Eh 440:

Tuning into the Effects of Multiculturalism on
Publicly Funded Canadian Music

by

Parmela Singh Attariwala

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

Faculty of Music
University of Toronto

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Abstract

In 1988, Canada enshrined multiculturalism into law, a democratizing manoeuvre that allowed practitioners of non-Western and non-classical forms of music to agitate for equitable access to public arts funding. This agitation ultimately forced government-funded Canadian arts councils to re-examine their Eurocentric granting programs and to expand the parameters by which they fund music. Today’s arts council peer assessors must now assess applications covering a broad range of musical genres and differing aesthetic values, and must incorporate into their evaluations the councils’ sociopolitical priorities emphasizing diversity and inclusivity. Yet, few assessors understand why and how identity politics informs the contemporary music-making of ethnocultural minorities and how collectively held stereotypes influence Canadians’ expectation for ethnocultural representation. In this thesis, I endeavour to separate the historical, sociopolitical and philosophical threads that have contributed to the current musical environment in Canada.
I begin by examining the parallel histories of funding for high culture—which led to public arts funding—and early celebrations of multiculturalism. I then examine liberal democratic philosophy and how it fostered the “politics of difference” that characterizes Canadian multiculturalism. Although liberal democracy holds that each citizen be recognized as equal and have equality of opportunity to nurture his or her individual, authentic self, Canadians have historically treated ethnocultural minorities unequally, resulting in the latter pursuing politics of difference based upon collective characteristics. Collective difference politics, though, are prone to stereotype. In the Canadian music world these stereotypes are manifest in external desires for authentic ethnocultural representation, which can overshadow a minority musician’s ability to cultivate a unique musical voice.

I devote the second part of my thesis to examining the effects of equity initiatives on Canadian arts councils. Based upon interviews with music and equity officers from the Canada Council, the Ontario Arts Council and the Toronto Arts Council, I show how the dichotomy between collective and individual authenticities results in unequal modes of assessment that perpetuate both ethnocultural stereotypes and Western classical music’s monopoly over funding, limiting our definitions of Canadian music.
Acknowledgments

Growing up in Calgary—with a typical Albertan anti-Eastern sentiment—I never thought I would end up in Toronto; and I certainly never (forgive me the hyperbole) ever imagined I would become a part of the University of Toronto community. That I have managed to research and write this thesis at an institution that embodies much of what I critique in the ensuing text is a testament to the quality of people at UofT who have supported and encouraged me through the process. More importantly, they continued to offer their support when the subject matter weighed too heavily upon my heart and it appeared I might not see the degree through to its end.

First amongst my mentors are the three members of my thesis committee: Gage Averill, Robin Elliott and Russell Hartenberger. The irony of having three “white” males (including two who are American by birth) supervising a thesis heavily influenced by equity—and at times critical of the American influence on Canadian arts—has not escaped me. Nevertheless, each in their specialties complemented crucial aspects of my study and of my self: the ethnomusicologist who needs to understand the sociopolitical structures that subtly and overtly influence our music-making; the resolute Canadian obsessed by how Canadianness shapes Canadian music and musicians; and the performer/creator/improvisor who continually pushes the musical envelope.

Gage’s daunting intellect combined with his good nature motivated me to demand more of myself, and in particular my writing style. As I adapted my style, I felt a parallel shift in the way I thought: clearer and less convoluted. Yet, the process of change forced me to work at an excruciatingly slow pace and reminded me of time spent overhauling my violin technique with my last major violin teacher. Then, Professor Igor Ozim had felt it necessary to completely dismantle and reconstruct my violin technique—a process of undoing and relearning that was agonizing, especially occurring at a late stage in my studies. Over time, though, the new violin technique allowed me to approach my music making with efficiency and clarity, skills that have been a gift over the past few years when Ph.D. studies have limited the time I could spend with my instrument. Similarly, I
am confident that as the new writing style becomes second nature, I will become more efficient and proficient at articulating my thoughts in words. I cannot be more thankful for such a powerful tool.

I will never forget the moment I received Robin’s phone call from UofT informing me I had been accepted into the Ph.D. program. Robin has been indispensable in getting me through this thesis. He is generous to a fault and one of the nicest people one could hope to meet, let alone have on one’s committee. Robin’s knowledge of the Canadian music scene has been crucial, but more importantly, his encouragement has always been palpable and his empathy in despondent moments comforting. After Gage left Toronto for UBC, Robin took over the administrative responsibilities for my studies, and his quick responses to my questions and genuine enthusiasm enervated my race to the finish line.

Russell Hartenberger has been the musical rock of my committee, understanding and completely supporting my need to maintain a foot in the performance world. Moreover, in his own creative and pedagogical work, Russell has created a template for the future of inclusive and equitable Canadian musical performance studies. His students are respected around the world for their rhythmic and technical acuity as well as the performative and ethnomusicographic depth with which they study non-Western and non-classical music systems. This combination has allowed them to work across multiple musical communities, interpreting and creating with integrity.

I have long-admired both Liz Gould and Ellen Waterman and was privileged to have had them on my defence. I am grateful to both for the support they offered me personally and for their critical perspectives on my work, perspectives that will shape the next stage of my research.

Many times in the past, I have thanked the arts councils for their generous support in funding my musical projects. This time, I am indebted to the officers (present and former) at the Canada Council for the Arts, the Ontario Arts Council and the Toronto Arts Council who generously shared their time and insights with me, and with their superiors
(Russell Kelley, John Brotman and Claire Hopkinson) who granted my access to their officers.

I owe particular thanks to OAC Music Officer David Parsons. Although his voice does not figure prominently in the following pages, David has encouraged me as an artist since my early days in Toronto and was the first to invite me to participate on an arts council jury. He has supported my scholarly intentions from the outset, and most importantly to this thesis, David encouraged me to tease out the dual and dueling notions of authenticity in music assessment.

Outside of the Faculty of Music, two groups of academics profoundly affected my analysis of Canadian music and multiculturalism. I am grateful to Professor Jeffrey Reitz who granted me status in the Ethnic and Pluralism Studies Department and allowed me to enroll in his graduate seminar. In addition to introducing us to the fundamental literature in Canadian multicultural studies, Professor Reitz complemented the course with student-initiated topics, which were often controversial and emotionally difficult. His command over the seminar was nothing short of awe-inspiring.

The second group that affected my perspective was the “brown bag lunch gang”—a group of South Asianist Ph.D. students who often ate lunch together at Robarts Library. Their overtly postcolonial and equity-motivated research inquiries helped me understand the power of alterity and of seeing my own material through the lens of antiracism.

Closer to home (both physical and musical), my friend and long-time neighbour Kathleen Kajioka, became—particularly after replacing me at the Toronto Arts Council—my collegial sounding board as I dissected the relationship between politics and arts councils. Between the two of us, I have always felt Kathleen the natural academic with a particular gift for words. Although her words are less present than others in this text, Kathleen’s intellectual presence has been a constant through the process of my writing.
Two groups of musicians gave me the opportunity to “check in” with my spirit and play music when, to pursue my Ph.D., I had to give up my day job as an orchestral musician. Thanks go to Bill Grove and the Human Remains (Ambrose Pottie, Rick Sacks, Andrew Staniland and Scott Good); and the musicians of the Association of Improvising Musicians of Toronto, who continually invited me to create music with them. Nevertheless, I owe apologies to both groups as well as to Coyote, the Starfires and my dance partner Clo of Zufall when I had to abandon them in order to write.

My family has been fundamental to my pursuing this degree. Since embarking on a career in music, I have had to continually legitimize to my family why music is important, and in doing so, I developed a habit of constantly questioning and defending my perspective. Additionally, my mother taught me that every situation can be seen from multiple points of view, each of which—whether we agree with it or not—warrants the respect of contextual examination. Although we often disagreed, my mother instilled in me what academic inclinations I have by always allowing me to voice and defend my opinion, a privilege that not all South Asian women growing up in Canada have. My father, meanwhile, has always offered financial support when I have needed it through this degree. Yet, upon completing this phase of my research and finding traces of my father’s actions in history, I realize that my father and I share an impatience with systems that treat people unjustly and are reticent to change. Thus, I see this research as seva—a concept instilled in me by my parents as fundamental to my ethnocultural heritage—the work that challenges one deeply on every level, but that we undertake in the hopes that it will make the lives of others easier. Last familial thanks to my brother for offering pragmatic (already-been-there) Ph.D. advice and long-distance French tutoring.

I must also acknowledge Professor Pashaura Singh who recognized my desire to integrate academic research with my life as a performing musician and pointed me towards ethnomusicology many years ago.

Final thanks go the friends who have taken care of my spirit over the past few years: to Mary, Nicole and Aparna who kept me grounded and laughing. With thanks and love to
Marcin, who unexpectedly came into my life during the writing process, bringing joy, humour, cooking skills and a fondness for spontaneous musical improvisation.

Immeasurable thanks to the two whose place in my heart goes beyond words: to my faithful furry companion, Bindi, and my too-often dormant 330-year-old Cremonese muse Sophie, who gave me respite in my first language when I struggled to find words in English.

I gratefully acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for their support during the research stage of my Ph.D. studies.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgments ............................................................................................................ iv

Table of Contents ............................................................................................................. ix

List of Tables ................................................................................................................... xiii

List of Plates ................................................................................................................... xiv

List of Figures .................................................................................................................. xv

List of Appendices .......................................................................................................... xvi

Preface ............................................................................................................................ xvii

**Introduction**.................................................................................................................. 1

  - Positionality .............................................................................................................. 4
  - Post-cinnamon .......................................................................................................... 4
  - Arts Councils ........................................................................................................... 7
  - Methodology ............................................................................................................ 9
  - Structure .................................................................................................................. 14

**Part I** .......................................................................................................................... 17

**Chapter 1** .................................................................................................................... 18

Music in Canada before the Massey Commission ................................................................. 18

  - Introduction .......................................................................................................... 18
  - Art versus Culture .................................................................................................. 19
  - Modes of Encountering Music .............................................................................. 22

Music in New France ...................................................................................................... 23

Music in English-speaking Canada (1867-1957) ............................................................... 24

  - The British Influence ............................................................................................ 25

**John Murray Gibbon** .................................................................................................. 26

  - The Others ............................................................................................................ 30
  - Canadian Mosaic .................................................................................................... 32
  - The CPR festivals in practice ................................................................................ 35
  - Flash forward: Canadian multicultural and folk festivals 2010 ......................... 39

American Influence ..................................................................................................... 40

  - The Loyalists ........................................................................................................ 40
  - Entertainment ....................................................................................................... 41

Philanthropic influence .................................................................................................. 42

  - The Carnegie Corporation ................................................................................... 43
  - The Rockefeller Foundation ................................................................................ 44

Radio ................................................................................................................................ 46

**The Royal Commission** .............................................................................................. 50

  - Vincent Massey and the Massey Commission .................................................... 52
  - Conclusion ............................................................................................................. 55
Chapter 2  ........................................................................................................................................... 57

Canada’s Arts Councils: Creation and Defence ............................................................................. 57

    Flash Forward—Municipal Arts, the City of Toronto (September 2010) .......................... 58

In Defence of Arts Councils ........................................................................................................... 60

    The Massey Report ...................................................................................................................... 60

    UNESCO .................................................................................................................................... 65

Setting up the Canada Council ...................................................................................................... 66

The Arm’s-Length Principle ........................................................................................................... 69

The Economics of Investment in the Arts ..................................................................................... 71

    Flash Forward—Canada Council Annual Public Meeting (APM), Four Seasons Centre, Toronto (October 20, 2010). .......................... 72

Trudeau and Culture ....................................................................................................................... 73

Waves of Canadianization .............................................................................................................. 76

    Overlooking Canadians ............................................................................................................... 76

    Democratizing Culture ............................................................................................................... 78

    Earmarked Funding ................................................................................................................... 81

Quantification: Canon and MAPE ............................................................................................... 82

    The Survey Says ........................................................................................................................ 85

    Twenty-first-century Statistics ................................................................................................. 87

    The Canada Council ................................................................................................................ 87

Diversity and Canada’s Arts Councils ............................................................................................ 89

    The Music Section and Equity ................................................................................................ 89

Chapter 3 ......................................................................................................................................... 93

The Conundrums of Multiculturalism ........................................................................................... 93

    The Appearance of Multiculturalism ....................................................................................... 96

        The B and B Commission ..................................................................................................... 97

    Between the lines of Multiculturalism .................................................................................... 100

        Multicultural Policy ............................................................................................................. 100

        Contested Culture .............................................................................................................. 103

        Private and Public in Multiculturalism ............................................................................. 107

        Recognition Politics ............................................................................................................ 110

Choosing Identity ........................................................................................................................... 112

    Who’s Canadian? ...................................................................................................................... 114

    The fine line between recognizing and stereotyping ............................................................ 116

    The Problem with Authenticity ............................................................................................... 121

Multicultural Timelines ............................................................................................................... 124

    Heritage Performances and Symbolic Multiculturalism ..................................................... 125

    Towards Structural Multiculturalism—the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism .... 127

    Legislating Structural Multiculturalism .............................................................................. 130

    Structure and Change .............................................................................................................. 132

Part II ............................................................................................................................................. 134

Introduction to Part II .................................................................................................................. 137

Setting the Stage: the Structures of Racism .................................................................................. 137
Antiracism Advocacy and Equity ........................................................................ 139
Naming ................................................................................................................. 141
Racism and Identity .............................................................................................. 143
Racism and Liberal Democracy .......................................................................... 146
Music and Equity ................................................................................................... 147
Layers of complexity ............................................................................................. 148
On Cultural Equity ................................................................................................. 150

Chapter 4 .................................................................................................................. 152
Arts Councils and Institutional Change: Democratizing and Diversifying Music .... 152

Extract from the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism 1987 Report ................. 152
Historian Richard Gwyn’s picture of a changed Canada (mid-1992) ......................... 152
The Expanding “Field” ............................................................................................. 154
Encounters of the subconscious kind ...................................................................... 154
Forced to Consciousness ......................................................................................... 155
The field ................................................................................................................... 157
Privacy ...................................................................................................................... 158
Language .................................................................................................................. 160
The questions and concerns .................................................................................... 161
Towards Institutional Change ................................................................................ 164
REAC--Advisory Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts ................................ 166
Defining Professionalism ......................................................................................... 169
Institutionalizing Equity and the Equity Office ....................................................... 170
Shaking up the Arts Councils: Gary Cristall ......................................................... 174
The Ontario Art’s Council’s Feasibility Study for a Folk Arts Program (1987) ......... 176
Ontario Arts Council’s World and Popular Music Program .................................. 179

Chapter 5 ................................................................................................................. 185
Assessment Process and Decision-Making ............................................................ 185

The Trouble with Genre ......................................................................................... 185
Boundary Lines of Presumption: Genre, Commercialism, Equity, Fair Assessment ...... 189
Classical and Non-Classical: The Deeper Issues of Representation and Hierarchy .... 194
Funding and Maintaining Legacies ........................................................................ 199
Outreach ................................................................................................................... 211
Outreach at the Municipal Level ............................................................................. 212
The banner, the door and the table ......................................................................... 213
Organizational Outreach in Toronto ....................................................................... 216
Assessing the Applications ...................................................................................... 220
Assessment Committee Composition ..................................................................... 220
Artistic Merit versus Socio-Political Considerations ............................................... 225
There Are Only Two Kinds of Music ........................................................................ 235

Chapter 6 .................................................................................................................. 237
What Is Canadian Music? ...................................................................................... 237
What is Canadian music? (Gary Cristall ~ Canada Council, late 1990s) .................. 237
Who leads the way: artists or arts councils? .......................................................... 238
Following the Artists (and the Commercialism Conundrum) .................................. 239
Influencing artists .................................................................................................................................................. 243

**Keeping Track of Diversity** ........................................................................................................................................ 245
Self-Identifying ................................................................................................................................................................ 248
The Koreans ................................................................................................................................................................ 251
Representation and Authenticity ........................................................................................................................................ 255

**Conflicting Authenticities** ........................................................................................................................................ 257
Ensemble Noir .............................................................................................................................................................. 257
“Vanity and the Goddess Saraswati” .................................................................................................................................. 261
Disrupting Expectations .................................................................................................................................................. 265
Music and Authenticity .................................................................................................................................................... 267
Evaluating conflicting markers ......................................................................................................................................... 272
Enhancing Multiculturalism Musically ............................................................................................................................ 273
Playing in-between and across the lines ........................................................................................................................ 274
Describing Canadian in music ....................................................................................................................................... 276

**Conclusion** .............................................................................................................................................................. 278

**Appendices** ............................................................................................................................................................... 284

**References** ................................................................................................................................................................. 390
List of Tables

1. Other Provincial Funders .................................................. 135 - 136
List of Plates

1. Photograph of children in ethnic dress included in J. M. Gibbon’s
   *Canadian Mosaic*, p. 400................................................................. 35
List of Figures

1.a MAPL logo ........................................................................................................ 83
1.b MAPL logo ........................................................................................................ 83
List of Appendices

1. Toronto Arts Council, Music Annual Operating Funding
   Program Guidelines ...............................................................284

2. Toronto Arts Council, Music Project Funding
   (2013 Program Guidelines) ......................................................291


4. Ontario Arts Council, Orchestra Projects
   Program and Application ..........................................................298

5. Ontario Arts Council, “What is the OAC Popular Music Program?” .............317

6. Canada Council Act ..................................................................334

7. Canada Council for the Arts, Grants to Professional Musicians (Individual)
   Program and Application ..........................................................335

8. Canada Council for the Arts, Grants to Professional Orchestras
   Program and Application ..........................................................360
Preface

In the fall of 2003, a colleague teaching in the performance division of University of Toronto’s Faculty of Music called to ask me if I could meet him and two other faculty members to talk about how to increase diversity amongst the student population. I believe my colleague saw me as a poster child for diversity in Western classical music: one of a very small number of musicians working in the Canadian scene of non-European, non-East Asian descent. How might the faculty recruit students like me?

I could not provide the group with the answer(s) I suspect they wanted to hear. Rather, I suggested that if they wanted to see more people who looked like me at the faculty, they would need to change the focus of the institution’s program, particularly that of the performance division. I did not say “ought to consider” or “should” or “might” with my usual aversion to making decisive pronouncements when asked for my opinion. My assuredness in the moment surprised me, but I was equally sure that the country’s emphasis on multiculturalism had changed the nature of music-making in Canada. Arts councils that had traditionally supported musicians graduating from the country’s music faculties and conservatories had altered their priorities. Orchestras, operas and chamber music societies were no longer the only participants at the funding table. Moreover, it seemed that celebrating and representing difference had permeated cultural talk—amongst politicians and bureaucrats, amongst citizens, amongst cultural programmers and amongst arts council officers. I noticed it everywhere: everywhere but in the Western classical music institutions.

Yet, as sure as I was that multiculturalism had been a catalyst in changing Canadian cultural priorities, I was as aware that I could not critically defend my opinion. I knew only that a music faculty in Canada would find few, if any, students who looked like me majoring in Western classical music performance. My mother, who had grown up in a culturally British-dominant and racist Canada, raised me to believe that I should
endeavour to emulate British cultural ideals and that doing so was essential to being a good Canadian citizen. Traditions peculiar to my ethnocultural background—food, dress, dance, music, religious practices, even politics—remained within the home or were practiced within the boundaries of ethno-specific associations and their meeting places.

By the end of the twentieth century, though, the prerequisites for being a professional Canadian artist—and what I had learned about being Canadian—were no longer valid. As I knew from my arts council jury experiences, the once (almost) symbiotic relationship between the councils and Western classical music institutions had begun to weaken. Musicians performing non-Western and non-classical musics had asked for—and been granted—seats at the funding table. Thus it seemed to me that without sustained council support for the Western classical institutions, the students studying at music faculties and conservatories—institutions still hegemonically dominated by Western classical music—would surely suffer the long-term consequences.

The question of what to teach my violin students has also concerned me for a long time. In good conscience, I find it difficult to teach as I was taught: in a didactic manner that is diatonically restrictive and relegates the violinist to the twentieth-century Western classical role of interpreter (as opposed to creator). Also, I increasingly encounter students who want to learn the violin to suit their own, genre-unrestricted musical goals; and I meet violinists trained in non-Western or non-classical genres who want to expand their abilities on the instrument by learning Western classical violin techniques. Both of these kinds of musicians will likely find support for their professional work at Canada’s arts councils; but neither will easily find a conservatory or post-secondary institution in the country that can provide them with the training they desire. I find this situation problematic and verging on irresponsible.

Thus, confronted with my own pedagogical concerns, questions from the academy, and a dearth of critical understanding about how official multiculturalism has functionally changed music funding and what “diversity” means in the contemporary Canadian context, I became a student at the very institution that had previously approached me as a
consultant. I chose arts councils as a locus for my research as it was during my service on juries—and the subtle role of “diverse” representative in which I often found myself—that I encountered pro-action directed towards outreach and (diverse) representation that was functionally absent in most of the performing and teaching institutions in which I worked. Thus, I set out to understand why and how arts council priorities had changed. As the dominant funding sources for non-commercial artistic production in Canada, what could the arts councils tell me about where we have been in terms of defining and promoting artistic culture, and where we might be going?

