general, the annual report is employed to tell the organization's various "publics" (i.e., its employees, its shareholders, its critics and its

"friends") about the organization. The objective is clearly one of "winning friends" by making publics aware of the organization's challenges and successes. Institutions believe also that the annual report will be saved by the archives and examined by future historians. The annual report is the official record of that institution.

Just as with other people, we tend to be more sympathetic and more forgiving of institutions if we know the problems and challenges with which they must deal. This, at least, is the attitude of the public relations practitioner, and the success of this attitude is widely conceded within the public relations profession. Inevitably what is said in the annual report is a justification for activities taken by the corporate body.[23] The task of administration is often one of achieving consensus and compromise on corporate decisions. The annual report's role is to invoke closure so that administrative decisions, many of which may have been taken after much heated discussion among reasonable opponents, are justified.

The annual report is sometimes hailed by public relations practitioners and by corporate executives for its power to heal rifts within the organization and to correct misunderstandings by those outside the organization. Individuals within the organization are encouraged to pull together behind the administration in preparation for another year while those outside the organization are encouraged to forgive the organization for past mistakes, to recognize its triumphs, and to give their support once again. To some degree the annual

report can be used to patch up or even to cover up past mistakes.

Annual reports are also an attempt by the administration to ensure organizational continuity in the future by restating its corporate philosophy. This takes the form either of a statement of objectives or of a letter outlining the goals for future actions.

In this essay we examine two sets of annual reports: one by the Saskatchewan Arts Board (1948 to 1987) and the other by the Saskatchewan government body mainly responsible for cultural policy (named variously from 1966 to 1987).

In addition to texts from these annual reports, we have chosen key publicity and information documents, speeches and news releases, plus reports of task forces and commissions. These analyses are presented chronologically and, where relevant, we juxtapose them with similar documents from the same context or from similar contexts.

Our discursive analysis is conducted chronologically, following the development of two major cultural policy initiatives. Chapter 3 deals with the Saskatchewan Arts Board and Chapter 4 deals with the development of the department of the Government of Saskatchewan given responsibility for culture.

Notes: Chapter 2

[1] A. W. Johnson, Biography of a Government: Policy Formation in Saskatchewan 1944-61, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1963. Johnson was a senior civil servant in Saskatchewan during the 1950s and 1960s who became president of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation after completing doctoral studies at Harvard.

[2] Jim Harding, ed., The Politics of Social Policy: The Blakeney Years in Saskatchewan 1971-1982, unpublished manuscript, Prairie Justice Research and Social Administration Research Unit, University of Regina, 1986.

[3] Christopher Ham and Michael Hill, The Policy Process in the Modern Capitalist State (New York: Basic Books, 1983) 11.

[4] Ham and Hill 43.

[5] Ham and Hill 184.

[6] Michael M. Atkinson and Marsha A. Chandler, eds., The Politics of Canadian Public Policy (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1983).

[7] Jürgen Habermas, quoted in Thomas McCarthy, The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas (Cambridge: MIT P, 1978) 234.

[8] McCarthy 172.

[9] McCarthy 182.

[10] Habermas, quoted in McCarthy 184.

[11] Frank Burton and Pat Carlen, Official Discourse: On Discourse Analysis, Government Publications, Ideology and the State (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) 14.

[12] Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, trans. A.M. Sheridan-Smith (London: Tavistock Publications, 1982) 49.

[13] By "rhetoric" we mean a special kind of discourse whose main purpose is to persuade.

When institutions make statements, these statements are often what rhetoricians call enthymematic -- that is, they state what is already believed to be true by the audience to which the discourse is intended in order to build accord among their audience towards their institution. In this thesis we are examining statements made by government departments and government agencies, and must consider the rhetorical dimension.

[14] Michel Foucault, "History of Systems of Thought" in Language, Counter Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sharon Simon (Ithica: Cornell UP, 1977) 199.

[15] Burton and Carlen 16.

[16] Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, 68.

[17] Greimas, A. J. and Courtés, J., Semiotics and Language: An Analytical Dictionary, trans. Larry Crist and Daniel Patte and James Lee, Edward McMahon II, Gary Phillips, Michael Rengstorf (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982) 63-4.

[18] Malcolm, Norman, "Wittgenstein, Ludwig Josef Johann," The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 8 vols. Paul Edwards, ed. in Chief (New York: Macmillan & The Free Press, 1967) 8:335.

[19] Greimas and Courtés 63.

[20] Karl Popper, Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge (New York: Harper and Row, 1962) 28.

[21] As the sum total of all possible predicates appearing in true statements about reality, reality is no longer determined by the constitutive activities of transcendental consciousness per se but by what is in principle a finite process of inferences and interpretations, namely the collective efforts of all those who ever participate in the process of inquiry.

Jurgen Habermas, Knowledge and Human Interests, trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971) 101.

> With admirable consistency, Peirce demonstrates that as long as man grounds his identity exclusively in the success or failure of instrumental action, he can comprehend himself only privately. He gains self-certainty only at those moments when there is a discrepancy between his own beliefs and those that are strengthened by public consensus and accepted as definitive:
>
> "A child hears it said that the stove is hot. But it is not, he says; and, indeed, that central body is not touching it, and only what that touches is hot or cold. But he touches it, and finds the testimony confirmed in a striking way. Thus, he becomes aware of ignorance, and it is necessary to suppose a self in which this ignorance can inhere. So testimony gives the first dawning of self-consciousness."
>
> In the dialogic clarification of metatheoretical problems, the communication of investigators avails itself of a mode of knowledge linked to the framework of symbolic interaction.

Habermas 139.

[22] The conclusions are based upon the personal experiences of the author as a public relations professional for seven years and on statements from a recognized textbook of the public relations profession. See Scott M. Cutlip and Allen H. Center, Effective Public Relations, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

[23] It is notable that corporation, and many other terms used in business, are personifications. The rhetoric of organizations tends to discuss corporate bodies as if they were human beings with human attributes. Much of institutional discourse (and political discourse) tends to personify the institution rather than speaking of it as, say, a machine or an organism. This may have rhetorical utility but it also reflects deeper assumptions regarding administrative behaviour.

Chapter 3

Culture and Community

In this chapter we attempt to locate discourses about cultural policy in Saskatchewan from the early years of our study. In particular we examine the formation of the Saskatchewan Arts Board in 1948.

We examine texts produced by the Saskatchewan government and its agencies. We also examine some important texts from beyond Saskatchewan which have nonetheless been influential within the Saskatchewan context. In particular we look at statements regarding the Arts Council of Great Britain, which was formed in the post-war years, and regarding the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-1951 (The Massey Commission), which lead to the formation of the Canada Council.

Discursive Procedure: First Person Collective

The Saskatchewan Arts Board had been set up by the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education by the newly elected CCF government. Within the department's larger mandate adult education was seen as a key to community development -- an intervention designed to encourage people to come together in order to engage in projects to improve their own communities through community-based programming.

The Division's pro-active attitude is illustrated in this statement attributed to Adult Education Division director

Watson Thomson in a one-page brochure entitled "It's Time for Study Action", (1945):

> "No study without subsequent action . . . No action without previous study!"
>
> It is time all of us, the 500,000 men and women of Saskatchewan, irrespective of nationality or educational background, to became active and intelligent participants in the business of running our own public affairs, reshaping our environment and seeing the meaning of our own lives and actions against the background of the great world drama of our age.[1]

The "voice" of the discourse is that of a member of a society of equals. This kind of discourse is common in newsletters of ideologically homogenous organizations such as trade unions, but unusual in government documents. The appearance of this discourse can perhaps be explained by the optimism and naivety of members of the newly elected CCF government, which some believed could realize the ideals of the socialist CCF movement.

Discursive Procedure: Education as Practical Labour

Fifty thousand copies of the brochure were distributed across the province. Using photographs of groups of active people (from the files of the National Film Board of Canada) with captions written in the manner of a newsmagazine such as Life or Look, the brochure suggests topics for community action: employment and business development, town planning, health care, the equality of women, international development, education planning. It suggests that the means to work towards

community development is through co-operative action. One such caption, under a picture of large crowd of townspeople, reads:

> National and local holidays can be a great deal more fun if the entire community gets behind a planned program. The large crowd of citizens, above, is enjoying a popular sing-song, variety show, and outdoor movies. SA (Study-Action) groups encourage music, dance, and drama festivals, promote red-letter days for their towns.[2]

Education, particularly liberal education, is often discussed idealistically, as a means to understand the underpinnings of natural and political phenomena. Here education is discussed as a form of labour aimed at "rebuilding" a society which, supposedly because of six years of world war, demanded immediate and concerted attention. Again, the discourse is that of a labour organization or of a political movement rather than a government department.

Discursive Procedure: Collectivism

Discussing the Adult Education Division, the Department of Education Annual Report 1944-45 says:

> Adult education should primarily serve the practical concerns of the citizens . . . It should deal with issues rather than subjects and with the concrete processes of social reconstruction, first in the local community and then in the larger contexts of the province, the nation and the world.[3]

There is a call to community organization in order to effect change. The discourse mirrors the values of collective labour as a means to individual and collective survival.

Community-based leadership is encouraged, but seen as something which must be nurtured by government through a pro-active strategy.

The 1944-45 Annual Report goes on:

> It was also decided that to encourage such impulses from "the grass roots", the greatest possible degree of decentralization should be effected, through the appointment of fieldmen (district supervisors) and the encouragement of voluntary leadership in the community.[4]

The Report also mentions "experiments in labour education". The rhetoric of trade-unionism is used again:

> The Adult Education Division has not only provided discussion-leadership but has been concerned to discuss, with the labour committees concerned, the problems of how to create more widespread Study-Action interest among the rank and file of the unions.[5]

Thomson's Division probably represents the radical limits which the CCF government was able to accept within its new government -- in fact Thomson only stayed with the Department for a year -- but the concept of pro-active community development re-emerged in other publications in later years.[6]

Historically government service is seen as supplying roads, hospitals, schools, etc. But community development aims to help people develop forums in which their latent needs can become manifest. Community development has its antecedents in the work of Christian missionaries, in the work of labour union organizers and in the institution of social work.

The earliest examples of what one would specifically

define as cultural development in Saskatchewan were the arts and crafts competitions conducted by local exhibition boards and sponsored by the national railroads or by the grain marketing pools in the 1920s. These competitions encouraged crafts such as embroidery and canning for women and animal husbandry for the men.[7] Under the CCF, the newly created Adult Education Division, and later the Arts Board, as an "arm's length" agency of government, initiated crafts events as a means to create and foster community.

Since the province's earliest history there had also been some cultural development of a "fine arts" nature conducted on an ad hoc basis by local school teachers and clergy. But people's main contacts with cultural forms produced outside Saskatchewan had been a few travelling circuses, musical performers, chautauqua shows, and of course the movies.

According to its early publications, the Arts Board, as an initiative of the Adult Education Division, was designed to promote cultural development with a pro-active strategy. But its rhetoric has changed as the political climate of the province changed, as we shall show.

Discursive Procedure: Government as "Reactive"

Unlike the "trade unionist" and "community development" rhetoric of the Division's public brochures, the Board's First Annual Report (1948-49) is written more in terms of the traditional government program. It suggests that the role of the Arts Board is one of meeting needs which have already

been articulated by the community. A discourse of "service" and a discourse of "growth" is employed.

> Since the first meeting of the Saskatchewan Arts Board in February, 1948, the Board has made progress in fulfilling the duty to provide increased opportunities for the people of the province to engage in activities in the fields of drama, the visual arts, music, literature and handicrafts.[8]

Annual Reports often voice the belief that government institutions exist to provide a "service" to the "public". Government institutions become a metaphorical servant whose job is to respond to the demands of their public master. This kind of discourse serves to cover an institution's real agenda if the agenda is difficult to justify publicly. This discourse of "service" is supported by another procedure which we call "quantitative majoritarianism".

Discursive Procedure: Quantitative Majoritarianism (Attendance as a Measure of Value)

The Report voices a central CCF policy of serving all areas of the province:

> The Board has made it a matter of policy to give first consideration to people living in the smaller towns and villages. The response of the public to the services offered by the Board has come from widely distributed areas and from a variety of organizations, indicating that there has been a long felt need for cultural sustenance.[9]

It is said that there was a "long felt need for cultural sustenance". What is presupposed is that the Arts Board exists as a rational answer to that need. This hypothesis is

supported by the "fact" that the public is responsive to the Arts Board's programs.[10]

Government publications sometimes claim that because a large number of individuals attend an program, the program is doing its job. This rhetoric occults the fact that, given limited choices, individuals will attend those programs which meet their needs most closely. Given wider choices, they may choose other activities.

The problem with the presumed egalitarianism of this discourse is that it fails to recognize cultural differences or differences in communicative competence. Defining the range of acceptable cultural forms too narrowly excludes a large number of people. Simply finding a compromise -- a kind of cultural form which is understandable to the largest number of people -- has the result of defining culture as that which is shared commonly by the largest number of people. Thus one promotes only those things which a people have in common while ignoring cultural diversity. This kind of discourse has been a part of Arts Board publicity to the present day. In later years, however, another kind of discourse gains prominence which in some ways seems to contradict it.

Discursive Procedure: Exclusivity

The Annual Report of 1984-85 claims that an attempt is made to canvass its "clients" for program ideas:

> The major event of 1984-85 was the Arts Board's programme of client group meetings in the Literary,

> Performing and Visual Arts programme areas. Part of the Arts Board's attempt to stay in touch with the programming and financial needs and concerns of its major clients . . .[11]

In this latter case the Arts Board sees its role in terms of meeting the needs not of the "public" but of a specific group of program users. By the 1980s the Arts Board's role had be more clearly defined as an agency of support for professional artists and for "promising" beginning artists.

This transition from an agency of community development to an agency of support for professional artists seems to have come about in stages beginning in the 1960s. One of the major stages in this transition began with the election of the Liberal Party of Saskatchewan in 1964.

The introduction to the annual report of 1961, during the closing days of the CCF government, retains a concept of community development, but does so with a tone of paternalism, using terms such as "their own betterment" and raising the concept of "creativity":

> The Board was deliberately designed by the Provincial Government to give the people of the province a direct part in administering funds for their own betterment.
>
> . . . it is interested in teaching skills, financing learning and group activity, but only to the extent that these involve creativity. This is a highly individualistic quality to be found, to a greater or lesser degree, in everyone.[12]

In this text we find an attempt to identify the difference between the amateur artist and the "professional": It says that everyone has "creativity", but to greater or lesser

degrees. An egalitarian arts program, this text presupposes, should give everyone a chance to develop his/her creativity. But alongside of this idea appears the notion of "talent" which is specific to only a few individuals. Thus, everyone has "creativity" but only a few have "talent":

> Those who appear to have talent are encouraged to develop it. What of the vast bulk who do not appear to have talent: The Board must see that people are constantly exposed to the best art and craft possible. They must be provided with help and instruction in any or all areas of interest. Thus a stimulated, informed and cognizant audience will derive infinite pleasure from our human resources and the artistic achievement of our talented fellows.[13]

The appearance of a discourse about "creativity" and "talent" contradicts the earlier discourse about community development. The kinds of cultural forms and cultural activities undertaken by "talented" or "creative" people may on the surface be much the same as those undertaken by average citizens, but the notions of "talent" and "creativity" presuppose a hierarchy in which average folks participate only as spectators.

The earlier discourse, the discourse about community development, sees the Arts Board's role as providing equal opportunities to communities to define their own culture. The other discourse places the onus on the Arts Board itself to help identify what constitutes the best art and craft possible and also to identify who has "talent". This latter discourse may be called a discourse about the "elite" artist. A similar set of discourses can be detected in the field of recreational

sport, where there is a distinction between the "elite" athlete as opposed to the average citizen who would be satisfied with a basic set of recreation facilities.

In 1964, the year the Thatcher Liberals were elected, the following statement is made in the introduction to the Arts Board's annual report. It again exemplifies the discursive procedure of "progress" and "development" as noted earlier, but in this case discusses progress and development as the development of elite artists, rather than the development of programming for community development. In this latter case, there is a complaint that the development has been slower than in other provinces. The reason for this rhetorical posture is clearly the political one of criticizing the CCF's policies:

> . . . the development of the arts has been slower in Saskatchewan than in other provinces. In part, our relatively deficient artistic climate is explained by our lack of population density and less favourable geographic location. The greatest single factor, however, is the migration of our talented people to other provinces, seeking employment in their professional fields. Hence, in spite of (or perhaps because of) the work of the Arts Board and other agencies, we are faced with an ever increasing disparity between the artistic achievement of Saskatchewan and other provinces.[14]

Here the discourse deals with an object, a commodity -- talented people -- who are by now in short supply "in spite of (or perhaps because of) the work of the Arts Board and other agencies". It is further argued that Saskatchewan has not been producing its share of talent. This reinforces the notion that

the objective of cultural development is to produce talented people and not necessarily to augment the general well-being of the community.