**Fieldwork**

In “Moving: From Performance to Performative Ethnography and Back Again,” Deborah Wong describes relationship to her field as “I am ethnographer of taiko, but I am a taiko player who was an ethnographer first.”¹ Later, she describes the contemporary “field”:

> Entering fully into a postcolonial and transnational world has meant that insiders are both anyone and everyone, and the field is everywhere and nowhere… (As such) the inevitability of multiple subjectivities on the part of both ethnographer and interlocutor is now usually understood, and the task of representing the overlap is thus difficult and necessary.²

My relationship to ethnography and performance occurred in reverse to Wong’s, but my relationship to the field of arts councils was at once known—as an integral and ever-present partner to almost all performances in which I had participated—and unknown in its history, its inner workings and its position as mediator between Canadian artists and Canadian political philosophy.

Having undertaken traditional training and apprenticeship as a Western classical violinist in North America and Europe, I began my professional life as a performer. However, between my apprenticeship and the beginning of my professional career, I chanced upon ethnomusicology, an encounter that significantly altered the way I engaged with my professional environments. While I was lucky to have had a full-time career as a

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¹ Ibid., 77.
performer, I always tacitly observed the performance milieu as if it were an ethnographic field. Eventually, this habit—and the observations I accumulated—contributed to my decision to return to academia and engage in a formal apprenticeship in ethnographic research (my previous research having been historical in nature). I knew from the outset I would have to balance my two selves carefully so as not to jeopardize the position I had attained in the local musical world that had sustained me for over a decade. I carefully chose two fieldwork projects—performance projects that were consciously multicultural in nature—and made sure that my colleagues were completely aware of my official participant-observer status in the group. Quite unexpectedly, both projects ended suddenly and without warning.

Meanwhile, the Toronto Arts Council invited me to spend a three-year term (2005-2008) on their Standing Committee for Music. This is a rare opportunity for any local musician, and increasingly rare for a Western classical performer. Only part way through my term I realized that my committee position could also inform my research, offering me a politically nuanced view of how multiculturalism and its tendrils—identity politics, ethnicity, representation, stereotyping—actively influenced Canadian music-making. As a committee member, it was my duty to actively review applications and to contribute to the dialogue that decided the fate of my fellow musicians across the city. As an ethnographer, I paid attention to the process and the discussion of my fellow-committee members in their decision-making.

I found it tricky, though, to balance the two roles. There is no place in the jury process for supplication, yet my previous experiences with ethnography had placed me in subordinate roles, where my participation in the experience kept me in the position of someone there to learn and to observe: critical thought would come later as I reflected

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3 Arts councils rarely invite orchestral musicians – people whose status is generally that of an employee – to the jury table. Jurists tend to be independent musicians – creators, composers, bandleaders, soloists – who, as a normal aspect of their career, must deal with the greater “system” of music-making: grant-writing, touring, commissioning, hiring (of musicians, publicists, agents, recording engineers, etc.). Unless they have developed their own projects, orchestral musicians tend to be removed from the organizational aspects of music making in Canada.
upon my experiences. In grant assessment, though, I had to engage my critical faculties, and anytime I did not do so—and merely observed—meant that the jury heard one less opinion. Furthermore, as the only orchestral player on the committee of nine (and that was my particular specialty within the group), the only female of colour and the only ethnomusicologist, my voice was as crucial as any other’s voice for the unique perspective it brought to the jury table. I realized this later than I would have preferred, but I would like to believe that I have the benefit of this thesis to further articulate the concerns I have about Canadian music and the peer assessment process.

~

In the introduction to Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity, Beverley Diamond writes,

Particularly within the discipline of music, we are aware that the rigours of professional study—whether that be in Karnatic, jazz, European concert music, or whichever of the many other musical traditions practiced professionally in the Canadian context—militate against long afternoons of browsing in the history, sociology or folklore sections of the library. As a result, music students may be unaccustomed to “reading” the very structures of the knowledge they learn. 4

While performance departments might use this as a defence against burdening students with academic courses, thus distracting them from the physical training on their instruments, I do not believe the sacrifice benefits Canada’s performing musicians. Creators, presenters and performers contribute to the decision-making processes at arts councils, but without the ability to debate music’s role in the social sphere—beyond the critique of technical minutiae—performers’ voices are often subsumed by those better equipped to discuss the issues macroscopically. Therefore, understanding and being able to engage critically in discussions about the sociopolitical context in which today’s musicians create and perform music is essential to the future health of our profession.

Introduction

On January 9, 2010, I found myself sitting on a panel at the Canadian New Music Network (CNMN—‘Cinnamon’ as some of my colleagues jokingly referred to the organization) 2010 Forum in Halifax. The topic of the two-day forum was “Diversity”, and George Lewis was the keynote speaker. Lewis had spoken the previous day, and while he directly addressed issues of race politics in music, his paper’s dense academic language caught many audience members off-guard.\(^2\) Except for a few invited guest speakers from Europe—curators and arts organization representatives—the forum’s audience was composed of the primary stakeholders of the Canadian “new music” community: presenters, composers, electro-acoustic and acousmatic creators, avant-garde improvisers, and a few performers.

The previous year’s forum attendees had chosen “diversity” as a theme for the 2010 forum because the CNMN (board) members had identified it as an increasingly

\(^1\) This research might alternately be described as a “snapshot” or—to use a musical metaphor—a “sample” of the effects of multiculturalism on publicly funded music in Canada, for the research is firmly based in Ontario and the fieldwork projects in Toronto. Nevertheless, the modes of understanding identity and its intersections with music and stereotype can be applied across English-speaking Canada. To examine issues of music, identity and the relationship between funders and minority ethnocultures in the province of Quebec, though, requires analysis through a significantly different political lens. It would require a thorough contextualization of the province’s political—and consequently cultural—relationship to the rest of Canada. Moreover, one would need to examine the difference implied by “interculturalisme” in Quebec in contrast to “multiculturalism” in the rest of Canada, and then analyze whether and how this distinction influences the work of minority artists in Quebec. While this type of study would yield fascinating results and possibilities for comparison with the rest of Canada, it is beyond the limitations of this thesis.

\(^2\) Although Lewis included a number of French quotations in his presentation, his address was particularly taxing for francophone attendees, which—in addition to the academic language—resulted in many CNMN members questioning the organizers’ choice to have an academic give the keynote address. Yet, as I note in Chapter 6, Canada Council Music Officer Shannon Pete alludes to a dearth of Canadian pedagogues who study cross-cultural and cross-genre music making with “the rigour” of George Lewis (personal communication, January 2008). I would suggest that the reaction of the forum attendees to Lewis’ presentation demonstrates a critical gap in Canadian musicians’ literacy beyond music theory, and in this case, amongst those in the privileged Canadian musical avant-garde, whose professional equivalents in other art forms (particularly visual arts, theatre, film, literature) have a working fluency in cultural, social and critical theory.
important, but unexamined—and therefore confusing—issue in Canadian arts. One such member, DB Boyko, artistic director of Vancouver’s The Western Front, publicly acknowledged that she had “been one of the people that wanted [diversity] to be the subject for this forum … [particularly] critical issues of identity politics.” She continued by describing her concerns as a new music presenter in a changing cultural landscape:

As a cultural worker, my job is to interpret the world around me to a larger body of people, and (yet) artists still persist in this sense of being isolated. There has always been, as I perceive it, an insularity within lots of different kinds of communities, in particular the new music community, and I see these little structures are paradigms for that [insularity]. But really, what is the bigger question here? We’re looking at our own little survivals. But how does this relate to the change in culture that we participate in, that is evolving? Where do the outsiders exist in relationship to what we do?4

Those attending the forum were part of the “legitimized” contemporary music community: those whose organizations had received—and were sustained by—grants from the country’s arts councils. Boyko, meanwhile, knew from her participation in non-Western forms of music and dance (particularly Hindustani and Indonesian), from her work with Chinese seniors in Vancouver, and from her experience as (former) Director of the City of Mississauga’s Office of Arts and Culture that the Canadian cultural landscape was changing dramatically. She believed that Canada’s avant-garde music community needed to acknowledge and understand how changes in Canadian demography—in tandem with an increase in identity politics—were adding layers of complexity to Canadian artistic culture. Left unexamined, the changes would affect the health and legitimacy of the contemporary music community.

The forum’s organizers had thus chosen to include a variety of panels, each attempting to tackle the problematic concept of diversity in Canadian new music. Yet, it is debatable whether the forum succeeded in demystifying the nature of “diversity” in contemporary Canadian music-making. Notably, following Boyko’s utterance of “identity politics” during the forum’s first session, not one person mentioned the phrase again that weekend, let alone either of the words “politics” or “identity”. While a few panelists—particularly

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3 DB Boyko, Morning Session commentary, 2010 CNMN Forum (Halifax, January 8, 2010).
4 Ibid.
those from overseas—gave examples of successful musical projects their organizations had undertaken that intentionally broke down ethnocultural community barriers and engaged with diverse artists and audiences, the speakers at the forum were unable to deconstruct the philosophical issues that make diversity, as it plays out in music, a complicated issue in Canada.

Only George Lewis, whose keynote address opened the forum, and the closing panel upon which I sat, attempted to discuss diversity politics from an ethnocultural perspective. Otherwise, presenters talked about diversity of genre, regional diversity, gender diversity, and diversity of performance space.

Thus, two things became very clear to me by the time my co-panelists and I—participating on the very last panel of the forum—took our places on the stage. First, I had to write this thesis. As I had been sitting in the audience brimming to over-full with unuttered comments, it occurred to me that after years of creating music subconsciously influenced by my position as an ethnocultural minority, followed by years of researching and stewing, I had begun to understand why diversity was such a complicated issue for Canada’s music world. More importantly, I realized there was a need beyond my own curiosity to deconstruct how official multiculturalism had complicated the seemingly innocuous act of making music in a peaceful, democratic country like Canada.

The second thing I realized was that I was on the wrong panel. One of my co-panelists, Concordia University’s Sandeep Bhagwati, referred to us as “the panel of people with difficult-to-pronounce names”. The correct panel title was: “New Music and New Canadians”. By the time my turn came to speak, the forum was two hours behind schedule and I found myself with virtually no time to say either what I had prepared or to comment upon what I had heard over the previous two days. An antiracist activist might suggest that the situation in which I found myself was yet another example of inviting the “diversity quotient” to the table as a tokenistic gesture, but then not giving them (“us”) a chance to speak. I chose to introduce myself by challenging the audience to tell me why I was sitting on this particular panel. The truth was that my co-panelists were all born
outside of Canada whereas I, with an over one hundred year family history in Canada, was not a “new Canadian”. For those who did not know my musical background, it was even more surprising that I should be a Western-classically trained violinist with a specialty in Mozart and a penchant for the avant-garde, rather than my being a Hindustani, Carnatic or jazz musician who did crossover work.

**Positionality**

I often find myself in public contexts in which I must decide whether I should refer to myself as “us” or “them”. Sometimes, others decide for me, as the CNMN Forum organizers—however mistakenly—did. Ideally, and maybe idealistically, I conceive of myself as Canadian. This is both a circumstance of birth and a conscious choice. A second conscious choice that defines me to others is that I am a violinist, a musician.

However, I have neither chosen, nor can easily change two aspects of myself: my gender and my skin colour. As a result, I have been bestowed the benefit of multiple perspectives in a country that claims to be concerned with fair representation, particularly for those from historically disadvantaged groups (which includes people like myself, also described as “visible minorities” or “people of colour”). Along with the ability to examine situations from multiple points of view, I have felt a responsibility to stand up for and represent the side of myself that is “the other” when I perceive colleagues and critics uttering unfair judgments based upon unempathetic or myopic world views. The perspective I take changes depending upon the particular situation. Sometimes I defend the rigours of classical music training, on other occasions I defend musicians of non-Western or non-classical traditions; sometimes I defend the avant-gardeists, and at other times I simply point out pronounced gender and/or ethnocultural imbalances that others have not noticed. It is precisely the burden of these multiple perspectives, and my sense of responsibility to examine their contradictions, that has led me to this academic study.

**Post-cinnamon**

*I am not the kind of person prone to insomnia, but the night following the conclusion of the CNMN forum, I found myself unable to sleep, disturbed by a response I had given to a*
question posed to our panel. Someone from the audience asked how we would define
Canadian music. I very quickly said that Canadian music is hybrid music, even though,
George Lewis had, on the previous day, outlined everything he felt was wrong with words
like “hybrid”. Sandeep, the composer/academic amongst us countered my response by
adapting Samuel Barber’s definition of American music and saying, “Canadian music
should be any music that is created by a Canadian or created in Canada”. The moment
he said it, I thought, “of course, that’s the ’right’ answer,” and seeing George Lewis
from the corner of my eye, I felt very much like the inadequate junior academic.
But … but … but …

*Staring at the ceiling and four walls of my friend’s spare room in Halifax that night, I
realized there was something in my response that warranted closer examination.*

Ideally, Bhagwati’s response *should* have been the correct one. In practice, it is not so
simple in Canada. Diversity (in a global sense) has become a fundamental characteristic
of Canadian society, and diversity politics a significant force guiding Canadian
behaviour, both socially and institutionally. While private enterprises are not obliged to
address multicultural issues or actively seek to hire from diverse communities, public
institutions—including arts councils—are. As a result, those who submit grant proposals
the federal Canada Council for the Arts (Canada Council) or to their municipal or
provincial arts councils must be able to describe their musical creations or programming
choices according to criteria that have extra-musical, diversity-oriented overtones. These
can include: what, if any, extra-musical or social considerations influence the proposed
work or program; whether the work(s) reaches out to audiences beyond the presenter’s
(or creator’s) traditional audience; what genre(s) influences the work, in particular, genres
that are non-traditional to the applicant. The result can be musical works or performances
that have elements of hybridity, either by overt design—because the applicant feels
compelled to express his or her “difference”—or by subtle influence of contemporary
social priorities. Furthermore, creators and presenters describe such works in hybrid
terms. Can we describe them as simply “Canadian”? 
Why is it difficult to define “Canadian” in music? Are there distinct characteristics of music created in Canada? If so, are the distinctions audible; or are they primarily social, geographical or political? Are distinctions of Canadian-ness specific to genres, or are associations of “Canadian-ness” located differently for different genres? Undertaking a comprehensive analysis of the multiplicity of genres and sub-genres performed and created in Canada, and whether each holds perceptible Canadian identifiers—either for the creator or for the audience—is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, the influence of identity politics on Canadian culture contributes to the difficulties inherent in defining Canadian in music today. Official multiculturalism has created an atmosphere that now prioritizes demographic inclusivity, manifestations of an artist’s identity politics (whether self-ascribed or externally ascribed) and cross-“cultural” and cross-genre collaborations.

Although multiculturalism is not unique to Canada, the official nature of multiculturalism in Canada has legal implications for all bureaucratic and public institutions, including arm’s-length institutions such as arts councils. Multiculturalism—as enshrined in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, an Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada (1988) and supported by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982)—provides a framework that guides our public institutions, inherent in which is an obligation to respect difference and a responsibility to engage the diversity of Canadian citizenry. As a result, multiculturalism has profoundly disrupted public arts funding and assessment: by now prioritizing accessibility, inclusion and diversity, the original Eurocentric premises and conceptions of art, culture and aesthetics upon which the councils were created have been unsettled. Thus, publicly funded arts councils are compelling intersections at which to examine the link between federal policy and arts policies, and to demonstrate the influence that evolving governmental priorities have on contemporary Canadian music-making. My analysis of the influence of official multiculturalism on Canadian music takes place firmly within the discourses circumscribed by liberal democracy. Fundamental challenges to this hegemonic set of principles are essentially outside the scope of the current study.
**Arts Councils**

I have chosen arts councils as the locus of my inquiry for two primary reasons. First, as a direct result of my experience sitting on arts council assessment committees I became aware that councils’ priorities had begun to include issues related to equity and diverse representation. This suggested to me that the politics associated with multiculturalism influenced the way councils functioned and how committees made their decisions. Second, arts councils have historically had a close relationship with university music faculties and graduates of those faculties, thus nourishing professional artistic careers after graduation. Over the past two decades, though, the priorities of the arts councils have changed in such a way as to radically alter not only the musical content of applications but the sociopolitical concerns motivating that content and communicated through it. Many of the well-established Canadian music institutions—post-secondary schools and the professional performing organizations into which their students feed—appear to have not altered their priorities in similar ways. The primary stakeholders of such institutions may desire to limit their focus to specialized fields based upon the worthy goal of maintaining high, internationally competitive standards. Nevertheless, in not acknowledging (or appearing not to acknowledge) the changes occurring at the arts council level, the stakeholders remain disengaged from debates that question the legitimacy of Western classical music’s institutions to sustain their hegemonic status and domination of public funding while not reflecting contemporary Canadian political and philosophical values.

While conservatories and universities have traditionally determined what constitutes Canadian music and who are its composers—based upon Western-centric means of defining composition—their privilege to make such determinations is waning as arts councils legitimate an increasing number of genres and modes of musical creation. Additionally, the once-stark differentiation between art music and popular music has receded at the arts councils, disrupting traditional means of valuing and evaluating music. The presence of an increasingly broad spectrum of (often differing) aesthetic values also upsets notions of artistic quality and merit, and contributes to the decreasing importance of Western classical music as a benchmark for determining whether applications qualify
for arts funding. Finally, the dissolving barrier between art and popular muddles how we view professionalism: how musicians traverse the path from amateur to professional; how professionalism is manifested; how we define success; and the extent to which commercial success applies to some genres but not to all.

Since the 1970s, the Canadian recording industry and commercial radio broadcasters—with government support—began to nurture and fund Canadian musicians working in genres with commercial potential. If the potential for commercial success applies only to some genres but not to others, how does this affect our definitions of “art” particularly now that most arts councils no longer restrict applications to specific musical genres? How does this affect public perception, when some musics seem to require tax dollars while others do not?

Multiple tentacles of unasked questions, possible connections and unknown ramifications emanate from the simple question of how multiculturalism has affected music-making in Canada. Official multiculturalism prompted demands for democratic accessibility to Canadian public institutions including public funding for the arts. Democratic principles in turn demand that citizens hold such institutions accountable to the democratic ideal of equal access. To contain my questions, I have limited my inquiry to arts councils, and specifically to the three arts councils with which I am most familiar as an applicant, recipient and peer assessor. Although the priorities of the municipal Toronto Arts Council (TAC) and the provincial Ontario Arts Council (OAC) may not be identical to other municipalities and provinces, my conversations with music officers at the Canada Council and with colleagues from other parts of the country suggest that fundamental issues relating to diversity and multiculturalism are common across the country.

While I reference other major national institutions that affect (or have affected) music-making in Canada at the points where they intersect with arts councils or Canadian cultural policy, I cannot claim to have examined them in-depth, for to have done so would have been prohibitive. These institutions include: the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC); the Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent on Records (FACTOR);
the Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada (SOCAN); and the Canadian (and American) Federation of Musicians (CFM / AFM). Nevertheless, I cannot minimize the important role these institutions will continue to have on the future of professional music-making in Canada.

Methodology
To begin understanding the changes that have affected public arts funding, we must first locate the beliefs that have been disturbed and the prejudices that have accompanied the disturbances. I have therefore chosen to divide my thesis into two parts, the first of which follows a historical arc, identifying key moments and significant issues related to the current problematics affecting arts funding in Canada. The second section of my thesis is devoted to the tangible effects of equity and antiracism initiatives on arts councils from 1989 onwards, and a subsequent analysis of my field interviews with arts council officers at the Canada Council, the OAC and the TAC. Rather than have a single literature review, I have chosen instead to discuss the literature relevant to each distinct topic in the chapter to which the literature relates.

I interviewed thirty-one arts council workers in total. The sequence of my interviews—except for interviews with standing committee members at the TAC (which I conducted after completing my three-year term on the committee)—was not methodical but was based upon my and the interviewees’ availability. Initially I thought it would be easiest to start in Toronto, so I began my interviews in the summer of 2007 with two interviews at the TAC: the first with its Executive Director; the other with an officer who had formerly worked as an interim Equity Coordinator at the Canada Council. I quickly realized that I felt uncomfortable—almost duplicitous—talking about the TAC while serving as an assessor there, so I turned to the other arts councils.

In September of 2007, I had a group interview with the (then) Executive Director of the OAC and the OAC music officers. Normally, the OAC has two music officers. By

5 Although my focus is public funding of music, many of the issues I deal with in the first part of my thesis affect other art forms.
coincidence, I conducted my interview during the Popular and World Music officer’s final week before retiring from the OAC. Her successor, who had already begun working, also attended our meeting. I conducted a follow-up interview with the new officer a year and a half later.

In November of 2007, I travelled to Vancouver to meet with Gary Cristall, a former Canada Council music officer (and section head) who significantly changed the direction of that council’s music section through the 1990s. Cristall also gave me temporary access to documents from his personal library that related to the shifting priorities at the Canada Council during his tenure there.

In January 2008, I went to Ottawa to interview officers at the Canada Council. I had interviewed the head of the Music Section five months earlier (while I was working as a peer assessor) and he helped organize my January visit. I began my visit to the Canada Council with a group meeting involving the section head and the eight music officers who were on staff during my visit (two of whom were replacement officers on one-year contracts). In the days following the group meeting, I had the opportunity to meet privately with seven of the music officers. Additionally, I spoke with a statistical officer for the Canada Council and with the coordinator of the Equity Office. While in Ottawa, I also had the opportunity to interview two former Equity Office coordinators and a former non-classical music officer. Since my initial visit to Ottawa, I have continued to dialogue—by e-mail, telephone and in person when our paths have crossed in Toronto and other parts of the country—with a few of the officers who were particularly interested in the subject matter.