Increasingly, in these later years, culture is defined as an activity of a highly trained professional, who, like other professionals in a market-place, has a value which must be recognized (and paid for). The objective of cultural development, according to this discourse, is to produce elite artists.

The annual report of 1968, appearing in the middle of the Thatcher Liberal's second term in office, proclaims a three-stage development towards an Arts Board concerned exclusively with the development of a "professional" artist.

> In the first ten years, the Saskatchewan Arts Board endeavored to implement and maintain the aims of the 1949 Act . . .
> During the second decade, considerable time and effort was expended on guidance, consultation and the evaluation of programs in existence. . . . In the latter part of the decade, considerable emphasis was placed on professionalism and standards.
> The next ten years must develop an economic and cultural climate which will ensure that the professionals stay, and produce, in Saskatchewan.[15]

The report then explains that these goals will be pursued by developing "markets for the works of Saskatchewan artists", through "proper training" and by attracting the residents of the province to "view, appreciate and involve themselves with the programs and works of fine arts professionals."

The shift in emphasis from <u>community</u> to <u>professional</u> can be justified as an element of the Arts Board Act itself. The

1949 Act states the Board's purposes:

> 11.1(a) to make available to the people of Saskatchewan opportunities to engage in one or more of the following activities: drama, the visual arts, music, literature, handicrafts and other arts.
> (b) to provide leadership in such activities.
> (c) to promote the development and maintenance of high standards for such activities in the province.[16]

Part (a) defines the Arts Board as provider of services. Part (b) encapsulates the Board's role as a catalyst. It is part (c) which raises some interesting questions. The notion of "high standards" presupposes a value judgement of some kind. It raises the questions: Whose standards? To be judged or determined by whom?

The notion of "standards" contradicts the earlier determination that the chief role of the Arts Board is community development. Within the definitions given by the earlier CCF Adult Education Division one would understand community development as a means to help communities to identify their own needs and wants. The notion of "standards" presupposes an arbitrarily set level below which certain cultural activities will not be accepted. The notion of "standards" also presupposes that someone has already determined which kinds of cultural forms are to be accepted and which are not.

Annual reports generated by the Arts Board after the NDP came to power in 1972 reflect a revival of the CCF concept of community development. In the Arts Board's 1977 Annual Report, newly appointed Executive Director Joy Cohnstaedt writes:

> There has been a decade of nation-wide attention to the broad democratization of the arts and humanities. The objective of securing greater participation by the people has moved the arts from the periphery of attention and towards the centre of life. This heightened activity has stimulated interest and whetted the appetite for the arts in Saskatchewan centres both large and small.[17]

She recalls the values of the earlier CCF cultural policies, which were interconnected with the concept of community development:

> The provincial tradition of local control suggests that there is no one answer or program for artistic and cultural development. The challenge for Saskatchewan is to interweave the community and the arts resources through careful planning, coordination, and administration of arts programs in response to the fundamental needs in society for expression through the arts.[18]

Cohnstaedt's statement suggests that "democratization" is taking place in the arts. Such a view contradicts the determination by the previous Liberal administration that the Arts Board of later years existed chiefly for the development of professional artists.

The 1979-80 Report notes that the Arts Congress, an annual meeting of artists, cultural organizations and the public, had been revived after many years. This is given as a concrete illustration of the Board's interest in engaging in a "dialogue" with the community:

> The Arts Congress provides an annual opportunity for informal dialogue between the members of the Arts Board and the people of Saskatchewan concerned about the development of the arts in the province.[19]

Here it is argued that there is a revival of interest in community participation, but that there is also at least an interest in the needs of the growing professional arts community. But one is compelled to question whether the distinct, almost contradictory demands of "community" and "professional" (sometimes drawn as "professional" and "amateur") can be met by the selfsame organization. One of the ways that the Arts Board has attempted to deal with this question is by employing "professional" artists as instructors, thus providing income for the professionals and cultural programming for the community.[20]

It is by noting how the Arts Board handled the difficult balance between "professional" and "amateur" that one is able to determine what currency the Arts Board has given to their "community" mandate over the years.

A consideration of spending reveals that the key concern at the Arts Board in the years since 1960 has been the "professional" artist and professional arts groups. This view has also been reflected in more recent publications of the Arts Board, including Riddell's history of the board, which was published by the Board itself in 1979.

Under the direction Joy Cohnstaedt, with her avowedly "community" attitude toward Arts Board programming, is a brief reversal of the Arts Board's shift from "community" to "professional" over the years from 1948 to 1982.

Cohnstaedt's administration came to an end in 1982 after the defeat of the NDP and the election of the Devine

Conservatives.

The Arts Council of Great Britain

It is interesting, in this context, to do a brief comparison between the discourse produced by the Saskatchewan Arts Board and that of the Arts Council of Great Britain, which, according to the Board's own documents, was used as the model for the Saskatchewan Arts Board.

The British Arts Council's Royal Charter of 1946 reveals an important difference between the two institutions:

> (a) to develop and improve the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts.
> (b) to increase the accessibility of the arts to the public throughout Great Britain.
> (c) to advise and co-operate with departments of government, local authorities and other bodies on any matters concerned whether directly or indirectly with the foregoing objects.[21]

Although it may be presupposed, there is no mention of "high standards" as there is in the Saskatchewan Act. One clause that is discursively similar to one in the Saskatchewan Act is "to increase the accessibility of the arts to the public".

One of the reasons the Arts Council was created was to bring the cultural expressive forms found in larger centres to the industrial communities and rural towns. It was a post-war Labour government's attempt to bring to a wider public what had before only been available to the upper classes. To help serve the Arts Council's "community" mandate, there is

also mention in the Labour government's Local Government Act, 1948, encouraging greater efforts by local authorities to support "the provision of any form of entertainment, and to provide theatres, concert halls, and any other premises for the purposes of such entertainment."[22]

> . . . Authorities claim that there is indirect spending on the arts under the education rate; and in any case, civic entertainment in the widest sense allowed under the 1948 Act includes pigeon racing, swimming galas and old-time dancing.[23]

The British Arts Council is also cited as an antecedent to the Canada Council. There is a discussion of the British Arts Council in the 1951 Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences.

Curiously, the Report quotes a 1945 broadcast address by Lord Keynes, then Chairman of the Arts Council:

> I do not believe it is yet realized what an important thing has happened. State patronage of the arts has crept in. It has happened in a very English, informal, unostentatious way, half baked if you like. A semi-independent body is provided with modest funds to stimulate, comfort and support any societies or bodies brought together on private or local initiative which are striving with serious purpose and a reasonable prospect of success to present for public enjoyment the arts of drama, music and painting.[24]

Discursive Procedure - Generalization of Public Taste

Cultural activities are generalized as a commodity to promote public enjoyment. It is presupposed that culture is a form of recreation. Recreation is recognized, perhaps for the

first time in the history of government, as within the purview of government service. But to what end: public entertainment, public education or community development?

> At last the public exchequer has recognized the support and encouragement of the civilizing arts of life as part of their duty. But we do not intend to socialize this side of social endeavour.[25]

Keynes enters the debate as a liberal rather than as a socialist. As such his statements support the notion of government supplying recreation opportunities, but in a way which allows the arts to develop "freely" without government interference.

Keynes goes on:

> Whatever views may be held by the lately warring parties, whom you have been hearing every evening at this hour, about socializing industry, everyone, I fancy, recognizes that the work of the artist in all its aspects is, of its nature, individual and free, undisciplined, unregimented, uncontrolled. The artist walks where the breath of the spirit blows him. He cannot be told his direction; he does not know it himself. But he leads the rest of us into fresh pastures and teaches us to love and to enjoy what we often begin by rejecting, enlarging our sensibility and purifying our instincts. The task of an official body is not to teach or to censor, but to give courage, confidence and opportunity.[26]

Keynes sets up a distinction between those aspects of society which would come under government control and those which must remain beyond such controls. The purpose for his argument is to support the notion of an Arts Council which is at an "arm's length" from the processes of government. But his argument is structured in such a way as to criticize a

particular notion of socialism. This notion presupposes that socialism would oppress the individual by encouraging a kind of totalitarian art.

Discursive Procedure: Personalization of a Public Language

To shore up his argument, Keynes presupposes a 19th century notion of the artist as one blessed with special insights. He even mimics a phrase from the Lord's prayer, i.e., "leads us into fresh pastures" in order to valorize the image of the artist. The dangers of this assumption are discussed by Williams (1961). For example:

> The abstraction of art has been its promotion or relegation to an area of special experience (emotion, beauty, phantasy, the imagination, the unconscious), which art in practice has never confined itself to, ranging in fact from the most ordinary daily activities to exceptional crises and intensities, and using a range of means from the words of the street and common popular stories to strange systems and images which it has yet been able to make common property.[27]

In Keynes' discourse "personal expression" is presupposed to be the central fact of culture. Thus, it is believed that a society which cares about "culture" is one which creates a special place for "artists". This belief tends to ghettoize artistic expression and is counter to the idea (expressed by Williams and others) that artistic discourse is a public language with social and political implications.

Discussing art in terms of the so-called romantic cult of the artist relegates art to a position where it is less

threatening to established political orders. Contrary to this rhetoric, as Williams has pointed out (in Culture and Society and elsewhere), much of the most widely praised art of the 19th an 20th centuries has been a critique of established institutions and conventions.

By relegating art to the category of "personal expression", one de-politicizes it. If the work of artists were taken as a serious criticism of society, one would have to respond in a political rather than an individual manner. Art would, in this case, become an element of political change, rather than as a form of recreation.

An alternative approach to the notion of expression would be one which would see the artist as one able to articulate the deeply felt needs of a given community or of individuals within a given community, thus bringing them into the realm of politics. Such a view, and such a role for the artist, as sanctioned by a public arts council, would of course pose a threat to the authority of established political orders and to the status quo. Keynes' discourse appears to support the notion of a publicly funded arts council, but at the same time delimits the powers of such an agency by delimiting the impact of cultural expression.

The recommendations which the Massey Commission makes are more specific as to the structure and mandate of the proposed Canada Council. The Report contains no flowery statements of its own, rather it is written in a tone of cool objectivity. As such it gives the impression of being beyond the subjective,

oftentimes emotional debate regarding the role of government in the arts. But is it really? The fact that Keynes is quoted tends to situate the discourse in a wider liberalist discourse about cultural policy as a form of government "service". Culture is designated as a field of "personal expression". Political or social implications of art and culture are minimized.

It is curious that the commissioners would choose to quote a radio address by a British politician. The prominence of the British Arts Council experience both discursively and in practise suggests a desire to borrow prestige from this British institution, while at the same time buying its limitations as set out in statements such as those of Lord Keynes.

Clearly there have been many voices in the debates over the many cultural institutions which have developed in Canada since 1945, and the institutions which developed do not necessarily represent a fair conclusion or a fair compromise between these many voices. The Massey Report itself contains a number of contradictory suggestions, and before the Canada Council was formed seven years later, there were many more opinions expressed with regards to the appropriate structure and mandate for a national cultural institution.[28]

We take the view that an institution is both shaped by and is reflected in its discourse. If this is true then statements such as those by Keynes have played an important role in shaping cultural policy in Canada. Althought Saskatchewan's Arts Board had its roots in the socialist CCF movement, and

reflected some socialist notions about community development in its early years, the early 1950s would see it, like the Canada Council and other federal agencies, begin to fall into liberalist patterns of rhetoric and practise.

"Professional" Versus "Amateur"

We attempt here to take account of some of the main voices which participated in formulating the Saskatchewan Arts Board. An early discussion within the development of the Arts Board in Saskatchewan could be a key to an understanding the professional/amateur distinction which has been a part of the discourse of cultural policy to this day.

By 1947 in Saskatchewan, professional artists -- mainly those trained in art institutions here and elsewhere -- were beginning to form organizations to lobby for their own support. One such organization was the Canadian Arts Council (CAC). A representative to the 1947 national meeting of that organization, Saskatoon painter Ernest Lindner, was at the time trying to bring to Saskatchewan a mandate by the CAC to form provincial arts councils. In a biography of the artist, historian Terrence Heath says that a group of artists and educators met with David Smith of the Adult Education Division and decided that:

> The SAC (Saskatchewan Arts Council) would be democratically structured, grassroots organization which would advise the government on cultural policy. At the same time, the Adult Education Division would organize a provincial arts board to co-ordinate and enact the policies recommended by the Arts Council.

> Administratively, the Arts Board would function under the Minister of Education, but a certain number of board members would be appointed by the Minister "from a slate to be selected by the Provincial Arts Board and Provincial Arts Council." But it was emphasized that the Saskatchewan Arts Council must be the authoritative advisory body which would be consulted by the government: on all professional questions.[29]

Within two months David Smith (who had replaced Watson Thomson as director of the Adult Education Division) had drafted a bill for the immediate creation of a government Arts Board. Though he continued to give verbal support to the arrangments made with Lindner, the letter of the act revealed a different intent. To this day the Board is appointed by the government and has no formal system of canvassing the opinions of artists' organizations or anyone else. There have been informal forums at various times in the Arts Board's history. An "Arts Congress", with participants from across the province, was held in the first years after the Board's formation, but disappeared during the years of the Liberal government, then re-appeared during the NDP administration. During the Devine Conservative government, the Arts Congress was replaced by a series of meetings with professional artists' groups which it called meetings with its "client groups".[30]

The continuing existence of professional arts organizations, along with other government-supported bodies concerned with the distribution of arts funding, illustrates that there are still many ideas (some conflicting) about the distribution of government funds to culture and the arts.

One of those many debates, which may in fact be the key debate, can be seen as an appropriation of the debate regarding the demarcation between "community" and "high" culture. While Lindner advocated a notion that government should support "excellence" and encourage the development of excellence, Smith, as a representative of a Division concerned at the time with community development, advocated a "community" approach.[31]

The uneasy balance between "community" and "excellence" is apparent in the following quotation from the Saskatchewan Arts Board's 1949 Brief to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences:

> The Saskatchewan Arts Board recognizes that although the finest flowerings of a culture may eventually find their way to museums, galleries, the big theatres, and capital cities, these flowerings are the expression of a widely-spread and deeply-rooted cultural development. As in many other things, the quality of life of the people in the small towns, communities and cities of this country is the determining factor in cultural growth. If the cultural experience of the people in cities, towns and villages is thin and bare, no vigorous cultural life in Canada will be possible.[32]

Expressed in this statement, and supported by a number of naturalistic metaphors regarding cultural development, is the supposition that the cultural forms which are chosen by the larger established institutions are discursively similar to those which might be produced by people in the smaller towns and communities. The culture of Canada is believed to be a version of the culture generated from communities across the country. The statement assumes that the gatekeepers at the

larger, established institutions are ever responsive to the wide range of cultural expression found at the grass-roots level.

In fact, the reverse is often the case; grass roots level gatekeepers are often attuned to the arts establishments, and thus give encouragement mainly to those forms subscribed to by established artists.[33]

In Saskatchewan such attitudes have been fostered, involuntarily, by the Arts Board's own programs of bringing performers and art displays from the larger centres to rural communities. Where these travelling programs have not been balanced by community-based programming, elitism becomes a real danger.

Invariably the kind of cultural policy set by a government helps determine the kind of culture which will come to exist in a nation. Where cultural policy is in the formative stages, as is clearly the case in Saskatchewan, one must look to the discourse generated on behalf of culture in order to determine whether there is a unity of discourse which underlies all of these efforts, or whether there are a number of conflicting discourses.

Much of the discourse about cultural policy of this era supports the notion that culture, like a natural outgrowth from the people, needs only to be fostered through funding. It is assumed that creative powers are latent in a society, and that the right kind of intervention can make them manifest themselves in "cultural" or "artistic" activities.

However, this discourse occults the fact that the institutions which support or initiate these "cultural" activities inevitably have an agenda of their own (either explicit or implicit) which determines which activities are supported, and which activities will be discouraged through the denial of funding.

Some texts are more frank about their motives than others. The Massey Commission, for example, recommends the creation of an agency with the three clearly defined mandates of strengthening volunteer cultural organizations, giving encouragement to professional artists and promoting Canada as a national entity both at home and abroad.[34]

In Saskatchewan, the Art Board also had many mandates, and, especially in the early years, very limited funds with which to accomplish them. Like all institutions, it has generated its share of publications with which to express its ethos. At the same time the claim has frequently been made that the Arts Board is independent of government and is responsive to and representative of the "community".

Summary of the Findings of Chapter 3

In examining the texts we note discourses in which the Arts Board discusses itself and its program in the following ways. These first discourses are more characteristic of the Arts Board of the early (CCF) years and of the Arts Board which emerged after the defeat of the Thatcher Liberals by Blakeney's NDP government.

- It refers to its programs within a community development context, asserting the need to develop artistic awareness and skills in the community. Furthermore, it asserts that this development should be directed from the community.

- It refers to the British Arts Council as an important influence, thus borrowing prestige from a more established "culture" which has been influential in other sectors of Canadian government and society.

- It asserts the value of democratic control of cultural development, and it assumes that the Arts Board is representative of the needs of the Saskatchewan community. Also, because there is consistant reference to the Arts Board Act and the personna of the Chairman, rather than the various members of the Board and their individual backgrounds, the impression is given that the Arts Board is an objective bureaucratic instrument rather than one driven by subjective decisions (and therefore capable of personal biases or of political influence).

In all of these discourses, the government is exonerated from responsibility for the Arts Board's decisions and the Board, as an "arm's length", agency is portrayed as a fair body responsible only to the Act and to the changing needs of the Saskatchewan "public".

- It equates the increase in cultural expression to organic growth, and assumes that Arts Board programs can influence this growth through funding and "educational programs". By employing this naturalistic metaphor one

asserts some kind of "natural" process which is relatively free from personal or political motives. This rhetoric promotes the concept that the Board and its members do not influence the kind of cultural expression generated by the community. Rather, they assume, they are merely encouraging people and communities to develop their own creative potential.

- It has an overall tone of paternalism, presupposing that "cultivation" of the general population can be realized through educational programs in which established artists "teach" local adults to make art according to established techniques and thus make them better people, or at least improve the "quality of their lives".

The following observation applies to the Arts Board of the. Thatcher Liberal and Devine Progressive Conservative eras:

- It identifies the concept of the "talented" or "professional" artist as a different kind of individual who is endowed with special abilities which entitle him/her to special considerations. The task of identifying these individuals is one of the tasks of the Arts Board.

Interviews with Arts Board members past and present reveals a sincere desire to do a number of things which could be called "cultural" in the broadest sense. However, a lack of funds, and a specific mandate to fund "promising" artists and to institute "educational" programs, has forced the Board to priorize its activities according to specified criteria. It is also clear from the Board's own publications that there has been a definite shift from "community" to "professionalism"

over the history of the Arts Board. This observation has been corroborated by those who have observed the Arts Board at close range.[35]

With the election of the New Democratic Party in 1971, new cultural programs were initiated and the Arts Board's role could be defined and justified as serving the needs of the "professional artist". This second wave of cultural development, and particularly the discourse of the era, is the topic of the next chapter.

Notes: Chapter 3

[1] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, Adult Education Division, It's Time for Study Action, pamphlet, 1945, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, 1.

[2] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, Adult Education Division, It's Time for Study Action, 1.

[3] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1945 (Regina: The King's Printer, 1945) 50.

[4] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1945, 50.

[5] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1945, 51.

[6] In 1973 the Blakeney NDP government passed the Community Colleges Act which would establish community college committees in every community that desired programming. Aside from adult upgrading, trades courses, arts, crafts and recreation programs, community college boards were also mandated to:

> . . . assist in community development by offering programs of community education and service. In rural areas it will serve as a mechanism for the maintenance and development of a viable way of life.

Saskatchewan, Report of the Minister's Advisory Committee on Community Colleges (Regina: Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Education, 1972) 59.

Community Colleges based upon the concept of "community development" were restructured with the election of the Devine Conservatives. The new community colleges offered more trades and basic education upgrading and less "cultural" programs.

[7] W.A. Riddell, Cornerstone for Culture: A History of the Saskatchewan Arts Board from 1948 to 1978 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1966) 3.

[8] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, Annual Report, 1948-49 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1949) 5.

[9] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, Annual Report 1948-49, 5.

[10] Statements such as these may be a way, rhetorically, of answering the critics of pro-active community development. At any rate, these statements support a notion of an institution which is not necessarily putting forward its own agenda, but is merely responding to "public" demands for services.

[11] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, 37th Annual Report: April 1984 to March 31, 1985 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1985) 7.

[12] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, 14th Annual Report: January 1 to December 31, 1961 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1962) 4.

[13] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, 14th Annual Report: January 1 to December 31, 1961, 5.

[14] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, 17th Annual Report: January 1 to December 31, 1964 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1965) 4.

[15] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, 21st Annual Report: January 1 to December 31, 1968 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1969) 3.

[16] Saskatchewan, Legislative Assembly, Saskatchewan Arts Board Act, 1949.

[17] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, 30th Annual Report, January 1 to December 31, 1977 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1978) 1.

[18] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, 30th Annual Report, January 1 to December 31, 1977, 1.

[19] Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Arts Board, 32nd Annual Report, April 1, 1979 to March 31, 1980 (Regina: Saskatchewan Arts Board, 1980) 8.

[20] This has led to a type of program which is gathering support -- the "artist in residence program" (and its equivalent) -- where an individual is paid a salary to live and work in a community and to be available to conduct workshops and for private consultations. Unfortunately such programs run the risk of creating a system of quality control which by definition excludes some forms of expression. Unless the professional artist is particularly sensitive to the local culture (s)he may intimidate some people and reward only those who choose to follow "accepted" modes and methods of doing art.

[21] UNESCO, Cultural Policy in Great Britain (Paris, 1970) 9.

[22] UNESCO, Cultural Policy in Great Britain, 10.

[23] UNESCO, Cultural Policy in Great Britain, 10.

[24] Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. 1949-1951 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951) 374.

[25] Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. 1949-1951, 374.

[26] Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. 1949-1951, 374.

[27] Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961) 39.

[28] Bernard Ostry, The Cultural Connection (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978).

[29] Terrence Heath, Uprooted: The Life and Art of Ernest Lindner (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1983) 116.

[30] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Recreation, Annual Report, 1984-85 (Regina: Department of Culture and Recreation, 1986) 7.

[31] Joy Cohnstaedt, interview, Yorkton, May 22, 1987.

[32] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, Brief to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949, mimeograph, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.

[33]

> Culture is linked clearly to class, and most governmental cultural programs cater to interests pursued almost exclusively by members of the middle class. . . .
>
> Large-scale well-known organizations in the arts, like other such organisms, develop vested interests in traditional ways of doing things, bureaucratic control, and impatience with professionally marginal innovators. They constitute an artistic establishment which, because of invariably threatening financial crises, is loath to take risks by experimenting with an untried and unknown repertoire, with artists lacking a following, or with activities which might discomfort its traditional audiences and backers. While performing an essential societal role, such an establishment nevertheless may often stand in the way of artists who have not yet won fame. Conventional governmental programs to assist cultural activities thus not unnaturally and unavoidably perpetuate acceptable formulas and practices and indirectly inhibit the emergence of novel and critical forms of artistic expression.

John Meisel, "Political Culture and the Politics of Culture". Canadian Journal of Political Science 7.4 (December 1974): 609.

See also Susan Crean, Who's Afraid of Canadian Culture (Don Mills: General Publishing, 1976) and George Woodcock, Strange Bedfellows: The State and The Arts in Canada (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1985).

[34] Canada. The Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters an Sciences, 1949-1951 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951) 381.

[35] Joy Cohnstaedt, interview, Yorkton, May 22, 1987.

Chapter 4

Culture and Government

By the 1960s governments across the country had become more involved than ever with culture. In Saskatchewan the 1960s marked the creation of a specific department of government concerned explicitly with culture. In this chapter we examine the discourse generated by and on behalf of this new initiative.

Canadian Culture in the 1960s

The Department of Culture and Youth began as the Provincial Youth Agency under the Liberal administration of Ross Thatcher in 1966.

We start with a discursive analysis of the Report of the Provincial Youth Review Committee. In order to appreciate the discursive features of this document, it is important to first examine the context in which it was initiated.

The late 1950s and early 1960s was the time of the "quiet revolution" in Quebec, where there was a growing political awareness of the importance of building economic and cultural sovereignty.[1]

The discourse about Quebec reached the national stage and became a federal concern with the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism of 1963.[2]

The 1960s were an important period demographically.

Youth (i.e., individuals aged roughly 10 to 24) was at this time a large population group which would soon be coming into the job market. Many in government and elsewhere feared problems with unemployment and with student unrest. One response of the federal government was the establishment of the Company of Young Canadians (CYC) in 1965:

> It was inserted in the Throne Speech largely at the urging of some "young and progressive" Liberal backbenchers and executive assistants who felt that something should be done to win support for the Liberals among the large postwar generation just coming of age, and who might have been impressed by the enthusiasm which the United States Peace Corps had generated among the young.[3]

While many in government saw the CYC as a low cost vehicle for winning youth support, "CYC members themselves appear to have had a much different view. For many of the latter, the CYC was seen as a vehicle for community betterment. Some even saw the CYC as a vehicle for fundamental social change."[4]

Later the federal government set up the Opportunities for Youth Program (OFY), Local Initiative Program (LIP) and other national programs with the stated purpose of giving youth opportunities to learn skills and to engage in community service. Some of the projects generated under these programs had cultural intentions.[5]

Using a pluralist model of analysis on the OFY program, Best (1974) sees the program as "redistributive" in that it tended to distribute resources and transfer power to a new constituency in a systematic way. In return for giving some

powers to a heretofore unrecognized constituency, society at large gained a measure of peace of mind over the twin problems of youth unemployment and growing youth discontent:

> The threat of unemployment directly affected students, while the threat of social unrest was felt by the wider society. The government needed a policy response that would symbolize and, if possible, alleviate the concerns of both groups.[6]

Though the rhetoric of these programs was radical -- using terms such as "community betterment," "meaningful activity," and "participatory democracy", Best concludes that the effect of the programs upon the real problems of youth was not great.

> Thus, it must be concluded that the government was most concerned with the symbolic impact that the programme would have 1) in letting students know that the government was "doing something" about unemployment, or even better, that the government was "helping them to help themselves and society"; 2) in relieving the fears of many older people that unemployment would lead to unrest among students; and 3) in easing the fears of those unemployed members of the permanent labour force who were concerned that they would have to compete with thousands of students for the already scarce number of regular jobs available.[7]

In Saskatchewan the Liberal government of Ross Thatcher came to power in 1964. Thatcher saw his own party as independent of the federal Liberals, who had never been very popular in Saskatchewan. Thatcher himself was formerly a CCF Member of Parliament, who had by the 1960s become a strident opponent of socialism.[8]

Concern over the "youth problem" was being heard in

Saskatchewan as well, and in September of 1965 the Saskatchewan Youth Act 1965 was passed appointing the Provincial Youth Review Committee to receive "representations from community and municipal youth agencies in Saskatchewan respecting the desirability of governmental action in youth services; and (b) be responsible for preparation of a report concerning such representations. . . ."[9]

Given a liberal theory of government -- a theory of government as a provider of public services -- the notion of identifying a demand for service is a logical first step. But there are many areas in which government could provide services. Why would a government choose this route at this time?

One could interpret the so-called youth problem as a demand for government services. But many people were also asking for fundamental changes to society: in the education system, in the distribution of wealth and in the structures of democracy. It is obvious that the government was not interested in jeopardizing its own position by advocating significant changes to basic institutions of society. It is rather more likely that the government was interested in somehow enhancing its position while at the same time attempting to respond to the demands of "youth" in what ever way it could.

Discursive Analysis -- "Youth: A Study in Our Time"

In these pages we undertake a discursive analysis of the document which is widely recognized as a foundation for

government policy regarding "culture" in Saskatchewan.

"Youth -- a Study in Our Time" begins with a set of definitions which the writers of the document themselves claim to be the parameters of the study. Following are three key ones:

> Youth - those young people in the Province who are between the ages of 10 years and 24 years.
>
> Recreation - Activities or pastimes occupying the leisure hours for the purpose of self-gratification. These activities are considered to be socially acceptable.
>
> Cultural Programs - Experiences which are designed to contribute to the aesthetic expression of the individual, e.g., art, drama, music, poetry, etc.[10]

It is clear even from this point that the definition of "culture" adopted is akin to the narrower definition we discussed earlier. It is the document's definition and demarcation of "youth" that is even more interesting.

Discursive Procedure: Reification of "Youth"

Rather than examining the issues raised by the "youth" and others who were finding a new voice during this era, this discourse identifies the group which is raising the concerns, labels them "Youth" and then isolates the issues as "problems" which can be addressed in a systematic manner.

The document begins with a letter of transmittal signed by Dr. Howard Nixon, Executive Director for the Provincial Youth Agency and by Dr. Lloyd Barber, Chairman of the Provincial Youth Review Committee, both well-known educators. It is

followed by a letter signed by each member of the Committee, then by a reprint of the Minister's order.

Discursive Procedure: Scientificity

It is widely stated within scientific discourses of the past few hundred or so years that once a problem is identified, it can be solved if the right kind of expertise is brought to bear. In this case the problem is "the youth problem" and the "experts" in dealing with youth are educators.

To further give the report the air of being an objective, "scientific" document, there is ample use of statistics and the quoting of "data" from the para-scientific fields of psychology, education theory and sociology.[11]

In effect, the commissioners of the report have identified a field of acceptable discourse. This is a common procedure of documents which claim to represent public opinion. The authors, unable or unwilling to consider opinions which would call to question their own presuppositions, will arbitrarily demarcate a finite roster of "acceptable" sources of opinion and a finite range of "acceptable" data. This roster of sources and range of data is usually a function of their own training or background. In this case the field of pedagogy provides the basis.

Discursive Procedure: Bureaucracy as a Solution

The document consists of reports on youth programs in

other provinces, in the U.S. and elsewhere; a review of youth services offered in other departments of the Government of Saskatchewan; and the results of a survey of existing community-level services.

The report concludes that the "The Government of Saskatchewan should foster, encourage and promcte youth programs and services in the province," and that "the best vehicle for such activity would be a new department of Government."[12]

The role of this new department is outlined as "co-ordinating existing programs",[13] to "develop a broad leadership and program resource centre", to "stimulate and motivate the provision of new facilities and new programs",[14] and to "re-evaluate programs and methods."[15] Because "this Department cannot, by itself fulfill all of the demands that would be placed upon it. . . . Government must shift the responsibility for the establishment of local priorities to the local communities. The role of the Department, if it is to be a successful catalyst, must be determined by these priorities."[16]

The report argues that "A department of Government is the best means to achieve strong co-ordinated youth services" because a department could "have the power and prestige to co-ordinate all Government activities pertaining to youth and cultural affairs."[17]

The report recommended further research, development of youth programs, and assessment of these programs by listening

to the voices of youth.

When government becomes involved with solving a problem, its solution is often to create bureaucratic instruments. These devices are a method of achieving "measurable" success. Some notion of measurement is thought important in order to evaluate the program and to justify its continued existence.

Discursive Procedure: Hierarchy

Thus the discourse of the process identifies an object -- "Youth" -- and sets out to determine "what are the problems faced by youth?" It employs other discourses in addressing the problems -- those of psychology and statistics, and claims to be seeking the opinions and advice of those affected by these "problems" in a legitimate and thorough way. But only in two occasions does one find actual statements from any of the 242 briefs received. The findings of the report claim to be a reflection of the needs and wants of youth. These needs and wants are mediated through the youth organizations which made presentations to the task force, and appear as summary assessments by the authors of the report:

> The Agency, upon drawing together the opinions, views, beliefs, statements, and observations, has concluded there are six basic issues that must be faced realistically if there is to be an attempt to implement a program for young people in Saskatchewan: Lack of co-ordination, leadership, facilities, finances, research and depth of program. It is apparent that some kind of service is necessary in order for youth today to be better able to stand independently as adults in our complex new society.[18]

The system for receiving briefs consists of a set of requirements which must be met by presenters. Presenters are required to choose categories which have been pre-set by the commissioners. Within such a system organizations are favoured over individuals and organizations with the staff or the volunteers who have taken the time to research the commissioners' own requirements are favoured over those who have not.