I began interviewing my former colleagues from the TAC’s Standing Committee for Music in the fall of 2009. Although I had intended to officially interview all colleagues with whom I worked on the committee, maintaining interview times with touring and

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6 Although my term at the TAC ended in November, 2008, I took a one-year hiatus from my research between September, 2008 and September, 2009.

7 I spoke with many of my colleagues casually about my research but have not included any of those comments in this thesis.
performing musicians whose rehearsal schedules constantly changed became too complicated. While I conducted a few interviews with members who, like me, held three-year terms on the committee, I focused on interviewing the Standing Committee co-chairs who had served between 2000 and 2011. The co-chairs can serve up to six consecutive one-year terms and are responsible for setting and maintaining priorities. They also represent the Standing Committee for Music on the TAC board of directors, and thus have a deeper understanding of relationship between the arts council and municipal politics than do other committee members. Ultimately, I interviewed six (now former) co-chairs from the TAC’s Standing Committee for Music. I also interviewed the Music Officer who served during my tenure, and the TAC’s Director of Grants, who attends the standing committee meetings of all the disciplines represented at the TAC.

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Throughout the thesis, I analyze the manner in which authors and policy makers use the term “culture” to track and understand its semantic evolution in the Canadian context. My aim in doing so is to expose the overtones implied by the word “culture” when used within a paradigm of multiculturalism and to show how the word’s multiple meanings unsettle the content and goals upon which public arts funding was originally created. Current usage of the word “culture” can be nebulous and misleading, alternating between either early twentieth century definitions of culture as high art or anthropological understandings of culture as the totality of a society or individual’s way of life. I have therefore used the terms “art”, “performing arts”, and “artistic culture” to represent the type of expressive culture that fall under the aegis of the arts councils.

To be fair, not all regional and municipal arts councils in Canada originally dedicated their energies and funding solely towards Western “classical” art forms. The Saskatchewan Arts Board, which—after becoming Canada’s first public arts funder in 1948 (and the first public arts funder established outside of Europe)—included funding
for not only “good music” but also “folk songs”. Nevertheless, while some arts councils (including the Canada Council) funded folk festivals before 1990, few, if any, councils were magnanimous towards funding individual folk musicians as artists of equal worth to Western classical musicians.

The distinction between “folk” and “classical” is an important thread in the arts and diversity discourse because folk practices in early Canadian history were associated with minority ethnocultures: minorities referring to all Canadians of non-English descent, albeit restricted to Europeans but including Scottish, Irish, Welsh and French Canadians. As the term “ethnic”-Canadians evolved in the latter part of the twentieth century to refer to Canadian citizens of non-European (or non-white) descent and as celebrating multiculturalism gained momentum, Canadians often expected ethnic Canadians to represent and display their ethnocultural heritage through ethnically authentic arts practices. While this tendency may be partially rooted in colonialist tendencies (not restricted to Canada), we can also track vestiges of a desire for authentic display to a series of ethnocultural festivals mounted in the late 1920s by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). The CPR publicist who organized the events went to great lengths to present authentic ethnocultural minorities’ folk practices and display them as “multicultural” Canadia, a practice that may have contributed to late twentieth-century assumptions that members of minority groups would embrace and practice the folk arts unique to their group.

In contrast to folk arts, Western classical art forms were perceived to be ethnoculturally neutral. Yet, those concerned with the progress of Canadian society during the first half of the twentieth-century considered the development of Western classical forms crucial to the wellbeing of Canadian citizenry and the work of artists critical to defining a Canadian identity. If Western classical forms were not identifiably “ethnic”, they nevertheless represented an artistic manifestation of an ideal culture: an ideal culture that (outside of Québec, which maintained artistic and cultural allegiances with France) was British. As I

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will show, the democratizing impulse behind global identity politics and antiracist activism—animated in part by British decolonization—has unhinged Western classical arts’ neutrality in the multicultural context.

The CPR festivals are also examples of completely privately funded, for-profit ventures aimed at entertaining audiences. Thus, they stand in contrast and competing ideology to the desire of an elite group of Canadians who sought public funding for artistic initiatives that should enlighten (rather than entertain) and that should aid in fostering a Canadian identity. These dichotomous views of market-driven art-as-a-commercial product versus publicly funded art-as-a-public good persist into the twenty-first century. Today we have both public arts council funding and subsidies for commercial music production.

Some of the concern regarding the development of a distinct Canadian cultural identity was due to Canada’s geographical proximity to the United States. Canada’s governors-general supported a variety of artistic endeavours, but American philanthropists also invested heavily in Canada through the early part of the twentieth century, both establishing and shaping the framework for Canadian artistic (and social) culture. The artistic and cultural goals set for Canada by its mentoring countries have contributed to Canadian artists’ needs to assess their progress and accomplishments in comparison to foreign ideals and benchmarks. This has been paralleled by a proclivity—noted by Canadian artists—for the Canadian public to support homegrown artists only after they have been recognized elsewhere. Could the Canadians who initially championed public support for the arts—in the belief that artists would help craft and define a unique national identity—have wanted Canadian artists to need foreign approval as an outcome? Because foreign influence has figured so prominently in shaping Canadian cultural and artistic history, I have deliberately chosen to use Canadian texts as my primary source materials in this thesis.⁹

When the Canadian parliament passed the Canadian Multiculturalism Act on July 21, 1988, I contend that it presented unique possibilities for Canadian artists to explore

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⁹ Similarly, I have used spellings consistent with those used in Canadian government documents.
aspects of Canadian culture defined by a set of sociopolitical circumstances that were not shared by its mentor countries. While some aspects of “difference” have been more difficult to appreciate and celebrate than others (religious differences, for example), music has been one of the easiest ethnocultural differences to accept and one of the least contentious to celebrate. As a result, concert and festival programmers, radio and television broadcasters, governments and ethnocultural groups have used music as a representation of ethnocultural difference and the performance of ethnocultural music as a symbol of Canadian multiculturalism. I believe that these practices have resulted in ethnocultural performance often becoming stereotype in the subconscious mind of the audience and becoming representation in the mind of the ethnic performer accustomed to performing his or her difference. While “difference”—and the performance of music that symbolizes that difference—forced arts councils to look beyond their traditional aesthetic windows, maintaining stereotypes of difference can pre-script or stifle the type of music an ethnoculturally identifiable musician chooses (or is influenced) to learn, perform or create. If we believe in liberal-democratic principles, we must be cognizant of the limits that stereotypes can place on artists and how they contradict liberal-democratic ideals.

**Structure**

In Chapter 1, I examine Canada’s artistic history through to the end of the Second World War, drawing upon historical narratives dedicated to Canadian artistic culture. I look at the nature of British and American investment in Canadian culture and social welfare, and examine the philosophy of philanthropic giving. I also highlight early examples of ethnocultural representation and multiculturalism.

I begin Chapter 2 by studying local and international organizations dedicated to nurturing art and culture in Canada. I examine the Massey Report and define the economics of public goods. I also define the arm’s-length principle and look at the relationship between the Canada Council and the Canadian government. With an eye to already-evolving definitions of culture, I analyze the constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as well as Pierre E. Trudeau’s pre-political writings about culture and the role of public funding. I then turn to critical
commentaries that focus on the state of Canadian artistic culture in the 1970s, the period following the Trudeau government’s announcement of multicultural policy.

The one characteristic that has distinguished Canada from all other liberal democratic nations is the official nature of multiculturalism in Canada. I turn, in Chapter 3 to examining the political origins and philosophical underpinnings of Canadian multiculturalism. As a precursor to considering how ethnocultural representation and stereotype influence expectations of ethnocultural authenticity in music and artistic creation, I attempt to deconstruct the philosophical conundrum of multiculturalism whereby respecting difference (often exhibited by group particularities) should ideally lead to the liberal democratic goal of developing an individualized and authentic self. Ascribed assumptions, though, which equate the easily identified ethnocultural individuals with stereotypes related to their ethnocultural group can overwhelm the individual’s freedom to fashion an individual self.

I introduce the second part of my thesis with a brief overview of racism and how it manifests itself in the Canadian context. I turn to my fieldwork in Chapter 4, describing the field and my relationship to arts councils. I show how equity initiatives of the late 1980s and 1990s forced Canadian arts councils to become democratically accessible by altering their Eurocentric prejudices, social priorities and definitions of professionalism. Based upon my interviews with arts council officers and TAC standing committee members about issues of equity, ethnocultural stereotyping and funding, I analyze a number problematic issues that affect the fairness of the assessment process in Chapter 5.

The music officers—silent observers to peer assessment debates—offered their reflections on the nature of assessment debates, and gave me insight into the structural problems that make it difficult for new organizations to receive consistent funding and for Western-centric “legacy” organizations to lose their funding. This perpetuates Western classical music’s dominance over the amount of funding they receive from arts councils, particularly through organizational grants. Meanwhile, former (unpaid) committee members from the TAC’s Standing Committee for Music—less restricted by bureaucratic
protocol than the officers—discussed how they mediated between sociopolitical, artistic and financial concerns in the assessment process.

In my final chapter, I consider the issue of authenticity in music. Using a combination of interview comments and my own observations from two multicultural motivated performance projects in which I was involved, I analyze the connections between identity, genre, stereotype and ethnocultural representation. Furthermore, I attempt to show how—despite the best efforts of arts council officers to encourage diversity in art form and ethnoculture—the philosophical contradictions of individual versus collective authenticity that are inherent in multiculturalism manifest similar contradictions in the way Canadians view and experience diversity in Canadian music-making.

Except for introductory quotations that open each chapter, I have italicized sentences that represent my voice. In the first part of my thesis, italicized sections (“Flash Forwards”) represent contemporary situations that refer to the history about which I am writing, or they are reflections that inform my position on a certain aspect of my study (such as racism). In the second part of the thesis, the italicized questions (or comments) serve to distinguish my voice from those of my informants.

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Arguably, I have given scant attention to public funding dedicated to aboriginal Canadian arts practices beyond specific issues raised by arts council officers. The relationship between the First Nations and the Canadian government is complicated and requires time—time to establish more than superficial trust—and research scope not available to me. Moreover, both the Canada Council and the OAC have specific offices and programs dedicated to aboriginal arts and artists. I have never had privy to the inner workings of these offices, nor, at this point in Canadian history, do I feel I have any right to such access.
Part I
Chapter 1

Music in Canada before the Massey Commission

*To understand where we are going, we have also to understand where we have been.*\(^{10}\) ~ Joyce Zemans (director of the Canada Council 1988-1992)

In 1949, following Canada’s successful involvement in the Second World War, which increased respect for the country internationally, the political climate favoured the establishment of a Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences—more commonly known as the Massey Commission—which recommended the creation of a national arts council. The recommendation ultimately resulted in the creation of the Canada Council for the Arts eight years later. Historically, though, Canada’s government, businesses, citizenry, artists and arts advocates have held fractious and contradictory attitudes regarding the place of the arts in Canadian society and whether the government should be at all responsible for their sustenance. These fractures continue to play a role in contemporary Canada.

Introduction

*We know from the earliest exploration accounts that culture was one of the first things the Europeans off-loaded in North America. Before the gunpowder, the iron tools, the alcohol, the syphilis – before any other imports, the Europeans brought their culture.*\(^{11}\)

Historians Maria Tippett in *Making Culture: English Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission* (1990) and Jonathan Vance in *A History of Canadian Culture* (2009) offer a window into the world of Canadian music-making before the founding of the Canada Council in 1957. Three other works concentrate upon specific

\(^{10}\) Joyce Zemans, *Where is Here? Canadian Culture in a Globalized World* (North York: Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, York University, 1997), 1. Zemans served as director of the Canada Council for the Arts from 1988 to 1992, overseeing preliminary shifts at the council towards racial, gender and cultural equity.

moments in Canadian cultural history important to this study: Paul Litt’s *The Muses, The Masses and The Massey Commission* (1992); S.M. Crean’s *Who’s Afraid of Canadian Culture* (1976); and John Murray Gibbon’s *Canadian Mosaic: The Birth of a Northern Nation* (1938). Most importantly, these texts suggest historical sources to ideologies and values currently reflected in both the practices of twenty-first century Canadian musicians and current debates over funding contemporary musical practices. These values have mutated between subtle and overt, official and unofficial. Some of the values became part of the original mandate of the Canada Council, while some values have become important more recently.

**Art versus Culture**

The word “culture” has undergone significant mutation in meaning and common usage in the twentieth century. Until the (late) 1960s, “culture” referred almost exclusively to the expressive arts in Canadian bureaucratic parlance: music, dance, theatre, literature, visual arts and film. Culture began to take on extra-artistic connotations in tandem with growing human rights awareness, and the rise of global political and social movements. Then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau increasingly spoke about culture in all-encompassing, anthropological terms, such that culture included the minutiae of details that cumulatively make up a society’s distinctive way of being, including their artistic practices and artifacts.\(^\text{12}\)

One might assume that defining a country as multicultural warrants a clear definition (or definitions) of culture, but this has not been the case, and twenty-first century policy makers in Canada take advantage of the word’s ambiguity. They sometimes refer to: expressive art forms; sports and tourism (as part of a rubric of “events” – including arts events – one might choose to attend); or the myriad of traditions and patterns – habits, practices, laws, morals, education, religion and language – that represent a distinctive and identifiable way of life.

\(^{12}\) I discuss Trudeau and Canadian multiculturalism in-depth in Chapter 3.
Given culture’s multiplicity of meanings and its current lack of clarity, I will return, throughout this thesis, to the evolving conceptions of culture in the Canadian vocabulary: particularly as it affects common parlance and (mis)understanding; and as it complicates bureaucratic processes. During the present chapter, I will discuss how Canada’s early nationalists believed a country’s arts and artists could help define the country’s cultural character.

The authors upon whose works I rely in this chapter have all used the word “culture” according to notions commonly held in the first half of the twentieth century, whereby culture referred to the expressive arts. To be fair to the authors, this definition of culture accords with the historical timeframes about which they are writing, and presumably an assumed appreciation of that meaning by their readership.

Thus, Vance’s *A History of Canadian Culture* also uses culture to refer to expressive practices that an arts council would consider “art”. Rather than unburdening himself of the need to go beyond merely defining the parameters by which he uses “culture,” Vance tackles the word’s complexity in his introductory chapter:

‘Culture’ is a tricky concept. It can encompass almost everything that characterizes a society – the customs, modes of behaviour, beliefs, values, and social practices and structures – but it can also be used in a much narrower sense…A discussion of music can feed into the study of religious practices; literature naturally raises questions about education; and folk art relates to aspects of ethnicity."13

I believe that Vance’s decision to define culture relates to the publication of his book falling in the twenty-first century, when Canadians use “culture” ubiquitously in speech but no longer assume that it refers exclusively to the expressive arts. Thus, tracking Canadian writers and politicians’ use of “culture”—and whether they choose to clarify their use of it—is critical to understanding the contemporary state of arts funding in Canada: it will aid our recognition of how and why priorities have changed at arts councils over the past two decades. Moreover, it will demonstrate how politicians have used malleable definitions of culture—along with an unrefined definition of art—to manipulate both the arts councils and the public.

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Vance acknowledges a further division in the word culture: that “between high (elite) and low (or popular) culture.”14 The ruling social class of Canadians who pushed forward their agenda for establishing a federal, publicly funded arts council was interested primarily in high culture. Both Vance and Tippett note that this group of Canadians believed in the social benefits of appreciating high culture; that it provided “moral and spiritual improvement”,15 “helped prevent disorderly behaviour…(and) served as an elevating alternative to unsuitable forms of popular culture.”16 Yet, Vance notes that for those whom the elite considered to be in need of improvement, culture was contained in simpler cultural artifacts such as “a dialect song learned from a grandparent.”17 Ironically, in twenty-first century Canada, a dialect song now has significant cultural value, and arguably, more social capital than an art song composed by a long-dead European.

Is there a more practical reason for the prominence and value of dialect songs in Canadian culture? Vance hypothesizes that the portability of music and storytelling probably rendered them the first forms of art-as-leisure activity in Canada.18 Moreover, a prominent British music agent (now working in Canada) has suggested that the very mobility of the singer-songwriter in a country as geographically vast and relatively unpopulated as Canada contributed to making them the most viable form of professional musician in Canada.19 Arguably, the singer-songwriter has become one of Canada’s predominant, and lucrative, musical exports.

14 Ibid., viii.
15 Ibid.
16 Maria Tippett, Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 52.
17 Vance, A History of Canadian Culture, viii.
18 Ibid., 24.
19 Anonymous (Toronto, March 2010). In March 2010, Richard Florida and his associates began hosting a series of informal soirées intended to introduce an array of the city of Toronto’s cultural workers to each other. Each soirée features a prominent local artist or thinker who addresses the gathering on a topic of their choice followed by a question and answer session. The organizers make clear to the audience—many of whom are graduate students—that while they are welcome to quote anything discussed during a soirée they cannot attribute a comment to a particular person. This is one such comment.
As a last nod to an anthropological definition of culture, Vance briefly writes about Canada’s aboriginal peoples before narrowing his field to using culture “as a synonym for the arts”. Yet, in talking about the pre-colonial works of Canada’s aboriginal peoples, he focuses on expressive practices that fit into the frame of artistic culture defined by the French and British settlers.

**Modes of Encountering Music**

Along with the arts or culture conundrum, another set of contradictory values characterized music-making in early Canada: whether it was better to participate in music-making as a part of daily life (or as an escape from it), or to engage in it intellectually as a means of self-improvement. Vance suggests that Canadians of different classes and spiritual beliefs had very different perspectives on the way they chose to engage with music. The upper classes considered listening to Western classical music morally and intellectual uplifting, thus reinforcing their argument for the funding of music (and other high art forms). The labour classes, meanwhile, maintained participatory folk traditions; or they preferred to attend “entertaining” shows that combined aural and visual stimuli, many of which they encountered through touring American shows.

Both Tippett and Vance describe a seemingly deep division between “high” and “low”. “In Canada’s growing cities, there was an increasing divergence of opinion as to the proper role of culture,” writes Vance. Is it not possible that this divergence has a pre-Canadian history? Early Canadian (pre-Dominion) labour classes were either French or British, and outside of Lower (French-speaking) Canada, mostly the latter. Thus, it is very possible that indigenous conflicts between upper and lower, elite and populist, highbrow and lowbrow, ruling class and labour class were unquestioningly imported in the mental steam trunks by British immigrants to Canada.

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20 Ibid., vii.
22 Ibid., 64.
Music in New France

Like both Tippett and Crean, I have chosen to restrict my study to English-speaking Canada (with a particular focus on Ontario). Vance, though, highlights a few important moments in French-speaking Canadian culture that are worth noting. He begins his book with a narrative about music: telling us that upon Jacques Cartier’s arrival at present day Canada, the explorer used music to both celebrate and announce himself to the foreign land. Cartier “ordered that a mass be sung” off the shores of Labrador in June 1534, and then announced his arrival at Hochelaga (present day Montréal) in October 1535 by “command(ing) that trumpets and other musical instruments be sounded.”

The primary intention of Cartier’s voyages—and the subsequent colonization of New France—was missionary work, and from the beginning, music played a significant role in the conversion of the aboriginal peoples. Music—and art generally—have been important elements of Catholicism brought by the French to the New World. This may have contributed to the Québécois regard for art as a fundamental aspect of their culture and thus integral to maintaining the “distinct status” of Francophone culture in Canada. In contrast, many of the Puritan Anglophone religious traditions of early North America, viewed art as decadent and feared religious art in particular. These contradictory moral dispositions continue to influence contemporary debates over governmental funding for the arts, but their religious origins are rarely acknowledged.

Along with music used for religious purposes, the French also brought their folk music traditions. Vance notes that over time, like the mixing of the peoples themselves, the aboriginal peoples’ mixing of French folk music with indigenous music resulted in hybrid—Métis—forms.

23 Ibid., 25.
24 Ibid., 30.
Music in English-speaking Canada (1867-1957)

In *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission*, Tippett examines Canadian artistic activity before the creation of the Canada Council in 1957, demonstrating how the early decades of the country’s history shaped and informed the original priorities of the Canada Council. Unlike Vance, Tippett does not examine “culture” but assumes her readers will understand it as “art”. Moreover, she singles out three motives that “animated cultural activities” in early Canada: “maintaining status, upholding tradition, (and) fostering change.”

Tippett describes three types of musical organizations prevalent in early Canada: choirs, exclusive clubs and ethnoculturally specific groups. Choirs, she says, have always been important in formal Canadian history and tended to be attached to churches and service clubs. Perhaps most importantly, before the days of radio choirs “broke down class barriers, provided a social activity and gave many towns their only form of cultural entertainment.” Many employers encouraged and supported company choirs (as well as bands, dramatic societies and musical theatre ensembles) because they felt that participation in such groups served to both “enhance the (company’s) public image” and “cultivate a sense of camaraderie” amongst its employees.

On the other hand, Tippett describes “exclusive private cultural organizations”, which served to entertain English-Canada’s business, professional and upper classes. These organizations had membership quotas and were not to open to the public. Some of the clubs were exclusive to women and some to only men. They excluded the working classes, Francophone Canadians and members of other ethno-cultural groups. Furthermore, members believed that while pursuing such endeavours served to uphold British cultural norms, one should engage in art on an amateur (leisure time) basis.

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26 Ibid., 5.
27 Ibid., 112-113.
28 Ibid., 5.
29 Ibid., 7.
Thus, while they may have believed in enriching their own lives through artistic pursuits, members of exclusive groups were not interested in the enrichment of all members of Canadian society nor were they interested in cultivating a professional cadre of artists.

Ethnospecific groups, often referred to as “New Canadians” in pre-multicultural literature, focused on in-group entertainment and cultural preservation. Language, religion and national origin separated the New Canadians from the English, as well as from each other. For these reasons, they did not embrace mass culture—radio, movies and American touring shows—that the English-speaking working classes did. “Rarely mingling with or accepted into English-Canadian cultural groups, [New Canadian cultural organizations] existed largely for the entertainment of particular groups and for the preservation of each group’s language, folk-ways, history, and literature.”

**The British Influence**

The British nurtured culture in Canada primarily through the work of their governors general to Canada, each viceregal couple often having and cultivating their own particular area of interest, be it theatre, music, dance, visual arts or the written word. The type of culture they invariably favoured was that which “recreat[ed] the cultural environment they had left behind them [by] setting standards of taste and excellence for the budding dramatists, writers, composers, and performers in their midst.” Moreover, the Canadian viceroys awarded prizes, hung paintings, sponsored exhibition and donated scholarships to both artists and academics.

As Tippett notes, the governors general believed there was a “clear the relationship ... between culture and national consolidation” and thus believed it their duty to cultivate artistic activity in Canada. Secondarily, they feared that foreign elements might undermine the supremacy of British culture in Canada. Earl Grey, governor general from 1904 to 1911, suggested at the end of his tenure that, “A chief danger in front of Canada is the possibility that conflicting interests between the east and the west may give birth to

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30 Ibid., 29.
31 Ibid., 63.
32 Ibid., 67.
… disintegration.”33 While this phrase might seem to refer to the country’s geography, the social reference is racist. In early twentieth century Canada, the “east” was populated primarily by descendants of either the British or the French, but the “west” was increasingly being settled by those whom a later governor general, Lord Bessborough, referred to in 1926 as “alien elements”.34 Tippett emphasizes the racist nature of British concerns about Canada quoting a 1933 speech given by Bessborough to the Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour. “The central culture of civilization [comprises] that great tradition which is the heritage of the English and French peoples … [whereas] other cultures in the world … are not ours … and do not mix well with ours.”35 Thus, the British monarchy’s representatives to Canada felt it imperative to cultivate a British aesthetic to maintain Canada’s political integrity and position in the British Empire. “Canada’s viceregal couples were highly selective. Anything with an ethnic component would be likely to find itself ignored. … Almost any organization which patterned itself after a British model could expect viceregal support.”36

John Murray Gibbon

[John Murray Gibbon] was perhaps the most important Canadian exponent of the commercial uses of the Folk … His key contribution lay in his attempt to reconcile the proliferation of various groups of immigrants within the country with the drive to develop a nationalist mythology.37

The Canadian people today presents itself as a decorated surface, bright with inlays of separate coloured pieces, not painted in colours blended with brush on palette. The original background in which the inlays are set is still visible, but these inlays cover more space than that background, and so the ensemble may truly be called a mosaic.38

33 As quoted in Tippett, Making Culture, 65.
34 Ibid. Earl Grey was Canada’s ninth Governor-General, serving from 1904-1911. The Earl of Bessborough served from 1931-1935 as the fourteenth Governor-General.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid., 68.
The work of John Murray Gibbon, an early 20th century writer, historian and cultural promoter stands in distinct contrast to the elitist, Empire-oriented beliefs of the Canadian upper class and the governors general to Canada. In Gibbon’s beliefs and his influence on Canadian culture, we find an alternate, but equally important perspective on Canadians of non-British and non-French descent and in his conviction about Canada’s essentially “multicultural” nature. Many of Gibbon’s values—in particular, his respect for the arts of New Canadians and his opposition to public funding for the arts—conflicted with those held by early Canadian arts groups and by the authors of the Massey-Lévesque Report (1951). Thus, I believe Gibbon’s promotion of the arts of Canada’s “ethnics” was an important precursor to the manner in which we view and value ethnocultural art today.

Perhaps little known to the average Canadian, let alone to most Canadian musicians and dancers who participate in contemporary folk festivals, John Murray Gibbon was a Ceylon-born Scottish writer and historian, who articulated a vision of Canada as a “cultural mosaic” in the late 1920s. His view was contentious for its time. Vance has suggested that Gibbon’s success as a best-selling novelist, eventually led to “a campaign to foster Canadian culture in a broader sense.”39 Between 1926 and 1931, Gibbon created a series of sixteen folk festivals for the Canadian Pacific Railway hotels. He also developed a radio series about music brought to Canada by different European groups for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Eventually, he articulated his beliefs in the book Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation (1938).40

Initially hired by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) to work as a publicist in the company’s London office, Gibbon’s accomplishments there brought him to Canada where he became head of CPR promotion in 1913. Gibbon possessed a worldview inspired by his interest in the national romanticist writings of Johann Gottfried von Herder. Herder believed language served an important function in “differentiating and

40 Gibbon is careful to give credit for the “mosaic” metaphor to two previously published authors. Victoria Haywood first used it to describe Canada in her book Romantic Canada as “a mosaic of vast dimensions and great breadth (Toronto: Macmillan & Company, 1922); and Kate A. Foster, who published a survey of New Canadians for the Y.W.C.A. in 1926 called “Our Canadian Mosaic.”
maintaining national division[s]” and that folk traditions—invaluable to the nation—must be “collected, preserved, and exercised.” Gibbon himself wrote, “the racial spirit seems to be held together best among the common people by a common mother tongue, by folk songs and dances, folklore and folk arts. … The folk-arts provide identification of races through their native costumes, which in turn serve as invitation to the dance, and the folkdance is so often tied up with folksong.”

This belief system influenced the lens through which Gibbon saw Canadian society and culture at the turn of the 20th century. It influenced how he imagined Canadian society and its potential, particularly concerning ethnocultural respect and understanding. Gibbon was able to combine his professional position with his philosophical leanings by creating a series of events that demonstrated how it was possible for the “average Canadian” to respect citizens of non-British ancestries through cultural means.

The first important cultural event Gibbon organized took place in 1926. After a fire destroyed a room meant to emulate a traditional habitant space (the “chambre canadienne”) in Québec City’s Chateau Frontenac hotel in 1925, Gibbon redecorated the new replacement room in a traditional Québécois manner. Upon the hotel wing’s reopening, he decided that the “appropriate entertainment” should be local folk music, and so he “hired renowned French-Canadian folksinger Charles Marchand to perform a series of traditional Québécois songs.” The singer originally declined the invitation because he felt the guests would “sneer” at the “peasant stuff.” Gibbon, though, believed that the difficulty in appreciating the musical offering lay not in class difference, but in the language barrier. He thus took it upon himself to translate the songs into

42 Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, 3-6.
43 In a 1928 folk festival review quoted by Henderson, the Manitoba Free Press describes the audience (“us”) as “the average Canadian” (in Henderson, “‘While there is Still Time …’”, p. 157)
44 Henderson, “‘While there is Still Time …’”, 147.
45 Gary Kines, “Chief Man of Many Sides: John Murray Gibbon and his Contributions to the Development of Tourism and the Arts in Canada” (Master’s Thesis, Carleton University, 1988), 106 (as quoted in Henderson, “‘While there is Still Time …’”, 147).
“‘plain, colloquial English’ publish[ing the lyrics] in a pamphlet to be distributed throughout the audience.”

The event received rave reviews from the Toronto Mail and Empire. Stuart Henderson, who has analyzed Gibbon’s festival programs and the newspaper ads and reviews that accompanied them, believes that “the power of the spectacle” in this event marked “a watershed moment in Gibbon’s articulation of Folk representation.”

The success of this initial project led to Gibbon organizing a four-day festival of New Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival in 1928, centred upon the song and handicrafts of rural Québec, to mark the start of the spring tourist season. Likening the CPR publicist’s endeavours to “a present-day dating service” between the French and the English, Henderson writes, “Gibbon seemed intent on building the bridge between two otherwise alien cultures through an internationalist vision of the power of the Folk.”

This pairing of cultures was only the beginning for Gibbon. Between 1928 and 1931, he organized 16 more folk festivals for the CPR, expanding his cultural network to include not only those he called “Old Canadians”—the French and the English—but also “New Canadians.”

Henderson suggests that the dominant attitude about “New Canadians” was that they were “culturally inferior” and that, “given the chance, they would pollute the dominant culture and … upset its economic and political hegemony.”

Meanwhile, Henderson notes that an advertisement from the Manitoba Free Press highlights Gibbon’s belief in the power of folk music. It states that “four hundred performers from 15 Racial Groups” would show “Anglo-Saxon Canadians that the newcomers of

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46 Henderson, “‘While there is Still Time …’”, 147.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid., 148.
49 Gibbon expands on distinctions between Old and New Canadians in The New Canadian Loyalists (Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1941), a MacMillan War Pamphlet. New Canadians are the foreign-born European immigrants who have become naturalized Canadians. The bulk of the thirty-nine page pamphlet lists census figures of New Canadians, their countries of origin and the number who became naturalized Canadians.
50 Tippett, Making Culture, 116.
Continental European extraction have a fine gift of music and artistry for the making of the Canadian nation.”

Henderson suggests that “ultimately, Gibbon’s work on the CPR Folk festivals can be understood through the lens of internationalism—the view that the Folk is simultaneously an expression of essential local identity and of a universal truth.” Accounts of the festivals, however—including Henderson’s own analysis—point to Gibbon exercising a fair degree of license between philosophy and practice.

**The Others**

Henderson teases out the ideas of “the other” in an analysis of a festival pamphlet accompanying the CPR’s 1928 Winnipeg New Canadian Festival, leaving one to assume that the “others” are white Europeans. In the process, he also argues that all “others”—be they of European descent or the lesser ethno-racial groups left out of the equation—are workers (and now entertainers) on British soil. While the British might feel themselves lacking in their clothing, music, dance—the beauties of folk—the British remain the masters. Thus, one could argue that the British sacrificed their folkness in exchange for cultural superiority.

‘Our’ and ‘they’ operate in stark opposition. … ‘They’, of course, are always already someone else, and can never be ‘us.’ Further, the land is always already ‘ours’… There is no room in the dialectic for Native peoples … In this construction, there is only ‘us’, the hegemonic class of white, Anglo-Celtic Canadians, and ‘they’, the Other Europeans. ‘They’ are expected to perform simple, ancient activities, using ‘our’ resources.

For whom are they doing these things? For whom are they *performing*? The plain implication is that ‘they’ are to be seen as *useful*—they are making pretty things, and safely; for how could these rural peasants be anything but harmless?

…This idealized vision of social equality and harmony mirrors the basic framework of the festival in which all ‘racial groups’ are represented side by side; ‘they’ are all basically alike, a harmonious race of races for ‘us’ to observe, recognize, and enjoy.

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51 “Artistry of New-Canadians will be Demonstrated at Folksong and Handicraft Festival Next Week,” *Manitoba Free Press*: 16 June 1928, in Henderson, 151. Henderson also points out that the capitalization of “Racial Groups” signals “Otherness.” Ibid.

52 Henderson, “‘While there is Still Time,’” 145.

53 Henderson, “‘While there is Still Time …,’’” 154-155.
As Henderson notes, “there is no room … for Native peoples”; moreover, he suggests they have been “literally written off into oblivion”. There is also no mention in the literature of the indentured labourers from Asia—the Japanese, Chinese or Sikhs—or of the African-American slaves who escaped to Canada by way of the Underground Railroad. They appear not to figure as New Canadians, ethnic groups, races or even “the other”. In the preface to his book, Gibbon writes, “For various reasons, it was decided to confine this survey to the European racial groups in Canada (including those that have come by way of the United States)”, but he does not explain his reasons. Having grown up in Ceylon, Gibbon could not have been willfully ignorant to the existence of non-European others. Perhaps he did not share the attitude that British India (including Ceylon) was the jewel of the British crown, and thus a colony and civilization(s) worthy of cultural respect. Or perhaps Gibbon’s employers at the CPR could accept a festival dedicated to European “others” but could not accept one involving Asian or African others. If Gibbons recognized that Canadians wanted Canada to remain a white man’s country, perhaps he knew there was an ethnocultural boundary he could not cross, not even one from which he—and his employer—might profit.

In his analysis, Henderson uses the words “safely” and “harmless”: “they are making pretty things, and safely; for how could these rural peasants be anything but harmless?” “Safe” and “harmless” also apply to the modes by which the peasants represent themselves: music, dance and ethnic costume. In the twenty-first century, these three modes continue to be “safe” means by which ethnic groups represent and display their ethnic identity, particularly in the context of folk festivals meant for external consumption. Although Asians and Africans (late twentieth century’s “people of colour”) do not figure in Gibbon’s festival, writings on multiculturalism in Canada (discussed in Chapter 3 and the Introduction to Part II) imply that when people of colour eventually had the opportunity to display their ethnicity, the limits of the displays followed similar patterns to those established by Gibbon. They also made and performed “pretty things” while clad in exotic costumes. Thus, the CPR festivals are an important point of origin for

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54 Ibid., 154.
55 Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, xi. “This survey” refers specifically to the survey of Canadians he discusses in his book.
some of today’s problematic discrepancies between arts councils’ current priority for “diversity” and different performance expectations for genres of music whereby non-Western and non-art musics, including folk and ethnocultural musics are often expected to stand as representations for a group.

**Canadian Mosaic**

The contents of Gibbon’s book *Canadian Mosaic* provide another avenue from which to examine Gibbon’s beliefs. “My own book is an elaboration of the talks incidental to a series of ten musical radio programs which I organized and delivered early in 1938 over the transcontinental network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Ever since first I came to Canada thirty years ago, I have been intrigued by the variety of racial types.”

He goes on to explain that when asked to suggest an idea for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), “it seemed to me that a series of programs which would illustrate the contribution of music brought by the different European Continental groups to Canada could convey a message and an opportunity of mutual understanding.”

Gibbon organizes his chapters according to a list of “races”. He discusses various definitions of race, eventually claiming that, “the racial spirit seems to be held together best among the common people by a common mother tongue, by folk songs and dances, folklore and folk arts (such as spinning, weaving and embroidery)”.

Each chapter Gibbon’s book focuses on a particular race. For each group he includes: a history of their origins in Canada; a description of some customs; translations of songs or stories; the group’s geographical place of origin; and aspects of cultural behaviour that might be—or has already proved to be—useful for the building of Canada. To give an example of the latter, in the chapter entitled “Germany and Canada”, Gibbon writes, “the Germans in Canada have shown themselves hard-working, self-reliant and good citizens. In a Mennonite village, nearly every house has a flower and vegetable garden. As farmers, the

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56 Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic*, x.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid., 5.
Germans are careful and thrifty.”\textsuperscript{59} Additionally, each chapter is accompanied by a coloured sketch of a member of the particular group profiled in the chapter, the subject of the sketch wearing clothing traditional to the land of their, or their ancestor’s origin. Many chapters also include a drawing or photograph of a group’s traditional dwelling place or workplace. For example, the chapter entitled, “Scandinavia and Canada” includes a sketch of a “Viking’s Timbered House” opposite of which is a coloured sketch of a male “Norwegian-Canadian Type.”\textsuperscript{60} Further along in the same chapter is a drawing of a female “Icelandic-Canadian in Traditional Costume.”\textsuperscript{61}

The first six chapters of \textit{Canadian Mosaic} are devoted to the countries of origin of Canada’s most important immigrants: United States, France, England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. These chapters are followed by other European groups: Germany; The Netherlands and Belgium; Scandinavia; The Eastern Baltic; Poland; Ukraine; Czechoslovakia; The Balkans; Hungary; Russia; Italy, Spanish Peninsula; and The Hebrew. Interestingly, “The Hebrew and Canada” chapter makes particular note of the various countries from which Canada’s Hebrews were born. This group does not fit neatly into Gibbon’s “racial” category and is an exception to his earlier manner of delineating “race,” in which he says that race should not be determined by religious affiliation. Nevertheless, in this chapter, Gibbon describes at length the contribution of Hebrews to art music, naming prominent composers and stating that without the Hebrews, orchestras could not fill all of their positions:

Another field in which the Canadian of Hebrew extraction has won distinction is the field of music. … The four players in the present Hart House String Quartet are of Hebrew origin, and it would be difficult to assemble an adequate symphony orchestra in any city in Canada composed entirely of Aryans. This indeed is a situation of any civilized nation today and is reflected in the large number of Jewish composers.\textsuperscript{62}

Gibbon’s final chapter is entitled “Cement for the Canadian Mosaic.”\textsuperscript{63} In it, he describes various organizations that have helped newcomers settle: Imperial Order Daughters of the

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 190
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 212-213.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 249.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 408.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 413-425.
Empire, which welcomes newly naturalized Canadians; the United Church of Canada, which offers “social services, medical and nursing service, and educational facilities” to the “native Indian,” “the Orientals” and other newcomers from Europe; and the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts of Canada. Gibbon also adds,

The encouragement of Folk Festivals is a good thing, as these remind the younger generation of New Canadians that they have a heritage of music and handicraft which is worth preserving. Experience shows that if that younger generation is Canadianized too rapidly, there is a loss of understanding between parents and children which is not good for family life, the basis of society. 64

Ultimately, though, he suggests that public schools are the “finest and strongest cement for the Canadian Mosaic.” 65 Towards the end of his book, Gibbon includes a photograph, the caption of which reads, “Twenty-nine racial groups are represented in Ogden Public School, Toronto.” There are twenty-nine people in the picture, four appearing to be teachers, and not all of whom are wearing ethnic dress. I am certain that Gibbon knew he was writing history, and he knew that his perspective on Canada’s history, inhabitants and future was contentious.

64 Ibid., 424-425.
65 Ibid.
Plate 1. Photograph of children in ethnic dress included in J. M. Gibbon’s Canadian Mosaic, p. 400.

The CPR festivals in practice

Gibbon’s CPR festivals encouraged a kind of nation-building through the promotion of an early Canadian mosaic. Yet, Henderson raises four critical issues about the festivals that warrant our attention: Gibbon’s understanding of the concept of authenticity; the Old Canadians’ sense of folk inadequacy; the business and money-making aspect of the festivals; and the power of entertainment as spectacle.

According to Henderson, Gibbon desired that his audience witness “authentic” folk performances. Gibbon engineered folk experiences for his audiences, tailoring them to entertain the audience, while also promoting his own philosophies.

Historian Ian McKay has suggested that the idea of “folk” and folk traditions are externally constructed. Constructing an authentic folk (or folk experience) requires what
McKay calls “innocence,” an innocence based upon a combination of essentialism and antimodernism. 66 “The CPR folk festivals celebrate the innocence and primitive stability of Folk culture(s)—yet this innocence is always already corrupted … for it is performed by an inauthentic, externally constructed Folk.” 67

Second, and ironically, Henderson suggests that the hegemonic public for whom the folk “other” perform—and for whom the folk have been constructed—is left with a sense of want: of their own folk heritage, particularly the costumes. “This festival … leaves ordinary Canadians dejected. Why didn’t their ancestors achieve costumes that would appeal to their descendants …?” writes one reviewer. 68 Yet, however dejected or wanting ordinary Canadians might have felt, they were no doubt aware of their superior non-ethnic status. Canadians of British ancestry had evolved beyond the folk. On the other hand, the sense of lacking did not necessarily apply to the musical aspect of the festival. Henderson hypothesizes that the “visual spectacle of difference” is the most “effective” aspect of the festival: “without the costume, the music would … have less impact.” 69

Marianna Torgovnick, writing about the function of the primitive in postmodern Western culture, describes an observational lens similar to that of the CPR folk festivals’ audiences. Her description of the “Western idealization of the primitive” 70 holds equally true for the CPR folk festivals’ atomistic projections of the “other” Canadians, and the Canadian public’s consumption of such folk. Torgovnick also discusses Henderson’s third critical issue as a manifestation of the west’s encounter with the primitive: the literal financial consumption of the “other.” Noting that consumption is a hallmark behaviour in

66 Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk, 31.
67 Henderson, “While there is Still Time . . .,” 150.
68 Fresh Surprises Found in Programme Offered at Third Folk-Song Concert.” (Manitoba: Manitoba Free Press: 23 June 1928), as quoted in Henderson.
the contemporary exhibition of the primitive, Torgovnick describes the desire to possess and own the primitive a “consumer carnival.”71

Gibbon’s main goal, as an employee of the CPR, was to create a financially successful venture for the railway, and entertaining the public was necessary to the festivals’ financial success. Additionally, the displayed handicrafts were for sale to the public and were in competition for prizes awarded by members of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild.

Not only were the handicrafts designed to vie for the title of “best”, but they were also specifically intended to be sold. This apparent quantification of the quality and value of Folk handicraft is at odds with the fundamental category of innocence, for how can we speak of an authentic, uncorrupted primitive handicraft that has been produced not for its utility, but rather for demonstration, competition, and commodification? The meaning of the handicraft … is irretrievably lost through the twin processes of competition and capitalism as it moves from the realm of the accidental to the deliberate.72

Perhaps the most disturbing irony of authenticity, pointed out by Henderson, is the manipulations Gibbon made to the performing folk groups in his desire to impress and entertain festival audiences. Burdened with the onus of ensuring ticket sales and the financial success of the festival, “Gibbon largely foreswore Folk authenticity and hired trained performers to lend an air of quality and professionalism. … He was conflicted about this, and … [was concerned that the professionals] not overpower the amateur acts. … [Yet] reviews of the performances tended to focus on these often famous singers rather than on the local amateurs”.73 In another instance, Gibbon admits to sending away for “proper costumes for his Black Forest dancers”.74 How are we to understand “proper”? Did the New Canadians possess costumes that were either not authentic enough or not showy enough for their audiences? Who desired the authenticity?