Again, the problem is seen as solvable by specific programming. "Young people" are spoken of paternalistically. While in fact many of the programs the Report recommends are those which would affect "adults", the problem is seen as supplying services to a sub-group of the larger society which is at an age were the process of socialization is still taking place.

When the Youth Secretariat's Report was filed in 1966, the Liberal government set up the Provincial Youth Agency. In its first Report, the Provincial Youth Agency sets out its role as providing "leisure time activities" for "young people".

> The objective was to create a climate and provide the leadership which makes it possible for young people to explore, develop and utilize their talents in leisure time programs.[19]

The Progress Report goes on to explain that these recreation programs should have the "direct involvement of youth as leaders". As such, there is a nominal effort to empower this new group, at least to the extent of giving them jurisdiction over their own local programs. This appears to be

a variation of the "community development" discourse employed so frequently by the Adult Education Division under the CCF.

In a statement which is signed by the Minister-in-charge, Provincial Youth Agency, the following appears:

> For the future, plans are being made to place greater emphasis on the involvement of youth, expansion of leadership development programs, continuing experimentation and research in discovering more effective methods of developing and operating programs for Saskatchewan Youth.[20]

Clearly the Agency was created by government as a means to distribute funding for certain kinds of services throughout the province and to monitor these services. The Progress Report assures its readers that the project is proceeding in an equitable and non-partisan manner.

According to its own discourse, the Youth Agency, like many of the programs initiated by the Federal Liberals, was not just concerned with distributing resources and monitoring their use. It also claims to be concerned with sharing power and sharing access to resources with a new constituency (i.e., "youth").

The Youth Agency can be viewed, like its federal counterparts, as a means to answer the general call of the era to give decision-making powers to the constituency which, at the time, was clamouring loudest for such powers. However, once in place, community recreation boards were given the task of identifying needs and delivering programs according to a specific set of criteria recommended by the Department.

Rather than actually redistributing power or

redistributing access to funds, the Agency merely sets up a mechanism by which to deliver its own programs through community-based boards. Centralism and hierarchy are maintained while appearing, through the Agency's own publications, to answer the demands for more community control.

Publications of The Department of Culture and Youth

In 1971 the Liberal government was defeated and the NDP government of Allan Blakeney was elected. In 1972 the Department of Culture and Youth was created when the Provincial Youth Agency was "merged with other programs in the cultural and youth field."[21]

In the pages which follow we undertake a discursive analysis of some key publications from the early days of the Department. The discursive procedures identified from publications of the cultural bureaucracies produced under the earlier Liberal government allow us to identify some characteristics of publications created under the NDP government's cultural bureaucracies.

The first Annual Report of the Department of Culture and Youth resembles the previous report of the Youth Agency in both design and content. The most notable differences are the announcement of SaskSport and the Cultural Activities Branch (two new programs) and a letter to the new minister by newly appointed deputy minister F.J. Bogdasavich. Aside from announcing the new programs, the letter also includes these statements:

> This action comes at a time when the quality of human life is at a state of crisis in Saskatchewan and elsewhere.
> . . . people are searching for meaning in an age of increasing automation, anonymity and centralization in the name of efficiency. In the final analysis, the challenge to the Department of Culture and Youth is to respond to the expressed concerns of Saskatchewan residents without adding to and/or perpetuating a process of dehumanization.[22]

Here Bogdasavich proclaims the humanistic values which were not only essential to the NDP government's ethos at the time, but were prominent in the general discourse of the era.

Where publications of the Youth Secretariat seem to focus on the issue of "youth", publications of the newly created department discuss the department in terms of a broader, more "cultural" role.

This is made apparent in the photographs, which show people of all ages engaged in sports and dance. There are also several candid photographs of large group meetings. Perhaps these are included in order to illustrate the idea that public participation is sought as part of the ongoing decision-making process.

When the NDP took over, most Youth Agency services and the systems for delivering and monitoring those services were maintained, and many of the department's personnel were kept on.

Frank Bogdasavich, who was deputy minister of the new department, distinguished himself by drafting the first Multicultural legislation in North America. The Multicultural Act was passed by the NDP government in 1972.[23]

The Cultural Activities Branch organized Seminar '73: Multicultultural Saskatchewan. The cover of the report on proceedings further proclaims: "An opportunity for action. A challenge."[24]

The report explains that the seminar was prepared by a steering committee consisting of officials of the Cultural Activities Branch, university teachers and leaders from ethnic communities. The steering committee sent questionaires to fifteen multicultural organizations, then, through public advertisements, received written briefs from individuals and organizations. Each submission is summarized and presented in the publication.

After the section entitled "Proceedings", the Report contains reprints of the conference addresses, names and addresses of participants and a list of recommendations made during the group discussions and brought forward at the plenary session.

Notable among statements made during the keynote addresses are the following:

> For a culture to survive, it has to be used. It cannot be an occasional weekend thing. It can't be Easter eggs, or traditional dress, or artifacts, laid neatly behind glass doors for people to see. It must be alive and it must be lived.[25]
>
> It is our belief that the involvement of the public in the development of policy is essential. This conference is therefore an open conference. It is not on a delegate basis nor one composed of selected people who might be considered by traditional definition to be experts in their field. It is one that consists of people like you who have an interest strong enough in the development and promotion of multi-culturalism in this province to

> take the time in our over-accelerated society to come, to discuss and to contribute. (Ed Tchorzewsky, Minister of Culture and Youth)[26]

In this example a discourse about "community" is introduced. This discourse appears to mirror some of the concerns which Raymond Williams has raised. In this discourse culture is seen as an important expression of a particular way of life rather than as a frill. There is also a mistrust of mass culture (popular culture) and a celebration of community and its expression through arts and crafts that are community based. There also appears to be an implicit criticism of the previous Liberal administration's reliance on "experts" as opposed to the NDP's own avowed position of listening and responding to the community.

The document includes an attack on the paternalistic and centralist education system which was the subject of reform across North America:

> Up to now schools have often served to homogenize the student population because they have had to follow rigid, centrally-determined patterns of instruction. . . . Today our policy is to reverse this, to make fewer curriculum decisions centrally and more of them locally. The idea is to try to adapt the school to the community as much as possible. (Gordon MacMurchy, Minister of Education)[27]

Allan Blakeney, then Premier of the province, uses a discourse about the quality of life (both at work and as part of community recreation) to justify the promotion and development of the arts and crafts.

> . . . we are recognizing the deadening nature of

> monotony and sameness at work -- trade unions and management are bargaining not only about wages and pensions but also about humanizing the place of work.[28]
>
> In the same way, we are recognizing the deadening nature of monotony and sameness in the culture around us. In a way, it seems to me, we are also trying to humanize the 'pop' culture which surrounds us by searching for new expression in our own rich and varied pasts.[29]
>
> Ours must be a province where people of every cultural background have full access to their own ethno-cultural heritage; to economic and political affairs, and to the future developments in all of these spheres in Saskatchewan, without discrimination. Such a society will not only guarantee that all our residents, wherever they come from, have a sense of full participation in the affairs of this province, but may also provide an attractive climate for new Canadians who we hope will join us in the decades ahead. (Allan Blakeney, Premier)[30]

In each of these quotes, and throughout the speeches of the three Ministers, there are references to the CCF/NDP view of government as a function of participatory democracy. Culture is seen as a means to "humanize" the environment, not just as a leisure activity, but as an essential aspect of the development of citizens who are functional within democratic institutions.

The comparison between this document and the earlier Youth Secretariat Report is striking.

Both reports claim to be an assessment of a particular sector of society and include input from members of those respective sectors. Both reports end with recommendations for action by the government. This is where the similarities end.

The process by which the Youth recommendations were made was a formal report by a team of experts who solicited

submissions from existing agencies within government and existing organizations. The process by which the Multicultural Report makes recommendations more closely resembles the process by which policies are generated from the NDP convention: convention participants joined discussion groups which reported their findings to a plenary session. The seminar itself was open to the public.

Both processes likely had political agendas. It is probable (given the swiftness with which cabinet responded to each of the two reports) that each were devised as a means to initiate, and thus publicize, a new government program. It is also probable that the objectives of each of these programs were to win support for their respective governments.

Neither government would be committed to put into practice the suggestions put forward. In fact many of the suggestions put forward end up being similar. But the NDP process clearly advocates spontaneous political organization while the Liberal process advocates reliance upon the opinions of "experts" as a means to generate policy.

We have seen that by contrasting documents produced by two different governments (NDP and Liberal), we can reveal some important ideological differences between the two governments. In the next section we use a similar method of comparison to reveal ideological differences between a later NDP government and the Progressive Conservative government of Grant Devine.

A Comparison Between NDP and Progressive Conservative Cultural Policy Documents

In the following pages we compare two annual reports (1980-81 and 1984-85) -- the first produced by an NDP government and the second produced by a Progressive Conservative government.

When the first CCF government was elected in 1944, its minister of education, Woodrow Lloyd, immediately allocated funding for an Adult Education Division, one of whose goals would be to encourage the development of "Study Action" through community councils. We mentioned earlier that the "Study Action" program had participatory democracy as one of its major objectives.

In 1973 the Blakeney NDP government passed the Community Colleges Act which would establish community college committees in every community that desired programming. Aside from adult upgrading, trades courses, arts, crafts and recreation programs, community college boards were also mandated to:

> . . . assist in community development by offering programs of community education and service. In rural areas it will serve as a mechanism for the maintenance and development of a viable way of life.[31]

A variation of this "community development" discourse made its way into the 1980-81 annual report of the Department of Culture and Youth under the heading "Department Purpose":

> Saskatchewan Culture and Youth's mission works to encourage the participation of all Saskatchewan residents in cultural, recreational, and sports

> activities.
>
> The department has eighteen field offices throughout the province to co-ordinate its programs and services, and to encourage community cultural and recreational developments.[32]

When the Devine Progressive Conservatives came to power they maintained the field staff, and did not significantly change the activities of its regional offices. But the discourse they used in describing these activities is quite different.

For example, the Department's annual report for 1984-85 replaces the notion of "participation" with one of "service", "mission" and "accessibility":

> Saskatchewan Culture and Recreation's mission is to enhance the quality of life by enabling Saskatchewan people to more fully experience cultural, health and social benefits resulting from development and promotion of sport, culture and recreation.
>
> Saskatchewan Culture and Recreation serves the people of Saskatchewan from nineteen offices located throughout the province, thus ensuring all communities have reasonable access to department programs and services.[33]

Both documents have identical covers. The NDP document has 31 pages, the Progressive Conservative 21. The NDP notes an expenditure of $17,233,387.43, the Progressive Conservative one notes an expenditure of $20,991,615. In most cases the specific programs have remained the same (as mentioned above), and as Table 1 in "Chapter 1" indicates, most of the allocations to each of the programs have remained the same.

The major program mentioned in the NDP document is the "Culture Talks -- Toward a Saskatchewan Cultural Policy, 1981",

but there is no special allocation for that. The major program mentioned in the Conservative document is "Heritage '85" with an expenditure of $1,017,305.

Both programs are what government insiders call "fast track" programs. They are highly visible expressions of a government's philosophy, usually initiated for political purposes, and justifiable in terms of the department's mandate.

Reporting on the Culture Talks, a letter signed by Deputy Minister Liz Dowdeswell states:

> Eleven public meetings . . . were conducted . . . so that the Provincial Government could receive reactions to the recommendations proposed in the Report of the Cultural Policy Secretariat. Over three hundred briefs were received in response to the report. Over 1,500 individuals participated in the Culture Talks.[33]

Commenting on Heritage '85, Deputy Minister Bill Clarke's introduction states:

> At year end, volunteers in almost all Saskatchewan communities had organized celebrations, conferences, commemorative events, development or restoration projects . . . under the theme "Commemorating our Past, Building our Future." The program is an exciting catalyst . . . but the involvement, the activity, the results, are by and for Saskatchewan people. The benefits will highlight, and improve, life in Saskatchewan for many years to come.[35]

The Culture Talks were spoken of as a means for the NDP to gain the co-operation of members of the cultural community in assessing past policies and recommending new policies. Discourse about the Culture Talks also mirrors the NDP's stated desire to promote participatory democracy and community

development. Cultural groups were encouraged to articulate their thoughts about culture and cultural policy.

Discursive Procedure: Selective Tradition

According to publicity documents, Heritage '85 was designed to raise public awareness of the province's history (specifically its pre-CCF history) by providing grants for events and projects. Grants from the Department of Culture and Recreation and other government agencies totalled $4,600,000 -- a sizable amount of money to distribute for activities which are of a publicity or morale-boosting nature. Such an expenditure for such a program is unprecedented in the province's history.

By making reference to a common history, an administration attempts to valorize its activities and borrow prestige from the celebrated events of past eras. As with all historical memory, it is selective. Although the historical record is complete, only certain aspects of this history are brought into public discourse through publicity documents. For example, the Riel Rebellion could be viewed as a failed attempt by the Metis people to achieve self government. On the other hand the government's publicity documents tended to glorify the trappings of the era: dress, music, dance and architecture, and emphasize the touristic benefits entailed by the celebration of this period of "history". Meanwhile the plight of the Metis people and their present day problems -- poverty, unemployment, and the lack of special considerations in the fields of

education and culture -- go virtually unrecognized.

Discursive Procedure: Newspaper "Realism"

Textually, the two publications are similar -- both use what we may call a "documentary" approach -- and it is clear that most of the programs remained the same. But an analysis of the visual and textual content of these two annual reports reveals some interesting differences.

Both publications include photographs which document events during the year which, supposedly, have been initiated by the department. The annual report produced by the Progressive Conservative administration contains more pictures of government officials and more formally posed "grip and grin" types of shots.

Annual reports often use images and text which are imitative of the style used in community newspapers, supposedly to give a feeling of "immediacy" and "newsworthiness" and to borrow the prestige of an "independent" liberal press.

In addition to the large number and variety of "grip and grin" photographs, there are also images of the province's Lieutenant-Governor wearing coonskin hat and deerskin shirt, thereby again paying tribute to a discourse about history.

Discursive Procedure: the Cult of the Monument

The document produced under the Progressive Conservative administration also contains photographs of buildings such as

the Saskatchewan Centre of the Arts in Regina and buildings of historical relevance which have been restored under a heritage restoration program.

Institutions celebrate themselves through their architecture, the assumption being that buildings last forever and are therefore a monument to the wisdom and success of a politician or bureaucratic organization. So institutions often include photographs and drawings of buildings within their publicity documents.

The report from the Progressive Conservative era also contains two photographs of other Department brochures and one of another Department poster. Publications and posters, like books, have an air of permanence, and, like buildings, become monuments to the organization which produces them.

There are photographs of what one might term "popular" entertainments: parades, tours, variety shows. One photograph of a variety show illustrates adolescent girls imitating showgirls.

Whereas the report produced during the Progessive Conservative era seems to emphasize fun, the report from the NDP era seems to take itself, and the programs it publicizes, more seriously. This attitude is even reflected in the visual and textual design of the publication. For example, there is a large portrait of the deputy minister on page one with a letter on department stationery explaining the importance of the Department's mandate. Two photographs of archeological sites appear to be of scientific value.

Discursive Procedure: the Cult of Science

Institutional documents often contain maps, charts and "scientific" illustrations and photographs such as one might find in a textbook or scientific journal. The institution borrows prestige from science and the reader is in a way challenged to look at the illustration in order to "learn" from it. Thus a "publicity" document gains a new dimension as a document from which one might improve one's own mind. The document gains in value, and so, supposedly does the institution which produces it.

A search for discursive regularity: The Department of Culture and Recreation Under the Devine Progressive Conservatives

The exercise of comparing two annual reports has revealed some characteristics of one type of publicity document. The exercise has also begun to point out some discursive differences between the publicity documents of two different administrations. These differences are quite subtle, and do not lead to definite conclusions by themselves. Perhaps a more conclusive pattern can be revealed by assessing the output of one administration for one year.

We surveyed all of the news releases, brochures and speeches generated by the Department of Culture and Recreation in 1985 (See "Appendix 2" for a complete list). We also interviewed individuals centrally responsible for the Department's most important publicity initiatives during that

year. Later in this chapter we identify some of the discursive characteristics and procedures within our corpus.