71 Ibid., 141. Although Gibbon uses “race” rather than “primitive” to distinguish between ethnic groups, the behaviour of a ringmaster putting another person on display is consistent with Torgovnick’s description of primitive.  
72 Henderson, “While there is Still Time …”, 156.  
73 Ibid., 142.  
74 Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, 192.
In *Canadian Mosaic*, though, Gibbon recounts a conversation he had with a representative of the Black Forest Dancers. Frau Doctor Schneider—the wife of the German colony leader in Little England, Manitoba—in responding to Gibbon’s request that the group perform the song, “Muss i’ denn, Muss i’ denn” at his festival said, “we could sing that—if only we could get the costumes”.\(^{75}\) Did the public nature of the spectacle generate added concern for authentic representation?

Had Gibbon trapped himself between promoting a philosophy of racial harmony built upon a well-intentioned but hegemonic framework of understanding, as well as constructing a public face for private traditions? Perhaps he had; and this is Henderson’s view. Decades later, Gibbon’s mosaic metaphor continues to be used to describe the socio-cultural make up of Canada. “Without Gibbon, the now all-pervasive metaphor of Canada as a mosaic might have died an obscure death. … It was Gibbon who rescued it as the governing metaphor of the new postcolonial liberal nationalism that gradually overshadowed many Canadians’ earlier identification with Britain.”\(^{76}\) Meanwhile, Beverley Diamond has chosen to focus on Gibbon’s musical legacy suggesting that “because he blatantly appropriated folk music for his own purposes”, Gibbon “has been underestimated as a forerunner to contemporary Canadian ethnomusicology”.\(^{77}\)

In twenty-first century Canada, “ethnicity” and “cultural group” have replaced the now problematic word “race”, while statisticians talk about “ethnocultural groups”. Today’s phrases, though, are not without their own sociopolitical encumbrances and weaknesses. If Gibbon were alive, he might notice that the New Canadians of his era have become Old, “ordinary” Canadians.\(^{78}\) What might he think? In the forward to one of his 1928 festivals he wrote, “the Old Canadian predicts that the Canada of tomorrow will solve

\(^{75}\) Ibid.

\(^{76}\) McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 57.


\(^{78}\) Arguably, sixty years after the CPR folk festivals, “non-ethnic” in Canada has become equated with “white.” “Otherness”, meanwhile (and as I discuss in the Introduction to Part II) has shifted from non-British Europeans to people of colour, people whose primary difference cannot be hung up in a closet at the end of a performance.
some racial problems which are the universal despair of today. And she will do it in great part by quietly saving and blending …”.79 Yet, not everyone has blended and festivals celebrating new and ethnic Canadians abound. Will Canada’s new ethnics—many of whom were not (or could not be) part of Gibbon’s festivals—eventually blend in and become “old Canadians”?

**Flash forward: Canadian multicultural and folk festivals 2010**

*Included in a section called “Value Awards,”* I noticed in a July 2010 special issue of Westjet Airline’s “Up!” magazine, incentives for travelers to visit Winnipeg’s Folklorama Festival:

... 44 stops that make Winnipeg’s Folklorama the world’s largest multicultural festival of its kind. ... Have Chicken Dracula at the Roumanian Pavilion, and enjoy the traditional dance show. Discover that Serbia is one of the world’s largest exporters of raspberries, and tuck into a stew of barbecued pork, cabbage rolls and stuffed peppers. Sample fried plantains at the African pavilion, and get your blood pumping with the African spirit dance.80

Four pages earlier in the magazine is a two-page promotional advertisement from Edmonton Tourism describing Alberta’s capital city of Edmonton as “festival city”. It lists five summer festivals held in the city, the first of the five being The Servuus Heritage Festival:

a premier three-day showcase of Canada’s vibrant multicultural heritage. Featuring 63 pavilions representing over 85 cultures from all over the world, you can sample culinary delicacies, take in creative performances. ... or chat with people eager to share their cultural roots and their present-day communities in Canada.81

The second Edmonton festival listed is the Edmonton Folk Music Festival, “the leading folk music festival in North America”; and the third festival is “the spectacular Carifest (Aug 6- 8)” which “brings the spirit of a Caribbean carnival to Edmonton.”82

82 Ibid.
Gibbon’s ideas of both summer festivals to celebrate the music, dance, costumes, folklore and craft of Canada’s ethnic communities, and of a colourful mosaic multiculturalism as fundamental to Canada have become a Canadian tradition. The City of Toronto, which has been my home for 16 years, prides itself on summers given over to a string of ethnic festivals. Each weekend, residents and tourists can sample the food, music, dance and handicrafts of a different ethnic group every weekend at the Harbourfront area, Queen’s Park and various “ethnic” neighbourhoods across the city.

While Canada’s multitude of ethnocultural groups blends and mixes on the streets and increasingly in business, we allow ourselves to continue being represented in ethnocultural enclaves on stage. Canadians watch and marvel at the spectacle of our differences. Which comes first today: the desire to represent one’s ethnocultural difference on stage, or the need to exhibit our multiculturalism with tangible jewel-like pieces of authentic representation?

American Influence

The Loyalists

Since before confederation in 1867, Canadians could not help but be aware of, and influenced by, the culture emanating from its neighbours to its south. While attempts to annex Canada as a geographic territory proved unsuccessful, American culture (both in the anthropological and in the artistic and entertainment understandings of cultural product) has constantly permeated through the physical border between the countries.83 The American influence on Canadian artistic culture came in many forms. The first of these influences came by way of the Loyalists who fled the American Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, and who maintained affinities with British culture. According to Vance, the Loyalists were eager to rebuild what they had been forced to

83 The Americans tried twice to annex parts of Canada, while it was under British control. The first attempt was in 1775, when they attempted to invade Quebec (which France had ceded to Britain in 1763). The second took place between 1812-1814 when, as part their declaration of war against Britain, numerous skirmishes between the Americans and British took place on British-Canadian soil.
leave behind—“a well-developed culture— theatre, art, a lively book and magazine trade, music”—having “come to a place that had nothing.” Moreover, the Loyalists were also eager to create a way of life that would not only replace what they had sacrificed, but would rival it. In doing so, suggests Vance, the Loyalists might reassure themselves that their decision to leave the Thirteen Colonies for the sake of maintaining a culturally British lifestyle had been the right one. Thus, the transplanted Loyalists set about creating amateur theatre clubs, reading societies and lending libraries in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Vance also implies that the Loyalists’ religious beliefs influenced their encouragement of expressive culture. “Culture was a means to affirm the values that the Loyalists held dear. They saw the world as a hierarchy ordained by God. … In New England, the order had been challenged … but in the Loyalist colonies it would be preserved, thanks to the stewardship of the Anglican Church, which gave the society its moral compass.”

Echoing Tippett, Vance writes that for the Loyalists, “a vibrant cultural life (could) provide moral and spiritual uplift.”

**Entertainment**

In contrast to the type of culture encouraged by the Loyalists, travelling shows—most originating from the United States—provided entertainment for Canada’s working classes, classes who had “neither the level of literacy nor the financial wherewithal for serious culture to be accessible to them.” The focus of these shows were action and spectacle: circuses; solo acts performing in taverns; and sometimes professional theatre troupes—who also performed Shakespeare for the elite—presented alternate spectacle-heavy plays for the working classes. Canada’s elite classes had little respect for these forms of culture; moreover, they considered the performers’ morality suspect. Yet, as Vance has noted, the more popular forms of entertainment were financially lucrative:

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85 Ibid.
87 Ibid., 64.
88 Ibid., 65.
something that “even the promoters of serious theatre had to understand if they were to fill their seats.”89

In the twenty-first century, many kinds of expressive culture in Canada now receive public funding, but the financial viability of artistic culture has become a growing concern for the institutions that administer funding. Providing democratic accessibility to artistic culture has replaced morality as a motivation for funding. Yet, the philosophical antagonism between those who support culture as entertainment cum spectacle, and those who support culture as a means of contemplative stimulation is similar to that of early British Canada. Culture as entertainment enjoys a symbiotic relationship with economics. Thus, fiscal elites who are preoccupied with maintaining the financial health of Canadian communities—increasingly, the prime indicator of good governance—believe that only cultural forms that can prove their economic viability and profitability should be encouraged and supported. Cultural elites, though, see the relationship between economics and art as parasitic; for them, the dignity of artistic worth lies in supra-monetary values.

**Philanthropic influence**

The Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation, like their British counterparts, sought the betterment of Canadian society, and like the British governors general, acted as cultural patrons. Both organizations believed in the principles of philanthropy and did not restrict their largesse within American borders. The Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation invested in cultural institutions both domestically and internationally, and both invested heavily in Canada’s cultural development in the first half of the twentieth century.

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89 Ibid., 76.
The Carnegie Corporation

Self-made steel magnate, Andrew Carnegie believed firmly in both the laws of capitalism and in philanthropy. He felt that the “antidote” to financial disparities between the rich and poor lay in sharing surplus wealth with the masses in a manner that would benefit the greatest number of people and allow them the tools with which to elevate themselves.\(^90\)

Furthermore, he felt that the wealthy should donate during their lifetime (as opposed to at their deaths) and should do so using their superior “ability to administer”.\(^91\) Carnegie based his philanthropic concerns upon examples of other successful American businessmen, focusing his donations towards: “free libraries, parks, and means of recreation, by which men are helped in body and mind; works of art, certain to give pleasure and improve the public taste; and public institutions … which will improve the general condition of the people”.\(^92\)

Although he donated before formalizing the philanthropic extension of his empire, Andrew Carnegie created the Carnegie Corporation in 1911. John D. Rockefeller created his foundation four years later. Neither organization limited their giving to their home country, although, according to Tippett, both declared a particular affinity and cultural concern for their neighbour to the North.\(^93\) The Carnegie Corporation’s primary concern—as motivated by Carnegie’s priorities listed above—was adult education. To this end, the corporation donated libraries and promoted arts appreciation, first as course materials, then later by creating galleries and establishing university arts departments. An extraordinary number of post-secondary Canadian institutions’ arts and music departments were either created by—or received substantial funding from—the Carnegie Corporation. They include: Acadia University chair (1928); University of Saskatchewan, music chair (1930); McMaster University, fine arts (1932); University of Alberta, the Banff School of Fine Arts (1932); Regina College, music department (1933); Queen’s University, music and art departments (1933); University of British Columbia, cultural


\(^91\) Ibid., 662.

\(^92\) Ibid., 663.

\(^93\) Tippett, *Making Culture*, 144.
extension (1934); University of Western Ontario, music program (1935); University of Toronto, Fine Arts chair (1935). Yet, while the Carnegie Corporation’s funding to Canada was generous, Tippett has suggested it lacked “a structured, coherent approach.”

**The Rockefeller Foundation**

The Rockefeller Foundation, meanwhile, originally concerned itself with endowing scientific and medical endeavours, and funding university medical departments across Canada. They turned towards cultural philanthropy only after the end of the Second World War at which time they concentrated on arts practices that did not receive Carnegie Corporation funding: drama, writing and film. Both organizations, though, left Canada without any kind of infrastructure by which those who had received arts training could practice their vocations. Many artists had no choice but to go beyond Canada’s borders to find work.

Moreover, along with post-secondary institutions receiving American funding to establish arts and music departments, Americans invariably occupied the endowed chairs that accompanied the newly created departments, thus contributing to an “Americanization of institutions.” Tippett uses the example of the Banff School of Fine Arts—originally established as a branch of the University of Alberta’s Fine Arts department—which, due to its teachers being primarily American, attracted a significant American student population, thus rendering it “more of an international Centre than a Canadian” one.

In recent decades, the internationalism associated with the Banff School has become the institution’s strength. No longer associated with the University of Alberta, and now known as The Banff Centre, the institution is a beacon in Canada towards which artists from around the world flock:

"In The Banff Centre’s powerful mountain setting in the heart of Banff National Park, exceptional artists and leaders from around the world create and perform new works"

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95 Ibid., 146.
96 Ibid., 153.
of art; share skills and knowledge in an interdisciplinary environment; and explore ideas and develop solutions in the arts and leadership.\textsuperscript{98}

Banff is a rarity in Canadian cultural institutions in maintaining an international profile. Other Canadian arts institutions embody a collective ambiguity towards Canadian artistic culture coupled with a perception that Canada has no culture, or that if we do, its value internationally is negligible. Part of this may stem—along with a contemporary lack of clarity around the definition of “culture” in the Canadian context—from the investment made by colonials and non-Canadians to establish their visions of a “Canadian” culture, visions that were often in competition.

Moreover, because Canadian artists were often forced by lack of opportunity to work (or exhibit their work) abroad, it was—and remains—true that English Canadian artists could only hope to receive respect and acceptance at home after they had received it first abroad.\textsuperscript{99} Vance suggests that after receiving artistic training Canadian artists found themselves in an unfavourable environment: the government held “an uncongenial attitude towards the arts…, (a) Victorian stuffiness that kept the arts conservative and unprogressive … (and) a stifling society that resisted innovation and placed little value on artistic creativity.”\textsuperscript{100} Calixa Lavallée, composer of the national anthem \textit{Oh Canada}, was a famous early émigré. Unable to secure payment for works commissioned of him for official purposes, Lavallée ultimately moved to the United States where he had a successful career. The artists who did survive in Canada were the ones who—according to Vance—were willing to create art deemed “useful.”\textsuperscript{101}

During both the First and Second World Wars, Canadian artists were able to practice their art and perform useful roles in Canadian society. Fundraisers called upon artists to donate their art and their talents for fundraising activities designed to support the Canadian

\textsuperscript{98} The Banff Centre, “About Us,” The Banff Centre \url{http://www.banffcentre.ca/about/} (accessed 20 July, 2010)
\textsuperscript{99} Tippett, \textit{Making Culture}, 140.
\textsuperscript{100} Vance, \textit{A History of Canadian Culture}, 212.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 310.
troops overseas. Yet, a donation, by its nature, negates the financial compensation that makes something a professional activity.

Meanwhile, composers wrote hundreds of patriotic songs, and group activities, such as drama, dance and music-making boosted morale for those who were not overseas. Canada’s visual artists became perhaps the most recognized and financially rewarded of Canadian artists during the two wars. They received commissions from the government for numerous war memorials featuring sculptures and paintings, and according to Vance, the art of the Canadian War Memorials Fund was considered “the finest collection of war art in the world.”¹⁰² The irony of Canada’s fighting in the two wars, though, lies in the fact that while the wars’ ultimate goal was ensuring cultural freedom, many Canadians were wary of “culture” and few, if any, could define Canadian culture.

Radio

Every nation has its cultural symbols and themes. … For us, conquering the trackless wilderness (or, more prosaically, solving problems of communication) has been a dominant theme—our struggle to bring together a people scattered over a huge and difficult land. Our first heroes were the voyageurs. … At the moment of Confederation it was the transcontinental railway ‘from sea to sea’. … In the 1920s, broadcasting inherited the role.¹⁰³

The invention of radio brought issues of cultural ownership to the forefront of those concerned with Canadian culture. Travelling performers came and went, American-funded universities were, at least, on Canadian soil and intended for Canadian students. There was nothing, though, preventing American radio waves from entering and dominating Canadian territorial space.

Public radio came to Canada through the railway in 1924. The medium’s initial role was that of entertaining passengers on the five-day journey from Montréal to British

¹⁰² Ibid., 237.
Columbia on the publicly owned Canadian National Railway (CNR). The CNR opened its first radio station in Ottawa later the same year, and over the next few years created Canada’s first national radio network. This network eventually became the framework for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Over the years, Canadian musicians, actors, playwrights and composers have benefited from work undertaken for the CBC, the sole Canadian broadcaster committed to creating and sustaining original Canadian programming.

The CNR network, though, was not the first radio network in Canada. Private radio had existed in the country for a decade before the CNR began broadcasting. Like the CNR, some of the private stations also broadcast Canadian musical performances including: The Imperial Oil Company, which formed and broadcast their own symphony orchestra on a Montréal-Toronto-London network; and the Montréal Orchestra, who were broadcast on the privately owned Canadian Pacific Railway network. Many of the private stations, though, either bought American programming (as the CNR also did) or became affiliates of American radio networks. Additionally, American stations had stronger signals, and Canada’s settled regions were within American broadcast range. Thus, if anything was foreign to most Canadian ears by the late 1920s, it was Canadian programming. Even into the early 1930s, only sixty percent of the country’s population had access to broadcasts carried on Canadian signals.

The federal government, through the Ministry of Fisheries, was responsible for issuing broadcasting licenses; its programming was mostly commercial and its content unrestricted. Growing complications eventually forced the federal government to grapple with broadcasting in Canada. When Toronto religious groups began broadcasting slanderous remarks about other denominations, many felt that program regulation was necessary. The consequent debates—resulting in the first public commission on broadcasting—opened the door to a long history of controversy between public versus private ownership over Canadian goods (including culture), and parallel concerns regarding regulation versus deregulation. Yet, cultural critic S.M. Crean has noted that the establishment of a federal Motion Picture Bureau in 1917 set Canada
on a course that would eventually give the federal government wide-ranging powers in the cultural affairs of the nation. Canadians decided long ago that culture was not going to be an exclusively private undertaking, or an exclusively public (one) … but a partnership between the two … (and the) basis of our unique style of cultural organization.104

The first commission on broadcasting, the Aird Commission, reported in 1929 that “Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting.”105 They recommended a public broadcaster similar to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and furthermore, recommended an end to private broadcasting. Private broadcasters, many of which were owned by large Canadian companies and backed by private newspapers, fought the commission, going so far as to bring powerful American broadcast personnel to lobby parliament on their behalf. Crean notes that on the public side of the argument, the Canadian Radio League (CRL) mobilized an “astonishing” cross-section of Canadians who supported the idea of public radio. They included: “churches, educational leaders, women’s and farmers’ groups, both national labour organizations, a majority of the newspapers, … politicians of all persuasions, a host of prominent citizens, and even some sections of the business community.”106 Perhaps Canada’s impending 1931 release from British colonial status buffeted a developing sense of nationhood in Canada.107 The Canadian public stood against the private owners in desiring a Canadian, not American nor Americanized, national public broadcaster. Graham Spry, one of the CRL’s primary organizers, addressed the Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting in 1932. In his speech, “The State or the United States?” Spry alludes to fraternal, yet colonizing manoeuvres made by American broadcasters:

Why are the American interests so interested in the Canadian situation? The reason is clear. In the first place, the American chains have regarded Canada as part of their field and consider Canada as in a state of radio tutelage, without talent, resources or capacity to establish a third chain on this continent… The question before this committee is whether Canada is to establish a chain that is owned and operated and controlled by Canadians, or whether it is to be owned and operated by commercial

104 Ibid., 274.
105 As quoted in Crean, Who’s Afraid of Canadian Culture, 30.
106 Ibid., 33.
107 The Statute of Westminster, passed on December 11, 1931, granted full legislative autonomy to Britain’s Dominions—Canada, the colony of Newfoundland, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State.
organizations associated or controlled by American interests. The question is, the State or the United States.\textsuperscript{108}

In 1936, the government created a public broadcasting system, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (the CBC) which initially also functioned as a national regulator for private stations. Private broadcasters, though, continued to push for a separate regulatory body even though multiple commissions determined that the CBC should play the role of both broadcaster and regulator. The private lobby claimed that in performing both roles, the CBC had an unfair advantage, and in 1961, the former group finally got what they wanted. The Conservative government of the day created a separate regulatory body for broadcasting at the same time as the arrival of television created a greater audience for broadcast media. Parliamentary critics, broadcast commissioners and the CRL’s Spry predicted that the new regulatory body would become a regulator for the private stations as opposed to a regulator for all broadcasters including the CBC. The result, they warned, would be a regulatory board increasingly swayed by the financial interests of broadcast content over concern for indigenous national content.

Crean has suggested that by this time, internationalist approaches to business had supplanted earlier nationalist sentiment. “In the forties and fifties, Canadian nationalism fell out of favour and went underground, and private enterprise (U.S.-style) became the all-important ideology.”\textsuperscript{109} Broadcast media was merely “an advertising vehicle of industry.”\textsuperscript{110} Yet, Crean counters the American position that broadcasting (in particular) ought to cater only to the laws of supply and demand.

Canada never entirely subscribed to this philosophy because it was obvious to us from the outset that free enterprise alone could not provide certain essentials (such as trans-Canada railway and Canadian broadcasting). Where broadcasting is concerned, Canadians have always been skeptical about the built-in inequalities in commercial ventures. … Free enterprise must be accompanied by an equal opportunity for free expression and this, rather than the free market, has been the motive force in Canadian philosophy.\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{109} Crean, \textit{Who’s Afraid of Canadian Culture}, 39.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 35.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 43.
Elaborating on the problem of “mass programming,” Crean points to the detrimental effects of “U.S. corporate capitalism” on broadcast programming.\(^\text{112}\)

Mass programming, like mass production, works on the basis of a hypothetical average—the typical taste rather than a cross section of specific tastes. The commercial imperative disregards diversity and celebrates the middle-of-the-road, standardizing forms and simplifying content. Programs designed to entertain as many people as possible have to be simple, conventional, and non-topical, rather than demanding, experimental, or provocative. The decisive factor is not what will please people the most, but what will irritate them the least. Mass appeal usually means everyone’s second choice. … Far from being freer, the commercial imperative is a strait jacket—meaning that mediocre programs will drive out the good and original ones, and that, because of the economics of production, U.S. programs will drive out Canadian.\(^\text{113}\)

While Crean’s argument reflects both general concerns over broadcast media in the first half of the twentieth century and her own opinion, the ideas she enunciates are no less critical to twenty-first century Canadian artists and cultural workers. Canadian public radio and television has played a critical role in providing avenues and possibilities of livelihood through which Canadian artists could practice their crafts.

**The Royal Commission**

The combination of solicited and unsolicited American culture that made its way across the border, coupled with residues of the British colonial desire to create a Canada in the British image, ultimately influenced the country’s cultural patriots (and patrons) to develop an indigenous Canadian cultural defence; intended particularly to counter the fiscally colonizing brand(s) of American culture.

Furthermore, as the British Empire could no longer afford to develop its colonies following the Second World War, Canada had to take cultural matters into its own hands. Thus, in April 1949, following the instatement into power of a Liberal leader who was

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\(^{112}\) Ibid., 257. \\
\(^{113}\) Ibid., 114-115.
sympathetic to cultural concerns, the government passed a federal motion to create a royal commission to examine the state of Canadian culture, thus initiating the Massey-Lévèque Commission.

A number of factors contributed to the government’s creating a commission to study Canadian culture, education and national identity shortly following the end of the Second World War. The first was the important role Canadian troops played as a member of the allied forces during the war, and the parallel international recognition and respect Canada received as a sovereign territory and an important international nation. Thus, the cultural cognoscenti within parliament, those concerned with Canada’s international image, and the culture lobby felt the time was right for Canada to define its own culture. Moreover, without access to American philanthropical funding for Canadian education, the country’s post-secondary institutions were struggling financially and their administrators believed the federal government should be partly responsible for education. For the most part, those who supported culture also believed in the importance of education. They believed that both cultural and educational pursuits opened the mind and led to intellectual freedom.

The proposal to initiate a commission on the state of Canadian nationalism, education and culture came from Brooke Claxton, the Minister of Defence. Claxton made multiple attempts to insert cultural issues into the government’s agenda only to have them repeatedly rebuked or written out of his larger proposals. He finally succeeded in 1949 having “prudently restricted the proposal to a review of public broadcasting, government cultural institutions, and federal academic scholarships” and omitting any reference to arts subsidies.114 From the beginning of his attempt to create a Royal Commission on culture, Claxton had believed Vincent Massey the most appropriate Canadian to chair the commission.

114 Paul Litt, The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 16.
Vincent Massey and the Massey Commission

An heir to the Massey family fortune, Charles Vincent Massey (Vincent Massey) was an amateur actor and painter, arts patron and connoisseur, fervent Canadian patriot and a diplomat. The Massey family had long been patrons of the arts in Canada, building Massey Music Hall, sustaining the Toronto Symphony and Mendelssohn Choir, and funding Hart House (named after Vincent’s grandfather, Hart Massey). According to Tippett, this magnanimity was largely due to their Methodist belief in Christian Stewardship, in the giving and sharing of one’s self and resources. Thus, Vincent Massey eventually turned the Massey Estate into the charitable Massey Foundation, and upon succeeding his own father as chairman of the foundation, he set out to fund orchestras across the country, as well as art galleries and theatres. He commissioned musicians, writers and painters. Massey helped to develop exactly the infrastructure that the American philanthropists had neglected to build.

Massey also served as Canada’s first ambassador to the United States (1927-1930) and later as Canadian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. While in England, Massey served as a trustee to the Tate Gallery and later as its only non-British chair. During both of his foreign postings, Massey consciously promoted Canadian artists by arranging “exhibitions of Canadian art and performances by Canadian musicians.” Following his diplomatic postings, Massey was appointed Chancellor of the University of Toronto. Thus, Massey was ideally suited to understand the importance of international image, the needs of Canada’s cultural (artistic) producers, and the world of post-secondary education in Canada.

With the passage of Minister Claxton’s bill in 1949, Prime Minister St. Laurent appointed Massey head of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, typically referred to as the Massey Commission. According to bicultural protocol, though, its formal designation was the Massey-Lévesque Commission, Lévesque referring to Georges Lévesque, a forty-six-year-old Dominican priest, who was

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115 Tippett, Making Culture, 119.
116 Ibid., 121.
founder and dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Laval University, and who joined Massey as one of the commissioners. Three other commissioners served along with Lévesque and Massey: Norman MacKenzie, a Nova Scotian serving at the time of the commission as president of the University of British Columbia; Arthur Surveyer, a civil engineer, a Francophone Québécois who had connections in the English business community; and Hilda Neatby, acting head of the Department of History at the University of Saskatchewan.

The criteria that brought this group of people together to assess the state of culture and education in Canada is similar to the criteria that goes into selection of peer assessors for the organizations the Massey-Lévesque commission recommended creating: the Canada Council for the Arts and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The committee members represented the country geographically from east to west. There was at least one representative from Québec (in this case, there were two) and there was one woman (who happened to be fluently bilingual). While the presence of a woman on a political commission in the 1940s was unusual, Paul Litt notes that women “dominated local cultural associations across the country” and ultimately, Neatby was particularly crucial to the commission in this respect as well as in organizing the culture lobby in the prairies.\(^\text{117}\)

The Royal Commission created, in effect, a national cultural lobby as artists had been, until then, outside of any official lobby. Perhaps this was due in part to the organizational role women traditionally held in Canadian cultural and artistic activities and their negligible voice in Canadian politics.\(^\text{118}\) The number of professional artists who were recent immigrants to Canada might have further marginalized the political voice of the arts. Thus, the commissioners went across the country speaking to people about

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\(^{117}\) Litt, *The Muses, the Masses and the Massey Commission*, 34.

\(^{118}\) In the year 1949, there were no female members of parliament. Between 1921—when the first woman was elected to parliament—and 1941, only five women had served as members of the Canadian House of Commons. In 2013, Canada is tied with Australia for 45\(^{th}\) place internationally in terms of gender representation (24.7\%) in federal politics (in elected seats, only). Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Women in National Parliaments.” http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm (accessed March 7, 2013).
educational and cultural affairs, speaking to members of voluntary and amateur organizations, to professional artists, and soliciting comments from other concerned citizens. Many referred to the Massey-Lévesque Commission derogatorily as “the Culture Commission.”¹¹⁹ Yet, for those involved in the arts and cultural community, Litt describes the commission and its subsequent report serving as “something of a creationist myth for Canadian cultural nationalists: … before Massey, barbarism; after Massey, civilization and arts subsidies for all”.¹²⁰

The use of the word “culture” again falls into tricky territory during the two years duration of the commission. Massey and his colleagues were concerned that the cultural life they were studying not be associated with the term “highbrow”, and the fact that many of the people and organizations the commission met with were of a voluntary, nonprofessional nature suggest a sincerity by the commissioners towards participatory and community-building forms of culture. Nevertheless, the Massey Commissioners—educated and therefore, one might assume, empathetic to history, context, social culture and creative artistry—viewed “high culture” as expressions of democracy and liberty, a “peculiar mix of liberalism and elitism” according to Litt.¹²¹

In examining how the commissioners perceived of culture, Litt makes a distinction between “social culture” and “creative culture”. Thus, he says, “the commission was interested in encouraging a creative culture that would reflect a unique Canadian social culture”.¹²² Traditional “folklore, customs, and pastimes…(existing) in close relation to a people’s social culture”¹²³ came under the category of “popular culture” and were anything but a negative force. The enemy was “mass culture” for mass (American) culture continually threatened attempts to cultivate a uniquely Canadian cultural identity.

¹¹⁹ Litt, The Muses, the Masses and the Massey Commission, 4.
¹²⁰ Ibid.
¹²¹ Ibid., 152.
¹²² Ibid., 84.
¹²³ Ibid., 85.
Conclusion
Vance has noted with irony that although Canadians and Canadian politicians held a dim view of the arts, they turned to Canada’s artists when it became necessary to help define Canada. “By associating high culture with national development, the culture lobby identified its (italics mine) vested interests with the contemporary aspirations of the Canadian nation.”

Litt, meanwhile, makes a number of critical observations about the problematic space occupied by high culture and its proponents. He argues that there is an internal tension between “high culture,” which is associated with elitism and high standards, and “cultural nationalism,” which “seeks popularity and particularity.” Further, in their opposition to mass culture, the culture lobby works against business and technology, thus pitting the kind of culture (ultimately) advocated by the Royal Commission against two of the major principles driving Western society.

Litt remarks that late twentieth century social critics looked upon the mid-century commissioners as “stuffy college dons trying to force a good dollop of ‘culchah’ down the throat of a gagging Johnny Canuck”. Most importantly, Litt points to the limits of high culture to intersect with other ethnocultural forms. Thus, he writes that mass culture “rehabilitated as popular culture would be celebrated for its ability to accept and legitimize a variety of regional and ethnic traditions in a tolerant and pluralistic fashion. High culture (on the other hand) would be portrayed as inflexible and authoritarian”. Yet, Litt also acknowledges that late twentieth century avant-garde art forms have challenged historical forms of culture that were considered elitist.

124 Vance, A History of Canadian Culture, 11.
125 Litt, The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission, 248.
126 Ibid., 250.
127 Ironically, Johnny Canuck was a short-lived comic book character (based upon an earlier political cartoon) created during a brief ban on American publications in Canada. Johnny Canuck, who originally had no superpowers other than being honest and upstanding, disappeared when the ban was lifted, having been supplanted by Superman and other less ordinary heroes.
128 Ibid., 253.
Perhaps we should not be surprised that both philosophically and geographically, Gibbon and Massey came from opposite ends of the planet. Gibbon was completely opposed to the idea of funding arts and culture, and he was also opposed the idea of public broadcasting. Gibbon believed firmly in the principles of profit, and if necessary, creating artifice to that end. Thus, at the end of the twentieth century, the two men’s differing approaches towards defining and acknowledging culture began to clash as multiculturalism and identity politics empowered a new group of Canadians.
Chapter 2

Canada’s Arts Councils: Creation and Defence

The arts are value saturated, and to the extent that it controls resources which create, transform and interpret society's values and norms the Arts Council is an intensely political organization...¹ ~ Robert Hutchison

There has not been a single Canadian artist of consequence in the last thirty years who has not benefitted significantly from Canadian government financial assistance in one manner or another—not a single one. Of course, on the other hand, this is also a measure of the degree of insinuation by the government into cultural affairs. ² ~ Ken Lum

The Canada Council, the Ontario Arts Council and the Toronto Arts Council exist at “arm’s-length” to their respective governments, and ideally, they should be immune to shifts in political policy. Nevertheless, because the arts councils are government-funded agencies, they must reflect government priorities. While my focus in this chapter is primarily on the relationship between the federal government and the Canada Council, each level of governmental arts councils—federal, provincial, municipal—has undergone significant and similar changes in priorities over the past forty years.

Political influence can infiltrate into council deliberations from a number of different sources. Elected members in government can attempt to represent what they see as the will of their constituents, whether articulated in policy or law; or governments can attempt to satisfy obligations to international bodies such as UNESCO. The councils must therefore negotiate a balance between the artistic priorities of their applicants and the social and fiscal priorities of their respective governments. Each of the councils I examine does this to differing degrees, dependent upon the length, flexibility or rigidity of the link between them and the masters of their purse strings. As a result, grant

applicants must increasingly create and promote their art in ways that reflect contemporary Canadian sociopolitical values.

**Flash Forward—Municipal Arts, the City of Toronto (September 2010)**

During the fall of 2010, the City of Toronto was in the midst of a municipal election campaign. In an opinion piece related to the election in the local arts and culture magazine, *Eye Weekly*, Edward Keenan described Toronto as “A City on the Rise.” He pointed out that while the dominant campaign theme was “Toronto-is-broken,” the city continued to grow, its housing market maintained value during the 2008 global recession, the city was “an innovation hub,” and “we have arts institutions that are stronger than at any point in our history …”

Meanwhile, the unexpected frontrunner in the mayoralty race, a “politically incorrect, bureaucrat-hating, car-loving, cost-cutting, foot-in-mouth-inserting” city councillor named Rob Ford, might well succeed—according to Keenan—in “slashing spending on arts and cultural programs” should he win the race. If Ford were to win and attempted to trim other aspects of the municipal budget, he would meet with supra-municipal obstacles (i.e. provincial, federal) that would prevent him from drastically altering the budget. Keenan’s comment, though, suggests that cutting funding to arts and cultural programs would not face similar obstacles.

Ford won the election, and while he succeeded in cutting funding to other city programs (including libraries and city maintenance), the municipal arts lobby presented a strong economic case that resulted in the city maintaining its arts funding levels.

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4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 I discuss the TAC in detail in Chapter 4. The TAC, though, exists as one element of the City of Toronto’s Community Partnership Investment Program (CPIP), which according to its website “supports [the city] Council’s social, cultural, housing, health, employment, recreation, economic and neighbourhood improvement goals by supporting a city-wide network of community agencies”. Thus, the city sees its arm’s-length relationship with the TAC as a relationship to a
To contextualize the importance of Toronto in the Canadian artistic landscape, a 2010 study on artists in Canada notes,

With 56,900 artists, Ontario has nearly twice as many artists as any other province. Almost 40% of all artists in Ontario reside in the City of Toronto (22,300, or 39%). The concentration of artists in Toronto (1.6% of the local labour force) is double the provincial and national averages (both 0.8%).

About one-sixth of all artists in Canada reside in Toronto (16%). There are 66% more artists in Toronto than in any other city in Canada.⁷

When politicians wave their budget knives in the direction of art and cultural spending, they justify it by claiming to save taxpayers’ money. Two generally held assumptions are central to this kind of fiscal decision-making. The first is the notion that funding art (and culture) is a waste of taxpayers’ money. Art—and “culture”, because the two terms have not been distinguished from each other by arts councils and policy makers, thus rendering them interchangeable—is frivolous, particularly when juxtaposed next to “essential services” such as healthcare, education and public safety. The second assumption is that taxpaying Canadian residents do not want to pay any more in taxes for public services than they are already paying. A typical fiscally conservative platform starts from the assumption that taxpayers would prefer to pay lower taxes retaining surplus income for their own personal consumption, and by extension spending money on cultural products of their choice.

Yet fifty-three years after the establishment of the Canada Council—Canada’s arm’s-length federal institution empowered to fund Canadian artists and arts organizations—one finds that attitudes towards the arts have not necessarily changed for a significant block

of the voting population. A comparison between Edward Keenan’s article and the following extract from Helmut Kallman’s Encyclopedia of Music in Canada entry on the 1951 Massey-Lévesque Commission (the Massey Commission) demonstrates this similarity:

To appreciate the historical importance of the Massey report it must be remembered that state support of the arts – long since taken for granted in most European countries and already flourishing modestly in the province of Quebec – was an unpopular idea in North America. Many people felt that any enterprise that did not pay for itself did not deserve to exist; others feared that state support would mean state control and maintained that patronage of the arts was the preserve of private munificence. Advocacy of the spending of public funds for artistic endeavours indeed was considered suicidal by elected politicians.  

In Defence of Arts Councils

The Massey Report

“If we, as a nation, are concerned with the problem of defence, what, we may ask ourselves, are we defending?” is a frequently quoted passage from the 1951 Massey Report. The paragraph continues with a defence of culture:

We are defending civilization, our share of it, our contribution to it. The things with which an inquiry deals are the elements which give a civilization its character and its meaning. It would be paradoxical to defend something which we are unwilling to strengthen and enrich, and which we even allow to decline.

In Canada’s post-Second World War pursuit to define itself as a nation, Ken Lum suggests that part of the Massey Commission’s task was “to construct an identity for a nation that comprised isolated regions of diverse histories and to which the threat of American influences was always present.” Over the course of their community

10 Ibid.
11 Lum, “Canadian Cultural Policy,” 2.
consultations, the Massey commissioners found that while there was a substantial amount of amateur artistic activity taking place across the country, professional groups existed only in urban centres. “What was lacking in Canada was not talent but the infrastructure to create a viable, cohesive artistic and literary community, such as existed in European countries.”

Thus, the 1951 Massey Report’s primary recommendation was:

That a body be created to be known as the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences to stimulate and to help voluntary organizations within these fields, to foster Canada's cultural relations abroad, to perform the functions of a national commission for UNESCO, and to devise and administer a system of scholarships as recommended in Chapter XXII.

As many have suggested, the recommendations contained in the Massey-Levesque Report are the closest Canada had come to a federal cultural policy, and considering Canada’s ethnic makeup at the time and its situation as a former British colony, the report’s recommendations were based upon European notions of art and culture.

As a preamble to its recommendations, the Massey Report listed six critical factors (abridged below), which laid the foundation for what is now a mediated, complex relationship between Canadian taxpayers and Canadian artists:

a) There does not exist in Canada any government-supported body to do for the arts and letters and for the humanities and social sciences what the National Research Council does for the natural sciences and the technical crafts; this matter, which we regard as of prime importance, has been discussed at length earlier in this Report.

b) Unlike most countries of the world we have in Canada no advisory or executive body to deal with the question of our cultural relations abroad. Earlier in this Report we have suggested that Canadian creative and interpretative artists would benefit both themselves and our country if it were made possible for them to travel for study and experience. … At present we have no organization such as the British Council or the French Section des Oeuvres Françaises à l’Etranger to arrange and to underwrite such ventures, ... These tours can be profitable, both

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financially and artistically; but they cannot be undertaken at all unless their expenses are guaranteed.

c) We do not possess in Canada a clearing-house or a centre of information on the arts, letters, humanities and social sciences. Inquiries from abroad often come to the Department of External Affairs which, unable to supply full and accurate information on all aspects of Canadian culture, refers the inquiries to one or another of the voluntary organizations. …Very few of our voluntary organizations are affluent enough to employ a full-time secretary; but, as they reasonably point out, they are constantly invited to assume, particularly in the interest of Canada's cultural relations abroad, the role of an information centre which many of them feel is a national responsibility.

d) There are in Canada many voluntary bodies whose work is of national importance but whose resources are inadequate for their growth or even for their survival. It seems to us demonstrable that the expenditure of public money, not large in amount but wisely directed, would ensure the continuance of these organizations, and that this would be in the public interest. There does not now exist in Canada any Board or Council to advise the Government on this matter. Moreover, as we notice in an earlier chapter, there are in Canada certain voluntary bodies which now receive small subventions from the Federal Government. We believe that a Board or Council competent to advise the government on its present and future subvention lists for voluntary organizations concerned with the arts and letters and with the humanities and social sciences would be a useful innovation and an administrative improvement.

e) Although Canada is a member of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, there is not yet established in Canada any form of National Commission for UNESCO; an undertaking to create such a Commission or an equivalent forms part of the UNESCO Constitution which Canada has accepted.

f) Although music and drama and ballet of professional excellence are available in a limited degree to a few of our larger urban centres, our smaller centres, apart from those contracting with concert bureaux, are largely dependent on the radio and on moving pictures, an inadequate substitute for the concert artist and the living drama. On the other hand, there are many Canadians gifted in music or the dramatic arts who, unable to venture on concert tours because of our great distances and costly travel, must be content with a precarious and unrewarding life in Canada, or go abroad where their talents are in demand.\(^\text{14}\)

The above factors contain key indications of international and domestic concerns, concerns that in the 1950s lent political credence towards establishing the Canada Council. Some of these factors continue to influence sustained state patronage. More importantly, they highlight the founding principles and priorities of the Canada Council.

By means of comparison with the initial set of recommendations, one can discern how the cultural funding priorities have changed over the years and how different levels of government have influenced their respective arts council’s priorities.

Factors (b), (c) and (e) of the Massey Report suggest international influences—possibly even pressure—upon Canada to officially engage in cultural representation. “Unlike most countries …” begins factor (b), plays upon the nation-state anxiety of a young country trying to define and legitimate itself as an equal amongst older, established nations possessing established cultural institutions. Ryan Edwardson describes Canada as akin to an American welfare state. “How could Canada’s international peers look upon it as a strong nation when it depended on American foundations for cultural funding? Canada was a beggar relying on the kindness of others.”15 Following the war, the onus lay upon Canada as a nation to support and define itself culturally, rather than letting others continue to do so. The type of arts practices referred to in the preamble—“music”, “drama”, “ballet”, “theatre”—reflect the then-dominant Anglo-European forms of culture that those with foreign cultural ideals had been nurtured, sustained and patronized. As might be expected these artistic forms, along with the visual arts, formed the backbone of cultural endeavours recognized as art and originally funded by the Canada Council.

Factor (a) suggests that the Massey commissioners recognized the importance Canadian society and its politicians have given to “the natural sciences and the technical crafts” and felt it important that other qualitative fields be equally valued as subjects of study.