The Progressive Conservatives have generally supported the traditional ethos of Conservativism, but have made many concessions due to the Saskatchewan public's concept of government as important to all sectors of public life. This unique mixing of conservativism and the ethos of other political entities in Saskatchewan is illustrated in the following quotes from "A vision for Saskatchewan", a collection of quotes attributed to Premier Grant Devine, published by the Progressive Conservative Party of Saskatchewan and distributed to homes across the province during the 1986 election campaign:

> An attitude of building is what motivates me . . . an attitude you see when you're talking to people across the province.
>
> That determination is still here. And people in this province respect those who will build. People like Tommy Douglas, Ross Thatcher, John Diefenbaker. Builders. . . .
>
> I was obviously disagreeing with some of the things the administration (the NDP government) was doing here. I felt then, as I still feel, the transition from the CCF to the NDP left something behind. The CCF was a grass roots party, rural based and they talked about building, and they did build. But then when they moved to the NDP they began to think: "well the answer must be in government alone." But the people said: "No, I don't want the government to run my life. I want the government to help me build, to help me create."[36]

The writer trys to borrow prestige from earlier successful government programs and thus to convince the electorate that the Devine government would carry on the work of "building" started by Douglas and Thatcher. But the text also legitimizes the PC's shift from the traditional

conservative ethos of minimal government intervention to a policy where the government tries to stimulate economic development through various kinds of interventions.

The Progressive Conservative government initiated some new programs designed for the benefit of small business within a Department of Tourism and Small Business (an entity created out of the Department of Tourism and Renewable Resources as it existed under the NDP government). The Department's programs included grants, free consulting services for small businesses and a network of "Business Resource Centres" staffed by business consultants. This program offered financial support and consultative services to economic development committees in cities and towns across the province.

Within this administrative context we examine some key speeches and documents from the Department of Culture and Recreation.

Although many of the Department's programs were maintained just as they had existed under the previous NDP government, the aspects of cultural policy given the most publicity were those which sought to promote the commercial aspects of culture. An understanding of this approach can be gained by examining two of the Department's main initiatives during 1985: Heritage Year/Youth Year and the "Economic Impact of Culture and the Arts" campaign.

1985 was declared Saskatchewan Youth Year to parallel International Youth Year (as declared by the United Nations) and Canadian Youth Year (as declared by the federal

government). 1985 also happened to be the 100th anniversary of the North West Rebellion.

The government used these two events as the basis for their own publicity program. Employing the slogan "Commemorating our Past -- Building our Future", they produced a campaign with existing government public relations resources and appointed a board to distribute grants to community groups. In order to qualify for grants, communities had to form a Heritage Committee and a Youth Year Committee. A speech introducing Heritage/Youth year reads:

> Our information on Youth Year grants had only been out a month when we had 60 applications. The interest is equally high on the heritage front. By the end of this month, we expect 90% of our communities to have registered their Heritage committees, making them eligible for grants. The response is so positive, it's invigorating.[37]

It could be argued that the government was doing a kind of community development by encouraging these committees, but because the sole reason these committees developed was to access grant money (which would only be available on a one-time basis) it seems unlikely that the committees would carry on after 1985. Besides that, the committees were not formed to achieve a consensus about community issues or plan for political action, they were formed to publicize Heritage and Youth activities initiated by the Province and by local committees with funds from the Province. It may therefore be argued that the main reason for the over $5 million expenditure was publicity and not community development.

It was claimed that the publicity is of value for tourism, which, this text claims, has some attractive spin-offs. The following speech was prepared to introduce Saskatchewan Heritage/Youth Year).

> I'm confident that this province is going to put on a show over the next few months that will lure our friends and families back to Saskatchewan and inspire thousands who have never seen our magnificent province, to make their first visit.[38]

Tourism is also cited as a motive for the promotion of multicultural activities. Following is a speech prepared to present to the Saskatchewan Multicultural Advisory Council (February 15-16, 1985) by Minister of Culture and Recreation Rick Folk.

> The record of accomplishment has been a good one, for example, the tourism, travel and culture conference this past November highlighted multicultural activities as important to the tourism industry. It probed the potential for tourism, to promote cultural development.[39]

The Progressive Conservatives fought the election on the basis of their "small business" orientation. Once in power, they took every opportunity to talk about the economic value of community and cultural activities and to employ the rhetoric usually employed when speaking in support of small business. This rhetoric implies that the ambitious individual is more productive than the collective, and that private enterprise is more productive than government. Following is a speech prepared to present to the Yorkton Volunteer Recognition Luncheon (March 16, 1985) by MLA Lorne McLaren.

> Volunteers make things happen that wouldn't get done. They make dollars stretch and they generate the caring and commitment that builds community spirit.
>
> Twenty-seven percent of Saskatchewan's adult population are volunteers. The dollar value of their contribution exceeds one-half billion a year. These are big dollars. We often don't think of it, volunteerism is big business. Volunteers inject a lot of activity and a lot of dollars into our economy. . . . Volunteers often work with no or little budget. As a result they are very creative and determined people. Most are also optimists and winners, who live by a "yes, we can" philosophy.[40]

The economic argument is made in a speech prepared to present to the Saskatchewan Council of Cultural Organizations Fall Conference (Oct. 19-20, 1985) by Minister of Culture and Recreation Rick Folk.

> I noted with interest an article in the Melfort Journal recently that says "Saskatchewan is riding a 10 year boom in cultural endeavours. Writers are writing, singers are singing, painters are painting, wood carvers are carving, actors are acting, film makers are filming. And new facilities are sprouting up in the most amazing places."
>
> That is an optimistic view of how culture is faring. Never-the-less, we do have a vibrant, alive cultural community.
>
> One of the reasons for the health of culture is simply that it is good business. Over the past year, we have heard much about the value of culture and the arts to our economy.[41]

In this quote "culture" is defined as the production of a certain kind of product. Later the speech goes on to quote employment statistics in the "cultural" sector and to note the value of cultural activities to the provincial economy.

Discursive Procedure: Homogenization of the Public

In this discourse one assumes that everyone benefits equally from a certain kind of public facility. The public is assumed to be a homogenous mass which is perceivable through statistics such as those which one might collect through box office receipts. The kind of cultural program that appeals to a largest sector of the population is assumed to be valuable. Within this kind of logic the cultural program that generates the most economic activity is the most valuable.

A speech prepared to present to the Saskatoon Downtown Rotary Club Luncheon (November 18, 1985) by Minister of Culture and Recreation Rick Folk makes the economic argument for culture in a more deliberate way. The speech begins by explaining that "recreation" (defined as sport, culture and recreation) is important to the "quality of life".

> By definition everyone participates in recreation. One widely accepted definition from a Canadian Parks and Recreation position paper reads
>
> Recreation is all those things that a person or group chooses to do in order to make their leisure time more interesting, more enjoyable, and personally satisfying. Recreation includes all of those activities in which an individual chooses to participate in his leisure time and is not confined to solely sports and physical programs but includes artistic, creative, cultural, social and intellectual activities.[42]

Culture, thus defined, is a kind of recreation activity, to be undertaken during one's leisure time.

Discursive Procedure: Cultural Consumerism

It is assumed that people shop for "culture" in the same way as they would shop for other consumer items. "Culture" is thus assumed to be a commodity. People shopping for a "lifestyle" will therefore seek a location which will give them the cultural commodities which they would like as a part of their lifestyle.

It is assumed that as a "supplier" or even as a retailer of cultural commodities, Saskatchewan should then conduct cultural development to maximize the size of the market.

"Quality of life" is then shown to have economic benefits:

> Recreation opportunities are attractive to people considering Saskatchewan as their next home. People want the best for their families. . . . They want a good quality life and they see we have it here.
> Sport and culture also have a tremendous impact on Saskatchewan's economy. They are big business -- and a growing one.[43]

The speech then goes on to quote statistics regarding the economic spin-offs of sports and recreation activities (supplies, clothing, travel):

> Attendance at sporting events accounts for six percent of tourism trips. So sport has a significant impact on tourist dollars coming into our province too.
> Using the multiplier factor, and the family unit expenditures, we find that sport's impact on Saskatchewan is to contribute more than $1.1 billion dollars annually to our economy.[44]

The speech includes a similar analysis of the benefits of cultural activities, then concludes with:

> The bottom line is obvious -- the things we do in our leisure time . . . in sport, or in cultural activities -- are extremely valuable to Saskatchewan's economy. Together, they account for about $1.7 million dollars worth of economic activity here each year.[45]

The speech ends by suggesting that in the future there will be more leisure time.

> When technology allows us to make home our workplace we'll seek social interaction from more recreation to replace what we now get in the workplace.[46]

While on the subject of high technology (another area of Progressive Conservative government policy), the speech further ties notions of cultural development to commercialism:

> How will we meet the increased demand? The fine arts are the research and development base for the commercial arts industry. Future growth and our competitive edge depends on this creative base, and the design and ideas that come from it. Investment in our new technology must be paralleled with investment in our new culture.[47]

Many of the arguments made by the Minister's speech are made again in a major campaign conducted by the Department in 1986 and 1987. The campaign consisted of a series of community meetings and luncheons with community recreation councils at which a video was shown and a brochure handed out. Both the video and the brochure were entitled "The Economic Impact of Culture and the Arts". To quote from the brochure:

> Culture: An Expanding Market . . .
> The market for arts and culture is continuing to expand with the changing needs of the Saskatchewan population. Architecture, crafts, fashion, heritage,

> and languages touch the lives of all people. In Saskatchewan, the aging population and the enhanced rate of technological change mean that more people have more leisure time. This time will be directed to cultural activities and the arts.
>
> Arts and culture affect the economy directly through the quality of life Saskatchewan has to offer. How much new industry or new business is attracted to the province is in part dependent upon the quality of life a location can offer. People want the best for their families -- the best education, the best recreation and the best cultural opportunities. A strong cultural community can therefore mean more people, more jobs and a higher quality of life for all Saskatchewan.[48]

Not surprisingly, economic development arguments for arts and culture have appeared in publications produced beyond the Saskatchewan context as well. We note statements from the Task Force on Program Review (Nielsen Task Force) commissioned by the federal Progressive Conservative government (1985) and in the Report of the Task Force on Funding of the Arts (1986), also commissioned by the PC government. The Nielsen Task force states, for example:

> If artistic and cultural activities are a major method of developing and articulating the distinctive characteristics of a community and society, then these activities become an important means of <u>developing the image</u> of that community to both its own members and to members of other societies [emphasis added]. From this perspective, the allocation of significant public resources to the arts and cultural activities becomes an imperative for any government concerned about the future of the community over which it presides.[49]

The Task Force on Funding of the Arts makes frequent mention of "quality of life", but statements which equate culture with economic development are conspicuous by their absence. The Report does quote D.G. Vice, president of

Northern Telecom, speaking at a press conference for an art exhibition his company sponsored:

> In a business sense, we view our support of the arts as a positive force that encourages creative and fresh ways of thinking, reflects concerns about society, and contributes to developing an appealing community that will attract individuals to live and work.[50]

The care with which the Federal Report is written perhaps reflects a sensitivity to the wide readership which would object to a specific reference towards culture's economic benefits. By quoting an individual who is clearly aligned with the interests of big business, the authors of the Report allow the economic argument to enter without tying it solidly to government policy.

The Department of Culture and Recreation under the Progressive Conservative government was less inhibited about stating these kinds of arguments as part of their argument for a particular kind of cultural policy, as these quotes from the publication "The Economic Impact of Culture and the Arts" illustrate:

> Opportunity, profit, jobs, good news -- in Saskatchewan Culture. . . .
> Arts and culture in Saskatchewan are big business. . . .
> Culture stimulates capital investment and construction. . . .
> A strong cultural community can therefore mean more people, more jobs and a higher quality of life for all Saskatchewan.[51]

In this and other publications of the Department of Culture and Recreation, discourse about culture was used to

justify an ideological position and a set of economic policies which the Saskatchewan Progressive Conservative Party has identified as their key platforms.

In summary, one could say that there is a clear gesture in the publications of the Department of Culture and Recreation during 1985 to identify "culture" with economic activity.

This gesture contrasts with the NDP government's approach of occasionally speaking of "culture" in terms of community, and cultural development in terms of community development.

The alternative discourse holds that culture and community are not merely a factor in economic growth, nor are they to be considered just as a means to find solace from the world of work, but are the basis for democratic discussion and action, which shape all sectors of public life: work, politics and recreation.

By setting culture and recreation apart from the world of work, one de-politicizes culture, and assumes that the innovative ideas and forms of social interaction which cultural activities are able to explore freely are merely an escape from the world of work and politics.

Notes: Chapter 4

[1] Bernard Ostry, The Cultural Connection (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978) 86-89.

[2] George Woodcock, Strange Bedfellows: The State and The Arts in Canada (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1975) 91-98.

[3] Robert S. Best, "Youth Policy" in Issues in Canadian Public Policy, ed. G. Bruce Doern and V. Seymore Wilson (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974) 137.

[4] Best 139.

[5]

> Neither of these (the Opportunities for Youth Program and the Local Initiatives Program) was devised primarily as an arts program, but in practice many of the projects did involve the arts -- primarily the dramatic arts -- and a number of experimental theatres which played an important role in encouraging Canadian dramatists were actually started under LIP grants. Participatory democracy was being much talked about in Ottawa at this time, and LIP programs were run with a minimum of bureaucratic interference.

Woodcock 116.

> Community development as a social and political movement had its heyday in Canada in the sixties with the Antigonish movement in the Maritimes and the Company of Youth Canadians; but it did not translate into popular arts activism and community arts movement that ever forced itself on the institutions of Official Culture. The impetus did have some unintended results when federal LIP and OFY grants inadvertently funded the start-up of numerous theatres, artists spaces and alternative magazines in the seventies.

Susan Crean, "Labour Working with Art," Fuse (April, 1987): 34.

> In by-passing the conventional funding institutions and as a result of their avowed commitment to professionalism, these schemes have broadened the class base of those who benefit from government largesse in cultural matters and have

> introduced new criteria for judging cultural programs. . . . Although these departures are consistent with Gerard Pelletier's avowed commitment to what he terms the 'democratization' of cultural policy, they are almost certainly an accidental byproduct of the government's preoccupation with unemployment and came only later to be perceived as affecting its cultural policy.

John Meisel, "Political Culture and the Politics of Culture," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7.4 (December 1974): 609.

[6] Best 161.

[7] Best 163.

[8] David E. Smith, Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan 1905-71 (Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1987) 283.

[9] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, Youth: A Study In Our Time (Regina: 1966) iii.

[10] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 9.

[11] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 125.

[12] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 126.

[13] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 127.

[14] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 127.

[15] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 127.

[16] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 128.

[17] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 126.

[18] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Review Committee, 84-85.

[19] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Agency Progress Report 1966-69 (Regina: Queen's Printer, 1969) 1.

[20] Saskatchewan, Provincial Youth Agency Progress Report 1966-69, 1.

[21] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth Annual Report 1972-73 (Regina: Queen's Printer, 1974) 3.

[22] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth Annual Report 1972-73, 3.

[23] 3. The purposes of this Act are to encourage multiculturalism in the province and to provide assistance to individuals and groups to increase the opportunities available to them to learn about the nature of their cultural heritage and to learn about the contributions of the cultural heritages of other multicultural groups in the Province.

Saskatchewan, Multicultural Act, 1972, (Regina: The Queen's Printer, 1972).

[24] Saskatchewan, Report on proceedings of Seminar '73 Multicultural Saskatchewan...An Opportunity for Action. A Challenge. (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, 1973).

[25] Saskatchewan, Report on proceedings of Seminar '73 Multicultural Saskatchewan...An Opportunity for Action. A Challenge. 28.

[26] Saskatchewan, Report on proceedings of Seminar '73 Multicultural Saskatchewan...An Opportunity for Action. A Challenge. 29.

[27] Saskatchewan, Report on proceedings of Seminar '73 Multicultural Saskatchewan...An Opportunity for Action. A Challenge. 39.

[28] Saskatchewan, Report on proceedings of Seminar '73 Multicultural Saskatchewan...An Opportunity for Action. A Challenge. 50.

[29] Saskatchewan, Report on proceedings of Seminar '73 Multicultural Saskatchewan...An Opportunity for Action. A Challenge. 50.

[30] Saskatchewan, Report on proceedings of Seminar '73 Multicultural Saskatchewan...An Opportunity for Action. A Challenge. 50-1.

[31] Saskatchewan, Report of the Minister's Advisory Committee on Community Colleges (Regina: Department of Continuing Education, August, 1972) 59.

[32] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth Annual Report for the year ending March 31, 1981 (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, 1982) 9.

[33] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Recreation Annual Report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1985 (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, 1986) 32.

[34] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Youth Annual Report for the year ending March 31, 1972, 5.

[35] Saskatchewan, Department of Culture and Recreation Annual Report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1985, 2.

[36] Progressive Conservative Party of Saskatchewan, A Vision for Saskatchewan (Regina: Progressive Conservative Party of Saskatchewan, 1986).

[37] Department of Culture and Recreation, File Speech, January 1985.

NOTE: All speeches delivered during 1985 on behalf of the Minister of Culture and Recreation and the Department of Culture and Recreation are from the Department's files.

[38] Department of Culture and Recreation, File Speech, Jan. 1985.

[39] Hon. Rick Folk, Speech, Saskatchewan Multicultural Advisory Council, Fort San, Saskatchewan, 15-16 Feb. 1985.

[40] Hon. Lorne McLaren, Speech, Yorkton Volunteer Recognition Luncheon, Yorkton, Saskatchewn, 16 March 1985.

[41] Hon. Rick Folk, Speech, Saskatchewan Council of Cultural Organizations Fall Conference, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 19-20 Oct. 1985.

[42] Hon. Rick Folk, Speech, Saskatoon Downtown Rotary Club Luncheon, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 18 November, 1985.

[43] Hon. Rick Folk, Speech, Saskatoon Downtown Rotary Club Luncheon, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 18 November, 1985.

[44] Hon. Rick Folk, Speech, Saskatoon Downtown Rotary Club Luncheon, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 18 November, 1985.

[45] Hon. Rick Folk, Speech, Saskatoon Downtown Rotary Club Luncheon, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 18 November, 1985.

[46] Hon. Rick Folk, Speech, Saskatoon Downtown Rotary Club Luncheon, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 18 November, 1985.

[47] Hon. Rick Folk, Speech, Saskatoon Downtown Rotary Club Luncheon, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 18 November, 1985.

[48] Saskatchewan, The Economic Impact of Culture and the Arts (Regina: Department of Culture and Recreation, 1985).

[49] Canada, Task Force on Program Review quoted in The Status of the Artist: Report of the Task Force, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, Aug. 1986) 68.

[50] Canada, Funding of the Arts in Canada to the Year 2000: The Report of the Task Force on Funding of the Arts, Ottawa: Government of Canada, June 1986) 25.

[51] Saskatchewan, The Economic Impact of Culture and the Arts (Regina: Government of Saskatchewan, 1986).

Chapter 5

An Evaluation of Cultural Policy: The Cultural Policy Secretariat

Contained within four large volumes of photocopies in several libraries across Saskatchewan is a public record of response to a series of recommendations regarding cultural policy in Saskatchewan proposed by the Cultural Policy Secretariat under Gordon Vichert.[1]

Examining this set of documents may reveal a perspective regarding cultural policy in Saskatchewan that is different from the one we have been able to gain through a textual analysis of government publicity documents.

Since the documents in these volumes are produced by individuals and organizations rather than by existing bureaucracies, one would assume that one could gain from them an understanding of culture and cultural policy as it is perceived by members of the ordinary "public", rather than by the government and its agents.

One may be able to determine whether or not the discourses used by various government departments and agencies reflect or occult actual material practices by these departments and agencies. But before reading these documents as a representation of public response, one must ask fundamental questions regarding the quality of the forum. Are these responses a fair representation, or has the agenda for the forum been too much influenced by the commissioners themselves?

Convened under the NDP administration of Allan Blakeney,

the Cultural Policy Secretariat began its work on July 1, 1979 with the ambitious mandate:

> . . . to produce a policy within a year which would determine what the province needs in order to ensure a vital and self-sufficient culture, assess present and potential methods of meeting those needs, and recommend the type and amount of programming that the provincial government should undertake.[2]

Responding to the text of the report, R. J. W. Swales, Associate Dean, College of Fine Arts, University of Regina, said:

> The assumption that "a cultural policy" might flow from its recommendations needs careful examination since it implies a fundamental and potentially long-term role for government.[3]

It is clear that an active, consistent and long-term role for government was presupposed by the Secretariat, and therefore not brought into question. As such, the Secretariat's only role was to determine the extent of the involvement and the specific means of involvement.

In Saskatchewan the patterns of involvement had been set long ago, and had achieved widespread acceptance by the population if only because few could conceive of an alternative system and many had vested interests in maintaining the old system.

The extent of the government's involvement over the previous 35 years had been a factor of the provincial budget. Now, with lottery funds growing at an alarming rate, many people felt it important to reassess the whole sphere of

cultural policy.

Earlier we outlined the history of the various players involved: the Saskatchewan Arts Board, the Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth and the SaskSport Trust lottery fund. The Cultural Policy Secretariat under Dr. Gordon Vichert (hereafter known as "Vichert") referred to these players as a "troika", which is a Russian term meaning a team of three horses. Though the metaphor calls up notions of teamwork, Vichert's report suggests that there had been problems with the arrangement:

> . . . the field is overcrowded. All three agencies give grants, and all three employ consultants . . . The result is that the staff of the three agencies understand, most of the time, their respective areas of jurisdiction. The recipients of the grants, however, rarely do.[4]

Vichert's recommendation, contained in a chapter of the report called "Administrative Structures" was to use the rapidly growing lottery funds to help meet the traditional mandates of the Arts Board and the Department of Culture and Youth rather than funding a new entity or entities.

The reason for such a radical solution, Vichert says, was that:

> . . . Sask Sport Trust has laboured to find a role for itself different from that of the Arts Board or the Department of Culture and Youth. It has seized upon special projects for its main thrust, as opposed to core funding of professional or amateur groups. The result, as lottery money has increased and funding for the other agencies has diminished relatively, has been a distortion of priorities for many arts groups. The most urgent need for professional and amateur groups is for dependable

> core funding; the present troika makes it harder than ever to achieve that goal.[5]

Some of the responses to Vichert's recommendation were supportive of this recommendation, such as this submission from Lyn Goldman, Acting Head of Fine Arts and Humanities, University of Regina Extension:

> SaskSport, of course has been an anomaly since its inception. The money it dispensed has been a welcome shot in the arm for those groups who could take advantage of it, but the agency has attempted to impose artificial provincial structures upon ill-matched groups.[6]

As one would expect, SaskSport Trust defended its own position, and its own budget:

> We feel that the answer to the problems which have come under scrutiny as a result of the publication of the Report, lies not in any drastic re-structuring of the ways in which the government of the province supports culture and the arts. Rather we feel that we should build upon the existing structure (which after all has risen in response to existing needs), strengthen and improve it.
> . . . with adequate funding many of the problems which concern us all will disappear.[7]

It is apparent that Vichert was attempting to solve the problem of an increased demand for funds in the traditional categories of cultural funding (the Arts Board) and cultural development (the Department of Culture and Youth) by tapping into lottery funds rather than by recommending that government increase the allocation to culture from the provincial treasury. These funds were at the time given to SaskSport Trust under an annual licensing agreement signed by the Minister of Culture

and Youth. Many organizations which had been receiving their funding through SaskSport would object to any move to roll lottery revenues into existing government programs. Vichert, and the NDP government itself, lost a great deal of support with this recommendation.

Just a few months after the Vichert Report was released and just a few months after The Culture Talks (at which public responses to the Vichert Report were received), the NDP called an election and was defeated by the Devine Progressive Conservatives.

One cannot be sure that the NDP government would have followed through on some of Vichert's suggestions, or whether they would have tempered their response to meet the political climate alluded to by some of the public responses to the Vichert Report.

The Report itself contains some 56 recommendations, most of which are a response to an expressed need for specific programming, or motherhood statements, obviously placed in the report to satisfy one interest group or another. Take the following for example:

> R3: That the Department (of Culture) provide a staff of cultural consultants who will be as accessible as the present staff of recreation consultants.[8]
>
> R15: That the traditional Indian names of northern geographical features be respected and maintained.[9]
>
> R18: That artists from all disciplines be hired by school boards to teach within the school system or to serve as artists-in-residence.[10]

The Report also contains a number of recommendations which

would shift dramatically the administrative and economic status quo:

> R22: That a cultural industries corporation be established, as one of Saskatchewan's family of Crown Corporations, to manage the government's interest in the cultural industries, including but not limited to film-making, cable television, record-making, publishing and crafts.[11]
>
> R30: That the Museum of Natural History become a branch of the Western Development Museum.[12]

One must question the Government's reasons for initiating the Cultural Policy Secretariat. Was the government really willing to undertake the expensive and politically risky task of restructuring a system of cultural programming which had become so firmly entrenched? Was the government really interested in following Vichert's suggestion to put lottery funds into the established programs of the Arts Board and the Department rather than maintaining the existing system in which these funds were available to non-government cultural organizations? Since any definite action by the NDP government had been cut short by their defeat at the polls, one can only speculate. However, one may be able to gain a general perspective on the politics of studies such as Vichert's by looking beyond the Saskatchewan context.

Speaking of the policy process in Canada, with specific reference to "public enquiries", Doern et al say:

> In any given year how policy is made is critically dependent on the relative availability of resources, especially physical (manpower) and financial-economic resources. The relationship and degree of strain and competition between the new and on-going policy

> structures is in large measure explained by this most elementary of propositions. If allocative resources are scarce and governments cannot respond with actual allocative outputs they will often respond with less expensive positional policies by creating, for example, a royal commission or task force.[13]

As a process the Cultural Policy Secretariat was able to bring out into the open many of the issues which had been brewing below the surface for several years. But one might question whether government in all its forms would be able to respond to the issues brought forward during the study.

Indeed it is difficult to conceive of a bureaucracy making significant changes to itself. Significant changes must be made from a higher bureaucratic level, possibly from that of the cabinet itself. But given that the allocation of funding for government departments is a competitive system within cabinet, it is difficult to conceive of major changes being made even from the ministerial level. It would take an extremely resolute cabinet minister to take the political risks involved to make radical changes to a bureaucracy which affects so many people. In Saskatchewan the ministry of culture has traditionally been a rather lightweight position compared with those concerned with "finance," "agriculture" or "health."

It would be too reductive and cynical to assume that the single reason the 1980 Cultural Policy Secretariat was created was to quiet the community of artists and others who were demanding changes in the existing policy structure, rather than as a means to actually do something about the situation. But as a contributing factor, this dimension cannot be ignored.

Again, it may be helpful to do a brief comparison with another initiative by the same department under a different government.

The Politics of Cultural Policy

It is clear that the NDP government's motive for creating the Secretariat has a political dimension. This political dimension can be further explained by comparing the Vichert study with a campaign conducted some five years later under the Devine Conservatives.

The "Culture is Good Business" campaign, described in the previous chapter, can be interpreted as an attempt by individuals within government who were genuinely concerned about the continued success of the professional arts community and the cultural industries in Saskatchewan to tap into the dominant discourse of the day, a discourse about economic development, in order to justify expenditure on and attention to cultural policy issues. But it can also be discussed as an example of a Conservative government maintaining a discourse with its preferred constituency (i.e., the business community which supported its election) for its own political benefit. By maintaining this discourse the government may have been attempting to be seen by its constituency as addressing the issues of the day brought forward by the very vocal cultural community in a way that its constituency could understand and agree with, thus satisfying both communities -- the business community and the cultural community.

In other words, one could see the campaign as a discursive

procedure, as part of a discourse whose substance can only be fully understood within a complex of political motives and practices.

By the same token the 1980 Cultural Policy Secretariat can be seen as a legitimate policy process within the mandate of a provincial government. It can also be seen, in its political dimension, as an attempt by an NDP government to engage in a discourse which is interesting to both the cultural community and the NDP's core supporters, many of whom understood and accepted the "community development" ethos of the CCF.

One could say that the 1980 Cultural Policy Secretariat, arguably the crowning achievement of the last NDP government in the area of cultural policy, and the "Culture is Good Business" campaign, which is arguably the most significant achievement of the Conservative government in the area of cultural policy, were both attempts by political organizations to maintain the interest of their core supporters and that of the growing cultural community within the legitimate purview of a provincial government's responsibilities. The motives being each respective government's political gain.

The question of whether or not these initiatives have served the long-term cultural development of the province or have served to address the real issues of cultural development can only be answered in the context of a specific definition of cultural development.

Notes: Chapter 5

[1] Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth. Submissions to The Cultural Policy Secretariat, 1981. Government Documents Section, University of Regina Library.

[2] Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth. Report: The Cultural Policy Secretariat, Gordon Vichert, Director (Regina: Department of Culture and Youth, September 1980) i.

[3] R. J. W. Swales, Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Regina, March 2, 1981, Submissions to Cultural Policy Secretariat.

[4] Report: The Cultural Policy Secretariat, 45.

[5] Report: The Cultural Policy Secretariat, 50.

[6] Lyn Goldman, Fine Arts and Humanities Division, University of Regina Extension, March 7, 1981, Submissions to Cultural Policy Secretariat.

[7] Saskatchewan Trust for Sport, Recreation and Culture, March 12, 1981, Submissions to the Cultural Policy Secretariat.

[8] Report: The Cultural Policy Secretariat, 8.

[9] Report: The Cultural Policy Secretariat, 8.

[10] Report: The Cultural Policy Secretariat, 18.

[11] Report: The Cultural Policy Secretariat, 24.

[12] Report of the Cultural Policy Secretariat, 30.

[13] G. Bruce Doern and Peter Aucoin, eds. The Structure of Policy Making in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971) 268.

Conclusion

In our search through relevant publicity documents about cultural policy in Saskatchewan we have discovered a number of discursive procedures. The task remains to organize our discoveries in such a way that conclusions can be drawn.

One of the earliest documents was produced by the Adult Education Division of the Saskatchewan Department of Education in 1945. We recognized from this document a procedure we labeled "First Person Collective" which reflects the voice and attitude of community development and co-operation. "Education as Practical Labour" puts the statements in the context of a grass roots political movement reminiscent of the CCF's own early history and mythology. "Collectivism" as an ideal or an ideology is apparent in the Division's publicity, which calls for democratic forums as a means to build community self-sufficiency.

In later documents produced on behalf of the Saskatchewan Arts Board we find that government and its institutions are seen as "reactive" rather than initiative. In order to serve the Arts Board's self-proclaimed purpose of reacting to "public" demands, documents speak of the public as a homogeneous mass with uniform properties. Such an attitude works against cultural development (in our broader definition) by ignoring the micro-practises which make up cultural expression. As such, this discourse fails to recognize cultural differences, while seeing society or the larger community as a monolith

experiencing culture and cultural development in a uniform manner. The success of a program within this kind of discourse is measured in terms of public attendance. We call this discourse "Quantitative Majoritarianism".

In these same documents we find another procedure, "Exclusivity" which presupposes that artists and creativity are a rare commodity which must be fostered through certain kinds of interventions. This procedure seems to parallel what Williams has discussed as the 19th century (Romantic) notion of the artist as one able, because of certain abilities, to perceive and thereby express aspects of a community's culture. Such a view entails that only some individuals are competent to express culture, to make art. Anyone else who attempts it is labeled an "amateur". Thus a hierarchy is set up and maintained.

Next we reached beyond Saskatchewan to a document which was influential across Canada in the early 1950s. "Generalization of the Public Taste" appears as a procedure in a speech by Lord Keynes in the Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1949-1951 (the Massey Report). Here cultural activities are seen as a commodity for public recreation. Culture is identified as a pleasure as opposed to a source of knowledge or of political intercourse. The artist is seen as one who expresses "himself" rather than expressing the aspirations of a community. Rather than being a public language, art as seen as an expression of personal emotions. We call this procedure

"Personalization of a Public Language".

Examining the early years of the Saskatchewan Arts Board we discovered that from the beginning there was a complex debate about the role of the professional artist and about the Arts Board's commitment to those individuals versus its broader mandate and responsibility to communities. It became apparent that, other than a brief change in direction during the late 1970s, the Board became more attuned to the demands of professional artist and less concerned about community development or about "culture" defined as community.

Again reaching beyond the Saskatchewan context, we noted an increased interest in cultural policy through several federal government programs designed to serve the bulging youth population in the early 1970s.

In our examination of the Report of the Youth Policy Secretariat, a response by the Saskatchewan government, we noted a tendency to "reify" the concept of "youth" as a set of problems or issues which could be dealt with by specific programs. Within that argument we found the procedure of "Scientificity" which uses "facts" from the para-scientific fields of sociology and educational psychology to establish criteria for public policy.