On the surface, factor (d) appears to be a bureaucratically pragmatic recommendation. George Woodcock, though, in his 1985 book on the Canada Council, criticizes the council’s emphasis upon supporting organizations. He describes it as “a very European tendency to consider artistic institutions, rather than individual creative artists, more appropriate objects of public patronage.”16

15 Ryan Edwardson, Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 67.
Woodcock, a writer, juxtaposes spending on “theatres, orchestras, operas, ballet companies and art galleries” against spending awarded to writers and publishers. He attributes the disparity to “the greater public interest and support that institutions can generate, and their greater aggressiveness in lobbying.” The institutions mentioned by Woodcock all involve significant numbers of people, and thus require organizational infrastructure. Organizational structures (as I discuss in Part II) lend themselves to fiscal accountability, which is easily understood by bureaucrats. Of course, there is also the possibility that large organizations might take fewer creative risks because of the immensity of the financial investment in doing so. Yet, could the history of nurturing social cohesion (and a community-building spirit) through the group activities—an important consideration to early supporters of the arts in Canada—be an unacknowledged counterweight to Woodcock’s criticism?

The Massey Report’s factor (f) notes the difficulties endemic to Canada’s geographic expanse. The report’s authors felt it important that Canadians across the country should have access to the best in Canadian artistry; yet, the problem of traversing such a vast and sparsely populated country made such tours economically prohibitive for the artist. The country’s geography also contributed to what Vincent Massey called Canada’s “hemorrhage”: the steady migration of artists (and scholars) from Canada to countries with both denser populations and longer histories of artistic support. Yet, geography and economics alone were not responsible for this attrition. Massey, concerned about the situation, quotes J. Bartlett Brebner who suggested,

Pioneering young Canadians must have found that the inertia of their entrenched elders had drained Canadian life of colour, zest, adventure, and the stimulation which comes from free-ranging experimentation in ideas, in material enterprises, and in the arts. It must have been because they could not feel in Canada the sense of sharing in something more than the defence of things as they are.

17 Ibid.
19 J. Bartlett Brebner, quoted in Massey, On Being Canadian, 43.
Almost sixty years later, and more than fifty years following the establishment of the Canada Council, attrition continues to beleaguer artists and presenters across Canada.\(^{20}\)

**UNESCO**

Factor (e) refers specifically to UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), an organization founded towards the end of the Second World War.\(^{21}\) UNESCO established its Canadian Commission on June 14, 1957, which has operated under the aegis of the Canada Council since then. As a continuous member nation of UNESCO, Canada is obligated to uphold the organization’s conventions on cultural expression. The 1946 UNESCO constitution begins by suggesting that culture—in the macroscopic sense of the word—is an important mechanism in the quest for peace:

> That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;
> That ignorance of each other’s ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; …
> That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern …\(^{22}\)

Thus, the UNESCO constitution makes clear that it is the duty of all signatories to protect all cultures: a directive that—beyond the Canadian Charter of Rights and the Canadian

\[^{20}\text{The Toronto Symphony Orchestra’s (TSO) principal conductor, Peter Oundjian, when asked in an interview by CBC host Matt Galloway about what holds the orchestra back, unhesitatingly mentioned the orchestra’s lack of touring possibilities—both national and international (CBC, “Metro Morning,” Oct 4, 2010). When the TSO toured to the United States in January 2010, one of their guest soloists was Brandon, Manitoba-born violinist James Ehnes. Ehnes, like so many other classically-trained Canadian musicians who have achieved international recognition, now lives in the United States.}\]

\[^{21}\text{Brigit Knecht has noted that Vincent Massey, then Canada’s high commissioner to England, was sent as a delegate to the first UNESCO meeting in Paris in November, 1945. Brigit M. Knecht, “Performing Under Pressure” (PhD diss., University of Calgary: 2010), 140.}\]


\text{The 1946 UNESCO Constitution employs misogynistic language that would be unacceptable in the twenty-first century. As Milton Schwebel points out, the constitution “was written prior to the liberation movements that impacted language usage, including sexist practices.” “Promoting the Culture of Peace in Children,” Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology 7, no. 1 (March 2001), 1, note 1.}\]
Multiculturalism Act—requires the Canadian government to respect and promote the cultures and articles of culture of all Canadian citizens. This, no doubt, pushes the notion of “culture” beyond that examined by the Massey Commission; and beyond the ethnocultures promoted by Gibbon. Under the UNESCO constitution, the Canadian government must ensure protection of all Aboriginal cultures as well as the cultures of Canadians of non-European descent.

The narrator of a more recent online video entitled “UNESCO history”, explicitly states that at a 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions, the members voiced “their conviction that the diversity of cultural expression is heritage shared by all humanity and that it is a moral imperative to defend it.” Canada is a signatory to this 2005 convention, and the force of the quoted statement carries the weight of UNESCO’s influence on its member countries. Besides protecting and promoting cultural diversity, the wording of the 2005 Convention would dissuade even the most artistically unsupportive and fiscally preoccupied politician from completely disengaging in domestic arts support. Furthermore, as former Canada Council director Joyce Zemans has noted, UNESCO has also determined that as contemporary society ages, “cultural capital, lifelong learning, and the arts will be of critical importance to the creation of…a ‘fully active society’ in which the roles of leisure and volunteerism will shift dramatically.”

**Setting up the Canada Council**

The unexpected windfall of $100 million dollars in inheritance taxes from the estates of Izaak Walton Killam and Sir James Dunn (who died in 1955 and 1956 respectively) provided enough funding for the federal government to act upon the proposal set forth in the 1951 Massey Report: to establish a federal council for arts, letters, humanities and the social sciences. Additionally, Killam’s wife left a further $15 million to the Canada

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24 Joyce Zemans, *Where is Here?*, 11.
Council upon her own death in 1965. Canadian historian Jack Granatstein has suggested that the initial windfall allowed the government to create the Canada Council without facing public criticism for taking moneys away from other programs. The taxes from the estates could be used “creatively” rather than being “just piddle[d] away” as the Secretary of the Treasury Board, John Deutsch, feared might otherwise happen. In the end, the government gave half of the estate moneys to Canada’s universities for capital costs, while the remaining $50 million dollars created an endowment for the new Canada Council for the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences, established by royal decree of the Canada Council Act on March 28, 1957.

The government followed the example of two preexisting public arts agencies in establishing the Canada Council as an arm’s-length agency: the Arts Council of Great Britain founded in 1946; and (as previously mentioned) North America’s first public arts funding body, the Saskatchewan Arts Board, which was established in 1948. Saskatchewan’s ruling Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) party, led by then-premier Tommy Douglas, created the Saskatchewan Arts Board as “part of a larger program of building a public infrastructure to enable individual growth and self-realization.” Tommy Douglas, who was Saskatchewan premier from 1944 to 1960 before becoming leader of the federal New Democratic Party from 1962 to 1972, is best known in Canada for laying the foundations for universal public healthcare (Medicare). He instituted it first provincially in Saskatchewan in 1947 with a province-wide hospitalization program, and then federally in 1966. Trained as a Baptist minister,
Douglas “believed the best way to serve God was to create a better, more just society.”

Moreover, his belief extended to the arts, and “for things of the mind and the spirit …”

Advocates for a national arts council felt the agency should be a public one. This was due in no small part to their firm belief that artists defined a nation; the public should therefore value and support Canadian artists’ contribution to defining the nation to Canadians and to the world. Arts council advocates also believed firmly in government noninterference, and thus, Massey was clear that Canada should follow the British example of setting up the Canada Council as an arm’s-length agency. “We need public money for the encouragement of our cultural life, but we want it without official control or political interference. That is why a Ministry of Fine Arts or a federal Department of National Culture would be regrettable. ... The arts can thrive only in the air of freedom. Official approval ... would sterilize taste and create a false orthodoxy.” Furthermore, as Simon Brault has noted, the British (and, by extension, English Canadians) held a “healthy suspicion for political involvement in assistance to culture.” This was due in significant part to the temporal proximity of the founding of the Arts Council of Great Britain to the Second World War. Having witnessed “what had happened in Nazi Germany, where art was used as propaganda … (the British were) intent to separate the arts from politics.”

The architects of the Canada Council also took advice from American philanthropic organizations, particularly those that had invested financially in the development of arts and culture in Canada earlier in the century. Having been dependent upon the Americans for so long, Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford foundation members attended the first meeting of the council. They advised the new organization’s members on details of the

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28 The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan Online, s.v. “Tommy Douglas”  
29 The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan Online, s.v. “Saskatchewan Arts Board”  
30 Massey, On Being Canadian, 42.  
32 Ibid.
granting process, including the understanding that only a few successful applicants would create art that lived up to the council’s expectations, but that the assessors should not view such an outcome negatively.

A few years before the Massey commissioners began their consultations, a group of Canadian artists—along with representatives of concerned American philanthropic organizations that had invested in Canadian artistic culture—had met and organized themselves in 1941 as the Federation of Canadian Artists (FCA). While participating in a series of conferences and meetings organized by the FCA, the Americans had begun urging Canadians to take responsibility for their own cultural and post-secondary educational affairs. The FCA joined forces with fifteen other Canadian arts organizations to form an advocacy group called the Canadian Arts Council (CAC). The CAC formally changed their name to the Canadian Conference of the Arts (CCA) in 1958 to “avoid confusion” with the newly formed Canada Council. Until October, 2012 (when the organization realized it could not recover from major funding cuts) the CCA continued to act as a lobby group for Canadian artists, holding annual conferences and representing Canada in numerous international cultural organizations.33

The Arm’s-Length Principle

Robert Hutchison, a former research and information officer for the Arts Council of England (ACE—previously known as the Arts Council of Great Britain) describes the arm’s-length principle as one whereby those in Government (including Ministers for the Arts) deny themselves responsibility for the detailed distribution of grants to the arts. But in politics, form and substance are in a complex relationship. The Arts Council has a measure of independence from Government, but it operates within some tightly drawn parameters.34

34 Hutchison, The Politics of the Arts Council, 16.
Cultural critic Raymond Williams, who also served as an ACE officer, suggests, “the arm’s-length principle is no more than a convention or series of conventions and, since it is customary for a body to direct its arm, arguably, all that is gained by an arm’s-length is a certain notion of removal of directly traceable control.”

Practically speaking, the arm’s-length principle in Canada functions such that arts councils’ internal decisions are not subject to parliamentary consent or review even though the institution receives funding from the government. Most importantly, peer assessors jury the applications of their fellow artists and subsequently submit their funding recommendations to the arts council officers. From the standpoint of the arts council bureaucracy, the goal of the arm’s-length principle is to retain objectivity in the assessment process, thereby removing any concerns of political interference in determining the value of cultural works. Thus, Clive Robertson argues that the use of peer juries is necessary if “the Canada Council (is) to remain an arts council and not a ministry of culture in disguise.”

Historically, the arts section of the Canada Council received $1.5 million per year—its share of interest from the original $50 million endowment—between 1957 and 1965, the first seven years of its existence. The remainder of the endowment interest went to the humanities and social sciences section of the council. By reporting annually to Parliament, the Canada Council functioned as a public body. Like private organizations, though, the Canada Council (like most other arts councils) was able to accept donations, and it made its granting decisions internally. Jack Granatstein described this as unusual in the realm of public funding, calling the dual public and private nature of the Canada Council a “distinctively Canadian hybrid.”

By 1965, the dedicated endowment interest moneys could not sustain the needs of Canada’s artistic community. The council had to turn to the government for supplemental

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35 Raymond Williams, “The Arts Council,” Political Quarterly, Spring 1979, p. 159
37 Granatstein, “Culture and Scholarship,” 92.
financial allocations in the wake of an explosion of artistic activity in Canada. In Woodcock’s opinion, this changed the Canada Council’s premise of artistic merit-based objectivity towards a “growing vulnerability to the cultural policies of the government of the day.”

Before examining the shift in cultural thinking that occurred in the latter half of the 1960s, it is useful to understand the economic philosophy that underscores government support for cultural affairs. Investing in arts and culture does not always yield immediate, quantifiable economic results, unlike other public investments such as education and health. As a result, many artists and cultural advocates who are unaware of the economic premise behind public funding for arts and culture voice the kind of fears Toronto’s arts community did in the wake of the city’s 2010 civic election.

The Economics of Investment in the Arts

From an economic point of view, investment in arts and culture is highly speculative. At the first Canada Council meeting in 1957, Granatstein tells us that Dean Rusk of the Rockefeller Foundation advised the Canadians that they should not expect to see positive results of their actions for at least a decade. Further, Rusk advised that for every successful application, seven to ten applications would be unsuccessful. Finally, of the successful applicants, Rusk noted that the council should expect one-fifth to have good results, two-fifths to have indifferent results and two-fifths to return poor results. “To hard-line economists and bottom-line specialists, such a success rate probably is too low.” Such qualitative gambles likely do little to reassure early 21st century politicians and their electorates concerned with cost-efficiency and pragmatic spending of the public purse.

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38 Woodcock, Strange Bedfellows, 60.
40 Ibid.
During the Question and Answer Period of the APM, an audience member asked Chairman Joseph L. Rotman why the Canada Council board was satisfied with the council’s appropriation from the government remaining untouched from the previous year. If the council had indeed fared better than most other government institutions in the recent audit, why did the board not ask for an increase in its appropriation? Why, the particularly erudite questioner asked (to resounding applause from the capacity audience), was the board not truly standing up for artists? Chairman Rotman responded in part by intimating that the questioner did not understand the politics of bureaucracy and the economics of fiscal management during a recession. In such a context, prudence and restraint are required, he suggested. As so many politicians and bureaucrats before him have done, Rotman used Canada’s military as a counterexample to the artist. When a government is financially unable to compensate Canada’s wounded veterans returning from military engagement in Afghanistan, Rotman said, artists could not demand more from the government.

Fifty-three years earlier, in 1957, members of the (now-defunct) federal Social Credit party opposed the parliamentary resolution to establish the Canada Council. As paraphrased by Granatstein, the party leader objected “to the fact that the government was spending $100 million for a nonessential when it was doing nothing for old-age pensioners or veterans.”

Michael Walker of the Vancouver-based think tank, the Fraser Institute, believes that the economic philosophy that allows for government support of the arts begins with the premise that “(the) market for culture doesn’t work.” The traditional market system of supply and demand—whereby consumers are willing to pay more than the mere production costs for a product (good) so that the producer might realize a profit—is not sustainable in the realm of the arts. This results in a situation called market failure.

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41 Ibid.
Citizens of contemporary market-driven, consumer-oriented societies often find it difficult to understand investment (through taxes) in arts and cultural activities because such investments do not adhere to profit-market philosophy. Yet, as Walker explains, when it comes to benefitting from cultural investment: “like national defence, it isn’t possible to separate those who pay and benefit from those who benefit but don’t pay. Therefore, it is left to the government to pay and tax and regulate everybody since everybody benefits.”

The benefits of nonprofit oriented (government) investment come from positive externalities. In economic terms, an externality is the potential byproduct—either beneficial or costly—of a transaction. Any transaction involving a buyer and seller may yield externalities that are extrinsic to the transaction itself and to the parties involved. Normally, the market tends to provide “too few commodities that yield positive externalities to third parties and too many of those that bring negative externalities.” On the other hand, artistic and cultural activities tend to have the opposite effect: they yield positive—beneficial—externalities. Those who are not direct recipients of subsidy for an artistic endeavour still stand to reap the rewards of the artistic work. Moreover, such rewards may be relevant to future generations who thus become indirect beneficiaries of contemporary investment in arts and cultural activities. Thus, in political terms, positive externalities become “public goods”, and therefore, worthy of investment.

**Trudeau and Culture**

While the Canadian government funded cultural projects through the First and Second World Wars—both to mark the wars and to raise morale at home—Ryan Edwardson notes that the practice of politically earmarked art and culture funding became a more common practice during the Trudeau-era of the 1970s and early 80s (2008). This warrants a brief examination of Trudeau’s philosophy regarding politics and culture.

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43 Ibid.
45 R. Edwardson, *Canadian Content*. 
Former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau—trained in law, economics and politics—made a philosophical case for governmental support of culture in the opening chapter to a collection of essays written in the 1950s and 1960s, before he became leader of the Liberal Party of Canada. Trudeau wrote that “the function of a state is to ensure the establishment and maintenance of a legal order that will safeguard the development of its citizens,” the government must pursue economic, social and cultural objectives. He brings the three objectives into a circle at the point of culture. “The state must occasionally intervene in the play of economic forces to better ensure the pursuit of social objectives … (it must also/then) struggle against the kind of depersonalization (brought about by technology) by pursuing cultural objectives.”

Ironically, the field-leveling and democratizing possibilities offered by technology parallel another of Trudeau’s political goals: that of enshrining liberal-democratic values in Canada.

Trudeau supported the economic philosophy of subsidizing domestic art, but he did not share the concern of Canadian artists regarding the perceived overpowering extent of American influence and investment in Canadian culture. Rather, Trudeau “valued the contribution of foreign investment to the economy,” an economy which included culture as a fundamental element. With specific reference to culture, Trudeau wrote of a personal aversion to producing “a weak, ‘hot-house’ culture.” Was his inclination to seek foreign investment in—and potentially foreign markets for—Canadian culture related to his concerns that the government not over-coddle Canadian culture? Or was it partly due to Trudeau’s belief (described below) that artistic culture should not be defined solely by “high-brow” art forms, but by all types of modern and global culture?

Thus, Trudeau believed in noninterference of the state—beyond a fixed investment—in the aesthetic goals of artistic culture:

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47 Ibid., 28.
48 Ibid., 187.
49 Ibid., 187.
Cultural investment is only achieved at some cost, not only economic, but also cultural. For it supposes that the state knows better than the citizen what is 'good' for him culturally, and such a hypothesis must always be applied with utmost prudence and consideration. More than any other, this kind of value is international and common to all men; in the long term, then, the state should ideally promote an open culture.\(^5^0\)

Many, nevertheless, criticized Trudeau’s primeministerial record for the extent to which his government and policies manipulated funding for arts and culture to suit his Liberal Party’s political agenda.

Faced with a rising separatist movement in Quebec, Trudeau’s Liberal government of the 1960s and 1970s was known for advancing centrist, federalist politics upon Canada. Part of this entailed consolidating power in federally administered bureaucracies, including cultural administration. Trudeau’s critics accused him of allowing art and cultural activities to become a tool in his government’s Canadian unity arsenal. According to Woodcock, “Trudeau’s view was basically that the control of a nation’s cultural life, and especially of its arts, is essential for the consolidation of political power, and cultural policies should be directed towards supporting a government’s principal aims.”\(^5^1\) Yet, it is debatable whether the threat of separatism was the main reason for Trudeau’s promotion of a democratic philosophy regarding Canadian culture. Without doubt, the Quebec situation influenced Trudeau, but the well-travelled politician’s democratizing sensibility may have been influenced equally by his travels in not only first world countries, but also in third world countries of the mid-twentieth century. As a result, Trudeau possessed a kind of internationally minded philosophy steeped by the air of 1960s social change and liberalism.\(^5^2\)

\(^{50}\) Ibid., 26.
\(^{52}\) Schafer and Fortier note “social unrest was on the rise across Canada…Young people were seeking their place in the sun and demanded to participate fully in society. (Furthermore), this was not an exclusively Canadian phenomenon…” D. Paul Schafer and André Fortier, *Review of Canadian Federal Policies for the Arts, 1944-1988* (Ottawa: Canadian Conference for the Arts, 1989), 30.
Waves of Canadianization

In *Canadian Content*, Edwardson describes a series of “waves” of Canadianization that influenced and shaped Canadian culture in distinctive ways. Vincent Massey and his supporters embodied the first wave through their use of “high-cultural devices in defining and pursuing their national design;” and in their promoting an “Anglophilic ethnic nationalism.” The second wave took place in the 1960s—a localized version of the larger counterculture movement that affected the Western world. This wave represented a shift away from European-style cultural aspirations towards cultivating a Canadiana built upon “national myths, symbols, figures, events, references, and other signifiers.”

According to Edwardson, the second wave expressed, in large part, a desire to create a Canadian cultural identity to counter the overwhelming culture (and cultural products) emanating from the United States. Moreover, Edwardson suggests that the middle class instigated the second wave of Canadianization, thus dislodging the domination of cultural ideologies from the upper class (represented in the first wave by the Masseyites).

Although Trudeau came into power during the second wave of Canadianization, Edwardson defines the third wave of Canadianization as that set by the Trudeau government’s policies regarding culture whereby government treated culture as an industry. Woodcock, Edwardson and policy analyst, Brigit Knecht have all criticized this third wave of Canadianization, particularly for its commodification of the arts under the banner of “cultural industrialism”.

Overlooking Canadians

Along with American entertainment that inundated Canada through the first and second waves of Canadianization, Canadian post-secondary institutions continued to see their teaching positions filled by Americans. As a result, post-secondary institutions did not teach much in the way of Canadian content, nor did scholars hold Canadian issues as knowledge worthy of scholarly attention. The argument often used in defence of this academic condition centred around academic institutions considering themselves oases of

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54 Ibid., 138.
intellectual freedom unbound by nationalism, and thus beyond the influence of—and the influencing of—indigenous politics. Through the 1950s and 1960s, the Canadian post-secondary education system expanded at an exponential rate, resulting in there being significantly more teaching positions available than there were Canadian nationals who could fill them. The consequence was a sizeable American presence on Canadian campuses, due in part to hiring practices by American expatriate intellectuals that nurtured a cadre of fellow countrymen.55

Similarly in the musical world, Canadian musical institutions—while attempting to develop local musical talent—had to contend with conditions similar to those confronting of post-secondary institutions. Americans and Europeans filled most orchestral positions. Although some critics felt that orchestras should have a Canadian quota in place, orchestras argued against this, deferring to the importance of maintaining artistic quality. Yet, the tangible outcome of personnel imbalances favouring non-Canadians in the country’s major orchestras resulted in an almost complete lack of interest from players and conductors in performing the works of Canadian composers. This situation began to change only towards the end of the twentieth century when arts councils and their peer juries began insisting that Canadian orchestras include Canadian repertoire in orchestral programming.