"Bureaucracy" is seen as a solution to the problems outlined or located. As such, the formation of a department of government was recommended.

In modern society bureaucracy is the administrative equivalent to technology. By examining social problems with

"scientific" methods one develops administrative systems.

But within many liberal democratic administrations there is also an attempt or a willingness to grant a degree of community control to those systems. The Youth Policy Secretariat followed this pattern by recommending community recreation boards to initiate government programs at the local level across the province. However, the Youth Policy Secretariat was careful to delimit the powers of the local boards and maintain a degree of central control of budget and of the type of programs to be made available. We suggest that this inherent contradiction between discourse and practise is characteristic of liberal bureaucratic organizations.

When the NDP formed the government in 1971, they took the advice of the Secretariat and set up the Department of Culture and Youth, thereby expanding the role of the Youth Agency to include "cultural" programming. Their major initiative was the Multicultural Act, which was followed by a multicultural conference. Speeches made at this conference by government leaders proclaimed a revival of the CCF/NDP's community development mandate and reflected the popular concern of the era for "democratization" and "humanization" of government, education and the workplace.

By comparing annual reports of the Department during the NDP government with those of the Progressive Conservatives, we noted the following discursive similarities and differences.

A concern with the province's early history within a program to celebrate the anniversary of the Riel Rebellion

undertaken by the PC government revealed a discursive procedure we call "Selective Tradition" in which elements of the past are popularized and then used to establish the credibility of the speaker.

In both annual reports we noted ample use of "documentary" photographs and a procedure we called "Newspaper Realism". In this procedure the speaker borrows the credibility established by a liberal press and thus attempts to borrow the public perception of objectivity, fairness and non-partisanship.

Similarly, the discursive procedures of "Scientificity" and "The Cult of the Monument" borrow prestige from scientific textbooks and from the history of public architecture respectively.

We concluded this comparison by noting that the discursive similarities among all of the governments involved are many and that the differences between the NDP and PC documents reflect some of the ideological positions of each of the two governments.

Next we conducted a more detailed analysis of the entire output of the Department of Culture and Recreation during 1985. Here, predictably, we noted a reflection of the policy positions of the Progressive Conservative government. But we also discovered discursive regularity in which "culture" as a term was defined and coded according to a procedure we call cultural development as economic development.

We noted two major discursive procedures within the discourse of the era. "Homogenization of the Public" claims that cultural development is a matter of raising the general

"quality of life" through certain kinds of government interventions.

The procedure of "Cultural Consumerism" identifies the role of cultural development as giving the consumer of culture what he/she wants, and celebrates the market-place as the factor with which to choose what cultural initiatives are to be supported.

Finally we examined submissions to the Cultural Policy Secretariat and the report of the Secretariat itself in order to gain a reading of the quality of cultural policy as it existed at the time. We decided that even this document must be examined as discourse rather than as an objective critique of policies themselves. This is because the forum was as much a political manoeuvre by the government of the time as a means for canvassing public opinion.

We suggest, finally, that cultural policy discourse generated during the almost forty year history of cultural policy in Saskatchewan can by organized into two categories which we shall call Cultural Development as "Community Development" and Cultural Development as "Economic Development".

Like any attempt at categorization, the identification of these two kinds of discourse may obscure as much as it reveals. We have found, however, that these categories prove useful for revealing ideological differences between two political entities which have been at play during the same period of history.

Cultural Development as "Community Development"

This kind of discourse defines "culture" in its broad (anthropological) sense -- as a "way of life". Within this kind of discourse cultural policy will help to maintain cultural diversity, disincline homogeneity and assimilation by "mass culture" (as defined earlier), and also to help build a sense of community. Means of doing this include multicultural legislation, encouraging community decision making, encouraging the preservation of traditional arts and crafts, and the building of confidence in individuals and pride in community through community based co-operative self-help and continuing education at the community level.

This discourse is contained within documents produced during periods in which the CCF and NDP held political office. But there is also evidence that political and legislative practise followed their words.

Though multiculturalism has long been part of discourses supported by the Government of Canada, pioneering multicultural legislation was first proposed under a Saskatchewan NDP government. Community decision making is important within much CCF/NDP policy discourse as outlined in the Regina Manifesto and other CCF/NDP documents. Though municipal councils were first proposed as early as 1900, when the CCF came to power in 1944 they engaged in pro-active community development through the Adult Education Division and made community control an important part of their health legislation.[1] Later they made "local contact committees" the basis of local continuing

education programming under the Community Colleges Act of 1972. Local arts and crafts programming was an essential part of the Saskatchewan Arts Board's early program. The Arts Board was created by a CCF government. Starting in 1972 (during an NDP government) and continuing through two Progressive Conservative governments, non-government organizations supported by the SaskSport Trust lottery fund took up the banner for community-based programs. It is likely that many who supported cultural development as a kind of community development during the CCF/NDP era saw SaskSport Trust as a more fruitful forum and source of funding for their concerns than the government itself.

Since around 1980 governments have moved away from concepts of "community development". There is tangible evidence of this new position. Since the Progressive Conservative government was elected in 1981 the Department of Co-operatives was cut and absorbed into the Department of Tourism and Small Business, the Department of Culture and Youth was combined with the Department of Parks and Renewable Resources, thus diluting the influence of the Department within the government in matters of culture.

Since about 1980, another kind of discourse has come to the forefront within discussions about culture and cultural policy.

Cultural Development as "Economic Development"

Within this discourse one finds arguments that culture augments or improves the quality of life, and should thus be developed and promoted for the benefit of citizens. As such, a

community which endeavors to develop cultural programs may improve its self image and the quality of its recreation services, thus attracting more national and multi-national businesses. It is further argued that cultural programs themselves generate economic activity. Cultural programs which attract a large audience are encouraged because they create economic activity. Large audiences are therefore an indicator of quality. Another measure of quality is whether a cultural product is able to garner acclaim by news media critics and from professionals in the field. The means to develop cultural activity is to reward those who are successful (according to the criteria above) or to reward those who, in the opinion of successful artists, have the potential to become successful also. The fine arts and crafts are also seen to be the training ground for commercial artists. Elite artists and craftspeople are relied upon to generate new styles and forms which, by being assimilated into commercial advertising art and mass produced consumer goods, augment and enlarge the marketplace.

Although germs of this discourse can be found in the Arts Board's first Act of 1948, this discourse began to dominate only within the later years. In Saskatchewan this discourse is prominent within annual reports of the Saskatchewan Arts Board and the Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth during the Liberal period under Ross Thatcher. It is not as apparent during the ensuing NDP period, but re-emerges after the election of the Progressive Conservatives under Grant Devine

in 1982.

The "Fine Arts" and the "Elite" Artist

Contained within many of the documents examined within our corpus we find a third kind of discourse which we could label "cultural development as development of the 'fine arts'". It would be a mistake to claim that this discourse is merely a result of the "economic development" discourse, though some would argue that a history of the fine arts can be shown to be homologous with a history of moneyed classes.[2] Many artists have aspired to and contributed to the set of art forms and products which we today might label the "fine arts", but these forms have, for most of history, been supported by moneyed classes. It is only since about 1945 that these forms have been supported by government with a mandate to make these forms accessible to a wide public. The arts today reflect a broader range of perspectives than those of just the wealthy.

The discourse generated in support of the fine arts often equates these cultural forms to civilization and intellectual development. Because these forms have gathered an international audience, they are often discussed as means to further international co-operation. These art forms are taught and promoted as part of public education systems, so an understanding of their various styles and genres has now reached a wide population. Consequently, the discourse "cultural development as 'fine arts' development" also overlaps with the discourse "cultural development as community

development".

Where the "fine arts" are referred to within the discourse "cultural development as economic development", they are sometimes spoken of as a competitive grid against which individual creators may be measured. At other times the "fine arts" are spoken of as a link with the official culture of the "cultivated" classes of large urban centres, and thus are a means to become equal with those classes and with those centres.

Where the "fine arts" are referred to within the discourse "cultural development as community development", they are sometimes discussed as a common language which may be used to promote cultural exchanges with other communities. Sometimes they are discussed as a means of personal development and as a highly developed and international language which may be used as a means to communicate a sense of place or a sense of history, to communicate subtle observations about interpersonal relationships which are universal, or to discuss philosophical or theological concepts.

Reference to the "fine arts" is clearly a part of both kinds of discourse, and one would conjecture it possible to define a system of formation responsible for the discourse we have identified as "cultural development as 'fine arts' development". In fact, the "fine arts" have in recent years been clearly defined as a specific set of physical entities the creation of which and the maintenance of which has come under the purview of a clearly identified class of individuals known

as "professional artists". Perhaps this is because discourse about the fine arts is a phenomenon closely associated with this new class (i.e., "professional artists") and professional artists do not consider themselves aligned to either the moneyed classes or the working classes.[3]

It is not true to say that the "fine arts" or any of the communities which have an interest in promoting the fine arts are in any way better able to contribute to a community "way of life" and to thus articulate the needs, wants and decisions of a given community. Many discourses, however, make this claim or presuppose that it is so.

We conclude that in many cases discourse about the "fine arts" is a form of rhetoric which is used by both those who argue for cultural development as "community" development and those who see culture as advantageous for "economic" development.

Discourse and Ideology

An examination of aspects of the CCF/NDP program and the various publications it has produced as a political entity (i.e., the Regina Manifesto and campaign literature) illustrate a strong tendency to support concepts of community development. A similar homology between PC policies and PC campaign literature illustrates an overriding concern with economic development. Our hypothesis that discursive regularities exist has been supported by other examples from our corpus and from elsewhere. We have seen that the ideological differences

between these two parties are refected in the way each one discourses about culture and cultural policy.

"Culture" is clearly a term which has many meanings. And as Williams[4] has pointed out, there is "a complex argument about the relations between human development and a particular way of life". "Culture" and "cultural policy" are objects identified within diverse discourses. In the forty years that "cultural policy" has existed in Saskatchewan, a number of cultural activities and objects have been identified worthy of government support. We have put forward the hypotheses in this thesis that two discursive formations exist. Furthermore, we can identify two systems of formation responsible for these discourses. These systems of formation can be traced back to two distict political ideologies which have been a part of Saskatchewan politics during the same period.

Towards a Cultural Policy

In spite of its drawbacks, the Vichert Report represents a steady increase in interest and involvement by the NDP in cultural affairs. It helped to initiate a lively dialogue about culture between many individuals and within cultural organizations. In 1982 the NDP government was defeated in a general election by the Progressive Conservative party under of Grant Devine. Since that time the report of the Secretariat has lain dormant and the Department of Culture and Youth has been restructured (and eventually amalgamated with another department concerned with recreation and parks).

In the realm of federal politics 1982 marked the filing of the Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee Applebaum/Hébert Report, a report whose purpose was in many ways similar to that of the Secretariat in Saskatchewan. Applebaum/Hébert claimed to be a document in support of the creative process, and claimed to see cultural policy as valuable as an end in itself rather than as a means to serve economic ends.

> 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. . . . 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.[5]

By 1984 the political sea change felt earlier in Saskatchewan and in other provinces reached federal politics and the Liberal government was defeated by the Progressive Conservatives under Brian Mulroney.

Just as in Saskatchewan, discourse begun during the election campaign about the importance of administrative and economic responsibility soon made its way into publicity

documents produced by government departments.

Since that time a number of legal and administrative documents have appeared which have attempted to show the relationship between cultural development and economic development. The first one of note was the report of the 1985 Task Force on Program Review[6]. The objective of that report was to evaluate government spending in various areas of administrative control.

The discourse used by the Task Force was an economic development discourse -- programs with economic benefits are highlighted in relation to those which have fewer economic benefits (direct or indirect). Recognizing that many cultural programs are difficult to measure in this way, the authors of the Report argue for another measure which they call "value-based justification":

> . . . value-based justification is not unique to the arts and culture. In fact, it pertains to the vast share of federal government expenditures. Old-age pensions, medicare, family allowances and welfare payments would all have difficulty surviving a strict cost-benefit analysis or assessment of their economic impact. So would national defence, which is based on the value judgment that our way of life is worth allocating significant public resources to defend.[7]

But even if some kind of "value-based" system of justification is employed, one may still be inclined to balance the social benefits of expenditures on military hardware, for example, against the support of a theatre company in a region of Canada. Both may employ the same number of people, both may improve the country's effectiveness, though in radically

different ways.

In the real world of cultural politics, "culture" is often discussed within government as part of a much larger political agenda. As much as non-government organizations and others would like to argue for culture as a value in itself, many end up arguing for their particular programs with terms used by the government of the day.[8]

Cultural institutions generally try to justify their programs' economic effectiveness in terms of values pre-set by the funding agency. Such a procedure is essential for the economic survival of institutions where funding may come from only one or two government departments and agencies. But by framing cultural discourse in terms of economic development, one is led to certain types of arguments which restrict or structure one's thinking about culture in certain problematic ways, even though one may implicitly feel that culture must be considered outside the realm of economic development.[9]

The new discourse about economics is laced with comments about how these activities have economic spin-offs, even though they themselves are not economically self-sufficient. Some of these discourses contain references to economic studies indicating the importance of cultural activity to economic activities like tourism, the building crafts, retailing, the restaurant trade, transportation and so on. Some documents note that artists themselves are consumers and that the money granted by them to continue their artistic activities is put back into the economic system and is thus not wasted.

Artists and grass-roots cultural organizations have found it necessary to participate in this discourse in order to speak with people within government and to obtain the funding they need to carry on. We question the value of this form of discourse and its long-term impact upon culture in its broadest sense. It is our view that arguments for "culture" cannot be reduced to arguments about economics.

Culture and Community

As an alternative to the evolving discourse on arts funding based on "economic development", we have outlined one based upon "community development", and have shown its existence within cultural policy discourse in Saskatchewan, particularly during periods of CCF and NDP government.

Raymond Williams, in Culture and Society, points out the importance of a cultural discourse which takes account of the vast potential for the growth of human consciousness, growth which many believe can only be realized through cultural expression:

> A culture, while it is being lived, is always in part unknown, in part unrealized. The making of a community is always an exploration, for consciousness cannot precede creation, and there is no formula for unknown experience. A good community, a living culture, will, because of this, not only make room for but actively encourage all and any who can contribute to the advance in consciousness which is the common need. Wherever we have started from, we need to listen to others who started from a different position. We need to consider every attachment, every value, with our whole attention; for we do not know the future, we can never be certain of what may enrich it. . .[10]

Taking the culture debate as a continuous discourse beginning somewhere in the early history of language, through the rise of literacy in Europe and through the specific problems of cultural sovereignty in Canada, the problems of regionalism versus nationalism, the professional artist versus the amateur artist, we find one major thread of disagreement.

The disagreement is fundamental. One is easily swayed by the surface references, but there is a clear distiction at the level of presupposition. Both sides claim to be speaking for the people, but the notion of "the people" is different. For one it is a construct of established institutions -- government, the school system and the agencies created through the forces of bureaucracy. Under this definition "culture" has something to do with individual artistic expression, usually by members of an elite group, or it has something to do with what people do in their leisure time. In this definition, public actions can easily be reduced to economic activities measurable within the market place.

The other notion of "the people" has to do with something far more complex.

In the view of writers such as Williams, "the people" are not a mass with measurable properties, nor are "the people" represented by an idealistic concept drawn from certain artistic creations. "The people" is a term used to represent a number of distinct communities, each with their own aspirations and ways of realizing those aspirations. As such "the people" are not a reified unit, but a process under way

which has a number of concrete means for expression. In some cases communities may support the established cultural institutions as a force of stability against a capitalist system which would choose to eliminate all that does not generate a profit. In other cases communities may be more supportive of change and may therefore be critical of established cultural institutions. A vital community may value its art galleries, museums, libraries and other warehouses of cultural expressive forms from other communities, but it will also be ever in the process of defining its own culture.

In this thesis we have attempted to show the importance of discourse about culture to the making and maintaining of cultural policy in Saskatchewan. Saskatchewan boasts the distinction of being the first socialist government in North America. The CCF/NDP held power in the province almost continuously for 40 years. In that time, one would expect that some fundamental socialist ideas have been expressed and made a part of the policies of the provincial government.

Indeed there are tangible reminders that a government with some socialist ideas has been in power over the years: medicare, a number of crown corporations and other state-run economic concerns and some important legislation in the areas of labour, and social services. But what about in the area of culture and culture policy?

We have discovered that within the history of the CCF/NDP and within the history of the governments it has formed, there

is a clear tendency towards a notion of cultural policy favouring community development. This is illustrated by the discourses employed. However, in terms of actual policies, this has not always been articulated clearly. As with many CCF/NDP policies, political and bureaucratic compromises have caused socialism to give way to liberalism.

In order to get an idea of what a socialist cultural policy might look like, one could look to a socialist definition of culture as articulated by the British culture critics Williams, Hall and Eagleton. We recall a statement by Terry Eagleton:

> The full meaning of the socialist idea of a common culture is not that the ready-made meanings and values of others should be taken over and lived passively by a whole people, but that a whole way of life should be continually re-made and re-defined in that people's collective praxis.[11]

In this view a cultural policy should reflect an acceptance of the notion that a people must constantly re-make its meanings and values and that government should support their efforts to do so.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to conceive of a government, based upon the bureaucratic structures which have evolved under liberalism, that would fully accept community control over culture such as that suggested by socialists.

In Saskatchewan such a level of community control is in fact being realized and promoted by non-government organizations which have arisen in the past twenty years and which are being supported by lottery funds. In Saskatchewan

these organizations have developed enough credibility and public support such that governments which would try to influence or threaten them with withdrawal of the lottery licence from SaskTrust would do so at their own peril.

Nonetheless, only a few people have yet come to realize that culture and cultural expression are synonymous with political activity, with the constant dialogue which allows people to evaluate and to initiate changes, when appropriate, to the basic institutions of society.

Notes: Conclusion

[1] See the recollections of early Health Department senior civil servant Stan Rands in "Recollections: Stan Rands," Western Canadian Politics: The Radical Tradition, ed. Don Kerr (Edmonton: NeWest Institute for Western Canadian Studies, 1981) 58-64.

During the early years of the CCF, there were efforts to establish democratically administered "community clinics" across rural Saskatchewan. The medical profession boycotted these efforts and the CCF caved in.

[2] See the writings of Marxist art critics, particularly John Berger, Ways of Seeing (London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1972).

[3] There is a body of thought in Canada which subsumes the activities of "professional artists" under "Official Culture". Official Culture is the set of cultural forms which are supported as a matter of course by the Canada Council (and perhaps also by most provincial arts boards) and are used to represent the country in international exhibitions and competitions. Official Culture is often thought to be alligned with conservative elements in Canadian Society. See Susan Crean, "Understanding Applebert," Canadian Forum 15, April 1983: 14.

But, as pointed out in Crean, 1987, there are a number of artists working in Canada who do not receive funding from the Canada Council, but manage to make a living by producing what she terms "labour art". This category of artist may also include folk musicians, dramatists involved with "fringe" theatre companies, street performers and visual artists who produce commissioned works. See Susan Crean, "Labour Working with Art," Fuse April 1987: 30.

[4] Raymond Williams, Keywords (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961) 91.

[5] Canada, Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (Ottawa, 1982) 8.

Some would argue that the seeds of a discourse about economic development were already very much present within the Applebaum/Hebért Report.

[6] Canada, Task Force on Program Review, Culture and Communications, Study Team Report to the Task Force (Ottawa, August 1985).

[7] Canada, Task Force on Program Review, Culture and Communications, Study Team Report to the Task Force, quoted in The Status of the Artist: Report of the Task Force (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, August 1986) 68.

[8] Most groups which have sought to communicate their needs to government under the cultural banner have had to undertake structural adjustments because cultural organizations tend to be apolitical, if not openly anarchistic and subversive. If culture is to gain an entry into politics, political constituencies must be built out of the landscape of loosely structured societies, informal groupings and individuals who populate the cultural realm. Only once this is done is it possible to mobilize action committees to lobby politically for resources.

Moreover, any cultural lobby must determine which discourse it will use to communicate its needs to the state. There are, in fact, only two broad types from which to choose. A cultural lobby can employ an intrinsic discourse, which entails trying to communicate its needs in exactly its own terms. Alternatively, it can try to reshape its needs and values within languages which are extrinsic to culture but already prevalent within the political sphere. The choice of discourse invariably entails a commitment to particular argumentative grounds.

David Mitchell, "Culture as Political Discourse in Canada," Communication Canada: Issues in Broadcasting and New Technologies, ed. Rowland Lorimer and Donald Wilson (Toronto: Kagan and Woo, 1988) 161.

[9] Because markets are so pervasive and so influential in the modern economy (an economy that grew out of 19th-century laissez-faire capitalism), they have left their imprint on the way in which we view the world. There is a tendency in both the Marxist, and latterly, in the neoclassical tradition to lean towards an economic interpretation of history. In its popular form, this approach results in a brand of reductionism that rests virtually all of social existence on the foundation of the economy. . . .

Any such procrustean view of social goals and objectives is bound to introduce serious distortions in our analysis of public policy. This, I suspect, is the heart of the difficulty that arises from the exercise called "the economics of culture." While there can be no doubt that useful insights may be gained from an investigation of what are known as

> the cultural industries, a certain uncritical enthusiasm stands the risk of subsuming the sphere of culture entirely within the confines of the economy or arbitrarily regarding culture as some type of proxy for the economy.

Abraham Rotstein, "The Use and Misuse of Economics in Cultural Policy," Communication Canada: Issues in Broadcasting and New Technologies, ed. Rowland Lorimer and Donald Wilson (Toronto: Kagan and Woo, 1988) 148-9.

[10] Raymond Williams, Culture and Society (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1984) 320.

[11] Terry Eagleton, "The Idea of a Common Culture," Literary Taste, Culture and Mass Communication Vol. 1, ed. P. Davidson, R. Meyersohn and E. Shils (Teaneck, New Jersey: Somerset House, 1978) 19.

Appendix 1

A Table of Important Dates

Political	Cultural
1905 - Province of Saskatchewan created. Liberals form first government.	
1944 - CCF elected, led by T.C. Douglas.	
1948 - CCF re-elected.	1948 - Order in Council establishes the Saskatchewan Arts Board. - First handicrafts conference. - Circulation of art works to rural areas.
1952 - CCF re-elected.	1952 - Drama Workshop, Vocal Conference. 1955 - Saskatchewan Jubilee celebration. - Artists' workshop at Emma Lake begins.
1956 - CCF re-elected.	
1960 - CCF re-elected.	1963 - Formation of first regional arts council at Weyburn, Saskatchewan.
1964 - Ross Thatcher's Liberals elected.	1965 - Arts Board sponsors Saskatchewan Music Festival Association. 1966 - Professional theatre begins with Arts Board funding. 1967 - Saskatchewan Summer School of the Arts moved to sanatorium at Ft. Qu'Appelle.
1967 - Liberals re-elected.	1969 - Saskatchewan Writers' Guild formed.

Political	Cultural
1971 - Allan Blakeney's NDP elected.	
	1972 - SaskSport Trust set up.
	1974 - SaskSport licensed to operate lottery.
	1975 - SaskARTchewan conference: Saskatchewan Arts Board, Dept. of Culture & Youth.
1975 - NDP re-elected.	
1978 - NDP re-elected.	
	1978 - Saskatchewan Council of Cultural Organizations formed.
	1979 - Cultural Policy Secretariat Formed.
	1981 - The "Culture Talks".
1982 - Grant Devine's Progressive Conservatives elected.	
	1984 - "Art is Everybody's Business" campaign.
1986 - Devine Progressive Conservatives re-elected.	
	1987 - PC government threatens to remove autonomy of Arts Board. A lobby of arts organizations convinces government to reverse decision.

Appendix 2

Speeches delivered during 1985
Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Recreation

Texts of the following are contained in the private files of the Department of Culture and Recreation, Province of Saskatchewan.

Note: Speeches with asterisk were analysed in detail.

January 1985

* Opening Ceremony: Churchbridge Rink
* Western Divisional Figure Skating Campionship banquet
- Opening: Pipe Si-Cana Regional Winter Games
- Sask. Ladies Southern Curling Playdowns banquet
- SaskSport Athelete of the Year luncheon
- Opening: Badlands Winter Games
- Six Man Football Team Provincial Championship banquet
* Opening: Moose Mountain Winter Games
- Opening: Battlefords Winter Games
- Volunteer Luncheon: CFQC Citizen of the Year
* News conference: Sask. Youth Year - $800,000 in grants

February 1985

- Opening: Quill Plains Winter Games
- Grand Opening: Central Butte Skating-Curling Rink
- Opening: South West Regional Winter Games
- Opening: Gull Lake and District Recreation Complex
- Cheque Presentation: Rosthern Heritage Day 1985
- Opening: Regina North Rotary Club Heritage Day
- Opening: River Junction Regional Winter Games
- Grand Opening: Endeavour Arena
* Sask. Snowmobile Provincial Meet Banquet

March 1985

* Opening: Sask. Youth Year, Sask. Heritage Year
- Opening: Timmy's Snowerama
- Resident Artist Reception, St. Denis
- India Supper Night
- Reception: Kinsman Park Development, Prince Albert
* Saskatoon Multicultural Advisory Council, 1985 Forum
- University of Sask. Ukrainian Students' Club Conf.
- Heritage Art Show Opening: Garnet House
- Unveiling of the Language Promotional Kit: Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon
* Land Titles Building - Heritage Designation (Saskatoon)
- Regina Rams Football Club Annual Dinner

March (continued)

- Opening: Parkland Regional Winter Games
* Volunteer Recognition Luncheon - Yorkton
- Opening: Canadian Curling Championship for the Deaf
- Opening: Richardson Provincial Masters' Curling Championship
* 75th Anniversary Celebration - YWCA
- Banquet: Saskatchewan Farmers' Curling Bonspiel
- United Nations Group Youth Seminar
* Canadian Police Hockey Tournament Banquet
- Supervolley Invitational Volleyball Tournament
- Canadian Colleges Athletic Association Championships Banquet
- Volunteer Recognition Luncheon - La Ronge
- Weekes Rink Opening
- Sturgis Senior Citizens' Centre opening
- Canadian Junior/Juvenile Wrestling Championships
* Waldheim Hockey Banquet
- Western Canadian Division Championships - Synchronized Swimming Competitions
- Hyundai Canada Cup for Women (Volleyball)
- Volunteer Recognition Banquet - Moose Jaw
- Julin Art Exhibit
- Melfort Volunteer Recognition Banquet
- Blackstrap Regional Winter Games
- United Nations Club Model
- Canadian Transit Mens' Bonspiel Banquet
* Regina Volunteer Recognition Banquet
- Luther Academy
- Cheque Presentation: Blumenfeld Roman Catholic Church Restoration
- Saskatoon Volunteer Recognition
* Kamsack Power Plant Museum Grand Opening

April 1985

- Julin Exchange - Table Tennis Coaches
- Tri-level Cultural Meeting
- Provincial Drama Festival
- Avonlea High School Curling Team Dinner
- Expo 86 Showcase of Media Talent (News Conference)
* Trust Initiatives Program (TIP) News Conference
- Cheque Presentation: Veregin Prayer Home
- Association of Canadian Orchestras, Western Regional Workshops
- Volunteer Recognition Banquet (Unity)
- Cheque presentation: Glaslyn CN Station

May 1985

* Ministers' Conference on Multiculturalism
- Table Tennis Coaches' Banquet

May (continued)

- Canadian Association of Social Studies Teachers - welcoming luncheon
- Reception for Julin delegation
- Canadian Music Competitions opening
- Arbour Day Ceremonies - Regina
- Canadian Intramural Recreation Assocation Conference Awards Banquet
- Juvenile Diabetes Foundation Aerobathon
* Saskatoon Archaeological Society Banquet
- Festival of Irish Dancing
- Saskatchewan Celebration of Championships Luncheon
- Cheque Presentation: Godfrey Dean Cultural Centre - Yorkton
- Saskatchewan Museums Assocation Annual Conference - Prince Albert
- Moose Jaw Main Street Project Cheque Presentation
- Regina "Pink House" Historic Property Cheque Presentation
- Opening: Saskatchewan Cadets Sports Weekend
- National Darts Championships Opening

June 1985

- St. Joseph's Academy Historic Marker Dedication
- Saskatchewan Senior Summer Games
- Saskatchewan Track and Field Assocation - Media Conference
- Clavet Community Hall - opening ceremonies
- Saskatchewn Doukhobour Inter-demonational Day of Peace
- Springfield School Reunion - Cairn Unveiling
* Sask Sport Annual Meeting
* Budget Speech
- Heritage Language Foundation Meeting
* Book Opening "Historic Architecture of Saskatchewan"
* OSAC Annual General Meeting
* Chinese Student Art Ceremony

July 1985

* Canadian Numismatic Association - Annual Convention
- Nipawin and District Living Forests Museum Opening
- Saskatchewan Express Media Conference
- Canada Games Media Conference

August 1985

- Glaslyn Museum Official Opening
- Central Zone Trap Shoot
- Western Canada Water Ski Championships
- Linguistic Association of Canada Conference Opening
- Kamsack and District Historical Society Museum Opening

August (continued)

- 1985 Western Canada Lawn Bowling Tour - Welcoming Ceremonies
- 1985 National Womens' Invitational Field Lacrosse Championships Banquet
* Pride Celebrity Golf Tournament Championships Banquet
- Western Canadian Senior B Mens' Fastball Championships
* Exhibition Opening "Fourteen Saskatchewan Painters" Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery
- George Reed Testimonial Dinner
- Canada Life Assurance Building - Heritage Restoration
- Canada Studies Bureau Conference Opening

<u>September 1985</u>

- Stoughton Arts and Entertainment Centre Arts Council Resident Artist's Reception
- Esterhazy Multi Purpose Centre Opening
- Yorkton Writer-in-Residence Reception

<u>October 1985</u>

- SaskSport Incorporated Volunteer Awards
- Saskatchewan Recreation Society Annual Awards Luncheon
- Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan General Meeting
- Lashburn Outdoor Recreational Facility Opening
- Veregin Doukhobour Prayer Home Opening
- Sask. Parks and Recration Assocation Annual Conference President's Luncheon
* Saskatchewan Council of Cultural Organizations Annual Fall Meeting
- Amnesty International's "Prisoner of Conscience Week"
- SaskSport Ninth Annual Conference Luncheon
- Heritage Gallery '85 Opening and Variety Concert

<u>November 1985</u>

- Eastend Skating and Curling Rink Opening
- Bob Adams Foundation Dinner
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee - Saskatchewan Provincial Council
- Saskatoon Professional Art Space Opening
- Denare Beach Skating Rink/Arena opening
* Saskatoon Downtown Rotary Club Luncheon
* Eleventh Annual Sundog Handicraft and Pleasure Faire

<u>December 1985</u>

- Official Key Exchange Ceremony - Saskatchewan School of Performing Arts Incorporated
- 21st Annual Knights of Columbus Indoor Games Opening
- Saskatchewan Youth Network - Provincial Youth Conference

Other documents available for examination

NOTE: the following lists most of the public relations materials prepared by the Department in 1985:

- Annual Report 1983-84, 1984-85
- Acts regarding the Dept. of Culture and Recreation
- "Performing Arts Handbook", "Visual Arts Handbook"
- "Heritage Conservation Information Series"
- "Arts and Multicultural Program" brochure
- "Your Role in Municipal Recreation" brochure
- "Take Part Take Pride" campaign brochure
- "The Economic Viability of the Arts" video promotion
- All news releases generated during January and February of 1985
- "Adopt a Dinosaur" promotion brochure

Appendix 3

Interview Questions

Asked during interviews with individuals listed at the end of the Bibliography.

1. What is "culture"?

2. Why is it thought to be of value for a provincial government to promote, foster or support culture?

3. What is the role of cultural policy - what is it supposed to do?

4. In writing cultural policy, what documents have been thought to be most useful in reference?

5. In writing cultural policy, what social or political considerations have been brought to bear?

6. In writing cultural policy, what economic considerations have been brought to bear?

7. Are there other things that an elected official or a civil servant can do to promote and foster culture besides writing and supporting cultural policy?

8. What aspects of culture have so far been addressed by Saskatchewan's cultural policies?

9. What aspects of culture have yet to be addressed by Saskatchewan's cultural policies?

10. What aspects of culture are endangered?

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(Director, Cultural Activities Branch, 1972-1980).

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(Director, Public Relations, Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Recreation 1985-1986.)

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(Researcher, Saskatchewan Writers' Guild, 1987).

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