The lack of local acknowledgment for Canadian music and orchestral musicians also affected Canadians involved in popular and folk musics. Most suffered from a complete lack of appreciation in Canada, but the situation often changed for those who moved to the United States. Upon receiving recognition from American audiences and the American music industry, the previously ignored Canadian musicians became heroes at home.56

55 While European immigrants also filled many of the teaching positions (as well as a much smaller number of South Asian and Middle Eastern scholars), Americans were the dominant presence on Canadian campuses.

56 In a 1969 interview, singer Neil Young said, “I soon realized nothing was ever going to happen in Toronto… I was just completely fed up with the Canadian scene,” (as quoted in Edwardson, Canadian Content, 129). Young, along with Joni Mitchell, The Band, Buffy Sainte-Marie, and Ian and Sylvia Tyson all moved to the United States in the 1970s.
Despite developing a stronger presence as a nation, the greater international community increasingly viewed Canada as an American pawn in the latter half of the twentieth century. Moreover, European countries coined the term “Canadianization” to describe any “country that fails to sufficiently bulwark itself against Americanization.”

**Democratizing Culture**

While the “industrialization” of culture has resulted in emphases on quantification (of cultural products and processes) and foreign investment in Canadian cultural products, Trudeau and his Secretary of State, Gérard Pelletier, initiated a different type of quiet cultural revolution. Their philosophical goals for Canadian society—characterized by a desire for increased access to civic engagement for all Canadians—activated the democratization of Canadian artistic culture. The result has pushed notions of culture beyond the high culture of the Masseyites, beyond the Canadiana mythologies, and beyond the market-driven cultural industries.

Trudeau and Pelletier advocated for new definitions of culture, emphasizing moves towards the “democratization” and “decentralization” of culture, and arguably advancing a shift towards an anthropological conception of culture. They initially articulated their political and social objectives in 1968 in a seven-point Arts and Cultural Policy, released within months of Trudeau assuming the office of Prime minister:

- a) to improve the quality of the collective and personal life of Canadians;
- b) to study the Canadian personality thoroughly;
- c) to forge national unity
- d) to stimulate the two founding cultures and to integrate the original contribution of the native peoples and New Canadians;
- e) to develop and promote bilingualism;
- f) to give a cultural dimension to our political and economic democracy and a more democratic dimension to our cultural activities
- g) to give the artist and researcher the means to enrich Canada’s cultural heritage.

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57 R. Edwardson, *Canadian Content*, 143.
According to Schafer and Fortier, this marked the first time a Canadian government—as opposed to a Royal Commission—had attempted to define “an overall policy respecting federal cultural activities.” Embedded within the Arts and Culture policy is a hint towards multiculturalism in the second half of point (d). Moreover, Trudeau’s cultural democratization project clearly includes those groups ignored by earlier Canadian culturalists: the native peoples and New Canadians. How, though, did Trudeau’s government envision these groups should “integrate”? Did they imagine integration into the established culture or the introduction of new cultural forms onto the Canadian cultural field?

Schafer and Fortier have noted that Pelletier, on two instances, publicly articulated the government’s cultural philosophy. At the First National Forum on Cultural Policy in 1970, he officially outlined the government’s objectives in five points: democratization, decentralization, pluralism, federal-provincial cooperation, and international cooperation. A year earlier, during a speech given in Lethbridge, Pelletier had indicated a portending shift in the government’s philosophical aims concerning culture, and in doing so translated the idea of inclusivity onto the articles of culture:

It may be necessary to transform completely the notion of culture, to replace the notion of a middle class culture with that of a mass culture. Why should the theatre and opera have a monopoly on culture? Why should not [sic] movies, jazz, popular songs, and psychedelic happenings also not [sic] be a means of cultural expression? ... When culture has become a source of alienation—and this is increasingly the case with middle-class culture—it is high time for us to reexamine it. The democratization of culture will not otherwise be achieved.

These words succeeded in provoking the arts community’s old guard. In an editorial in Canadian Literature Magazine on the subject of Pelletier’s speech, Woodcock wrote, “What Mr. Pelletier is particularly intent on emphasizing is the need to ‘democratize culture’… Perhaps with an eye to voter support, and certainly with a politician's literalist

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60 Ibid., 26-27.
view of democracy, he does not merely want to make culture available to as many as may wish to partake of it; he also hopes to sell it to the unwilling.”

Woodcock’s statement warrants some deconstruction. One senses that his conception of “culture” was similar to Massey’s definition of culture: one based upon an early-twentieth century British notion of culture as high art. Moreover, in *Strange Bedfellows*, Woodcock attacks Crean’s discussion (and defence) of democratized culture from her 1976 *Who’s Afraid of Canadian Culture?* Woodcock begins by writing

> I talk of the arts rather than of culture, since the term *culture* has become vague and generalized … In 1976, at the height of the populist attack on elitism in the arts, Susan Crean published a widely read book … which represented a particularly strident form of Canadian cultural nationalism. Seeking to prove that Canada has such a vital cultural life of its own that we can in fact do without great art from the past, or for that matter, the vital art that is today created outside Canadian borders, she devalued the idea of culture until it became almost meaningless. After dissociating herself from the elites who cultivate the fine arts and patronize symphonies, ballets, operas and Shakespearean festivals …

Woodcock then quotes Crean. “For the rest of us, sports, domestic crafts, and the host of activities of the masses that are usually identified as leisure pursuits or hobbies are also culture…. Culture includes art: art is only a part of culture.” Admitting that Crean is “not an unintelligent writer”, Woodcock nevertheless seems less than willing to fully accept her contention (which he does not quote) that

> the fine arts have their counterparts in all societies, nations, and tribes, and the history of modern art is full of examples of artists borrowing from other cultures … The ballet, for all its refinements, is no more than an equivalent to the Plains Indian chicken dance. By reflection, realizing that we are all ethnics of some kind, the fine arts may be seen as the institutionalized culture of the European, British, and American ruling classes, endowed with semi-mystical connotations.

Later, Woodcock admits “we miss more of west coast painting if we ignore the Chinese and Japanese traditions whose influence has percolated through the arrival of so many

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62 Ibid., 7.
63 Ibid., 12-13.
emigrants from East Asia.” Nevertheless, he firmly believes that “art … traverses boundaries of time and space … [that] we miss a great deal in recent homegrown Canadian drama if we do not see it in relation to the Shakespeare and Shaw festivals that have kept the great dramatic traditions fresh.” Thereafter, he defends the established institutions and established forms of the pre-Trudeau-era of Canadian artistic culture.

To what extent do Woodcock’s opinions represent established Canadian artists of the 1970s and 1980s? Who are the “unwilling” people to whom Woodcock refers in the above quote? Such an assumption of “unwillingness” may appear to indicate an equal unwillingness by the artist to attempt engagement with an apparently culturally unengaged segment of the Canadian population. Pelletier’s remarks, on the other hand, seem to seek engagement. If Pelletier equates democratization with engagement, then surely the twenty-first century’s concern with seeking cultural engagement (particularly with the otherwise “disengaged”) must be rooted in the Trudeau-era government’s grand democratizing movement of the 1970s and early 1980s.

Earmarked Funding

In 1971, the federal government created the Opportunities for Youth (OFY) and the Local Initiatives Program (LIP), neither of which were intended to be arts programs, “but in practice many of the projects did involve the arts … [The programs were] aimed at solving youth unemployment and only secondarily at promoting the arts.” More significantly, though,

The presence of LIP and OFY forced the Canada Council to modify the emphasis on professionalism which dominated its major grants programs, and in 1971, under pressure from the secretary of state’s office, it made at least a token gesture towards the Sunday artist and the amateur scholar by initiating the Canadian Horizons Program, which two years later became known as Explorations and which…has certainly proved useful in fostering creative projects and eccentric talents that do not fit into the professional pattern.

67 Woodcock, Strange Bedfellows, 15.
68 Ibid., 14-15.
69 Ibid., 115-116.
70 Ibid.
At the same time, the Trudeau government also pushed artists, artistic and cultural products, and arts organizations to fit industrial models, a manœuvre that has had mixed ramifications for Canadian artists. Imposing an industrial model approach to arts funding, ultimately forced artists and arts organizations to become more quantifiable. In fiscally tangible ways, quantification can serve to protect the tightrope between artistic freedom and a government’s justification of cultural spending to its constituents, such that political rhetoric can then be fashioned to suit notions of sound fiscal management. Michael Macklem noted in 1980 that if “the arts are dressed up” as an industry, politicians and bureaucrats can refer to the arts (and artists) as “(a)n industry that creates employment and contributes to the Gross Domestic Product.”

On the other hand, Knecht and Edwardson argue that the shift towards an industrial bias on cultural organization has had primarily negative effects on Canadian artists and arts organizations. Edwardson contends that the federal bureaucrats forced culture to fit an industrial rubric by associating: “cultural vitality with market value; [seeing] Canadian content as a commodity to be marketed, advertised, and exported; and [deeming] industrialism and commercialism as fundamental to the quest for nationhood.” These non-artistic associations have subsequently become driving factors in Canadian arts, providing important criteria by which arts funders assess arts organizations.

Quantification: Cancon and MAPL

Edwardson has suggested that a shift in evaluative tools used by arts organizations began in the late 1950s and early 1960s when “identifying Canadian content in terms of high-cultural experience, something quite hard to measure, was being overshadowed by a bureaucratic preference for quantitative assessments of Canadianness.” In 1972, the

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72 R. Edwardson, Canadian Content, 258.
73 R. Edwardson, Canadian Content, 112.
Secretary of State’s Arts and Culture Branch established a cultural statistics program in collaboration with Statistics Canada.

The development of the MAPL system in 1970 has been another salient and lasting strategy for quantification in Canadian music. MAPL allows those in the Canadian music industry to easily systematize and calculate Canadian content (Cancon) percentages in recordings, and in subsequent media broadcasts of those recordings. Represented by a round logo divided into four quadrants, each of which is embossed with a single letter—M, A, P, or L—the MAPL logo on Canadian recordings indicates the “Canadianness” of the recording’s Music, Artist, Producer and Lyricist. A white letter on a black background on the logo identifies the people involved in that aspect of the recording as Canadian. Conversely, a black letter on a white background tells the potential listener or broadcaster that a non-Canadian rendered the element of music in black. In the figures below, figure 1a indicates 100% Canadian content, whereas figure 1b indicates 50% Canadian content. In a recording labeled with figure 1b the artist and producer of the recording would be Canadian, while a non-Canadian wrote the music and lyrics.74

![Figure 1a](image1.png) ![Figure 1b](image2.png)

Most importantly, the MAPL logo on recordings enables Canadian radio, television (and more recently internet) broadcasters to keep track of the percentages of Canadian content broadcast on national airwaves. In the 1970s—as part of the continued concern with foreign broadcast media content (mostly American) entering into Canadian households—the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (the CRTC) required that 25% of a network’s broadcasting be composed of Canadian content in the

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74 The CRTC defines a Canadian as: a Canadian citizen; a permanent resident as defined by the Immigration Act, 1976; a person whose ordinary place of residence was Canada for the six months immediately preceding their contribution to a musical composition, performance or concert. CRTC, “The MAPL system – defining a Canadian song” [http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/INFO_SHT/R1.htm](http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/INFO_SHT/R1.htm), (accessed October 20, 2010).
1970s. In the 1980s, the CRTC raised the Canadian content percentage to 30%, and raised it again in 1999 to 35%, where it remains in 2013.\(^75\)

The CRTC requirements protected Canadian content from foreign musical imports, and supported and promoted Canadian artists through broadcasts of their works. Yet, Edwardson notes that Canadian performers (all performing “commercial” music) have differing opinions on the helpfulness of the regulatory system to their careers. Some, he notes, such as Anne Murray, Gordon Lightfoot and Bruce Cockburn, credit the system for having given them the boost they needed to forge successful musical careers. Critics, nevertheless, have noted that broadcasters tended to prefer—and overplay—a fixed number of artists to guarantee profitability, thus making it difficult for new artists to break into the Canadian scene.\(^77\)

In the world of Western classical music broadcast on Canadian airwaves, the Cancon MAPL logo rarely involved a white-fonted “M” in music-only radio broadcasts. Although the CBC commissioned Canadian composers to write music for radio and television programs and for radio plays—enabling Canadian composers to earn a living practicing their craft—the composers rarely received the kind of formal acknowledgement that might imprint their names on the Canadian consciousness in the way that popular music performers did.


\(^76\) R. Edwardson, \textit{Canadian Content}, 229.

\(^77\) Ironically, one of the artists singled out for the dubious distinction of overplaying on broadcast radio is Anne Murray. Edwardson notes that according to a 1971 \textit{Time} (Canada) magazine article, one might get “the impression that AM radio stands for Anne Murray.” (\textit{Time Magazine}, Canadian edition, February 1, 1971) p. 9 as quoted in Edwardson, \textit{Canadian Content}, 229.

In 2008, CBC’s Radio 2 radically altered its format: moving away from Western classical music and towards other genres. This change, along with the broadcaster’s addition of Internet and satellite channels, has offered more broadcast opportunities for new Canadian artists.
The Survey Says…

Flash Forward: October 20, 2010

“Most Ontarians Believe Arts are Important to Quality of Life Says Survey” reports an e-“Newsflash” from the Ontario Arts Council, upon release of a recent survey commissioned from Toronto-based research and consulting group Environics.78

In a constant defence of public spending on the arts, arts service organizations—including the arts councils—consistently and increasingly make use of statistical data. Statistics give validity to the pursuit of causes, and in Canada, governments use them to justify their spending on a myriad of different activities, not least of which is arts and culture. On their website, the Canada Council states a contemporary challenge being

uncertainty among funders about how to make the most effective case in promoting the value of the arts and of public sector support for the arts—on the one hand, an increased reliance on instrumental rather than intrinsic values, on the other hand, a recognition that instrumental values do not capture the experience of the arts or speak to its power in human life.79

Knecht argues that arts organizations, by relying on quantitative and statistical data, collude “with the demands of government for the purpose of securing funding.”80 For Knecht, this behaviour is a kind of symbolic violence. Survey material, she says,

tends to be geared toward understanding the economic impact that arts have on society… Therefore this literature tends to be used for two purposes: to attempt to quantify [my emphasis] the intrinsic value of the arts as a justification for government funding; and two, to put forth numbers from arts organizations to strengthen the plea for more funding and thus to influence cultural policy.81

There are other detriments to quantifying the arts. Primary amongst them, as Edwardson has pointed out, is the potential for quantification to limit artistic freedom, particularly if an organization’s numerical data becomes “evidence of qualitative success.”82

78 Ontario Arts Council, Newsflash (Toronto, October 20, 2010).
80 Knecht, “Performing Under Pressure,” 19.
81 Ibid.
82 Edwardson, Canadian Content, 261.
Quantitative data collection in the arts occurs in large organizations, but it occurs particularly strongly at the level of the arts councils. The job of tallying quantitative aspects of grant distribution is the responsibility of arts council employees at federal, provincial and municipal levels. Meanwhile, artists comprising arts councils’ peer assessment committees have the job of assessing the *qualitative* aspects of arts applications—deciding which applicants should receive grants, based upon aesthetic and social criteria.

Of the three arts councils that form the basis of the fieldwork portion of this study, the two larger ones—the Canada Council and the Ontario Arts Council (which are Canada’s largest arts councils for budget, artists served and populations served)—each have in-house research departments. Between them, the two councils share data and statistical resources, but they also rely upon external research and statistics analysts. The Canada Council website “Research” page lists seven external agencies from which they collect statistical data and commission statistics-based research. One of the agencies is Statistics Canada—a department of the federal government—from which the arts councils get broad data, and occasionally more specific analyses, such as Statistics Canada’s, “The Guide to Culture Statistics”\(^3\) A second important research agency is Hamilton, Ontario-based Hill Strategies, which specialize in “applying social science research methods to the arts sector.”\(^4\) All three arts councils employ specific statistical research on the arts from Hill Strategies Research.

Thus, the Canada Council’s Research and Evaluation Section provides us with the following information on their Statistics Frequently Asked Questions webpage:

- Federal government investment in arts *and culture* (my emphasis): $3.7 billion in 2007-08 (1.6% of total government spending)
- The three levels of government investment in arts and culture: $9.2 billion
- Number of people employed in the arts and cultural sector in 2006: 609,000 (3.3% of Canada’s total labour force)

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• The cultural sector within Canada’s economy contributes close to $45.1 billion (3.7%) of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
• Median earnings of an artist: $12,900 per year

A second page on the Canada Council site leads to more in-depth statistics on artists in Canada supplied by Hill Strategies:

• Between 1971 and 2001, the number of artists in Canada more than tripled
• Between 1991 and 2001, the number of artists increased by 29%, compared to 10% growth in the overall labour force.
• On a provincial level, the growth in artists was double or more the overall provincial labour force growth rate in all provinces except Alberta and Saskatchewan
• In comparison, after adjusting for inflation, government spending on culture decreased by 1.3% between 1991 and 2001.

Twenty-first-century Statistics
As in many European countries, in Canada, the state is the primary source of funding for Canadian arts and artists. Artists in the country’s largest metropolis, Toronto, have access to three levels of funding (a luxury that smaller communities do not have): federal—the Canada Council; provincial—the Ontario Arts Council; and municipal—the Toronto Arts Council. Due to their status as government-funded organizations, the three arts councils have two responsibilities. They must carefully advocate for the artists in the jurisdictions they represent, and then, they must defend their spending to the governments who provide their budgets.

The Canada Council

Its status was unique and its autonomy almost complete. It was, from the beginning, and has remained, Canada’s most important patron of the arts, but a patron who must be answerable publicly for its choice of beneficiaries. This binds it to a policy of consistency in its operations, with all the attendant bureaucracy which that implies –


a bureaucracy that, moreover, comes under constant criticism from its clientele. Because it is a public institution, it is approached by artists with a sense of entitlement. For the same reason, it is accountable to the public, whose outrage is quickly aroused by the council’s support of what the public considers to be frivolous ventures. Thus it must always read a wary path between support of the innovative or esoteric and support of the orthodox.87

Five of thirteen statistics from the Canada Council’s Research and Evaluation Office’s Statistics FAQ page tell us the following facts about the federal arts council, from which we can draw a number of conclusions:

- Canada Council’s parliamentary appropriation 2009-2010: $183.1 million
- Canada’s Council’s share of federal cultural spending: 4.9% in 2007-08
- Grant dollars awarded in Music: $29,473,318
- Annual cost of the Canada Council per Canadian: $5.43
- Number of peer assessors used by Council in a year: In 2009-10, 757 assessors (747 Canadians and 10 foreign).88

If we undertake the “defence department” comparison so often cited by arts advocates, we will begin by noting the federal government’s appropriation to the Defence Department in 2009-10 was $20.6 billion.89 Using similar—though approximate—proportions ($5.43 per 33.7 million citizens equaling $183 million), the resulting figure spent per capita for defence is $610, approximately 120 times the amount going to the Canada Council. Just as art may be offensive to some and thought-provoking to others—and those who oppose it would prefer not to support it financially—Canadians opposed to Canadian troops’ involvement in foreign wars cannot choose whether to contribute their tax dollars to the military or not.

87 Audrey Forster, “From the CPR to the Canada Council,” 221.
Diversity and Canada’s Arts Councils

The Music Section and Equity
The music sector of the Canada Council has the highest budgetary allotment for grants of all the arts sectors funded by the council, followed by theatre, with $26,583,041 in grant expenditures for 2009-10. Dissecting the Music section’s $29,473,318 further, one finds that the Professional Orchestra Program received the largest portion of the 2009-10 Music section budget: $12,584,900. Opera/Music Theatre received $6,022,500 – the second largest allotment. These two examples of European artistic forms receive 63% of the Music Section’s budget. All forty-eight of the orchestras receiving grants are traditional European-style orchestras. In contrast, a 2006 Canada Council Arts Promotion webpage notes:

As outlined in its Corporate Plan, the Council’s goals are to expand existing audiences, create new audiences and foster public enjoyment of the arts. To help meet these goals, the Council has identified the culturally diverse community as a strategic funding priority, along with the youth community and the Aboriginal community.90

One might question whether 63% of the budget is democratically equitable, if we consider the council’s strategic priorities.

In fairness, this kind of perfunctory analysis assumes that the orchestras receiving grants have remained faithful to the traditional European notion of a symphony orchestra. If so, one can further assume that the compositions of dead white—and mostly European—males, dominate the orchestra’s repertoire, along with a smattering of Canadian works. The latter are necessarily included in concert programming to appease arts council juries

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concerned that orchestras support not only Canadian performers but also Canadian works.91

Of the opera/music theatre companies that received grants in 2008-09, a quick scan shows that fifteen of the companies are traditional Western (European and North American) opera/music theatre companies. Four of the twenty are experimental, new creation-based companies: Toronto’s Queen of Puddings Music Theatre and Tapestry New Works; and Montreal’s Vox Populi and Les Deux Mondes. Queen of Puddings, in particular, has made conscious gestures towards the inclusion of non-European musics and musical forms in their productions.92 The other three companies present new works not necessarily bound by the conventions of European opera performance, but also not overtly concerned with cultural diversity or non-Western perspectives on opera. Only Vancouver Cantonese Opera is a specifically non-European-style of performing organization that received a Canada Council grant in the 2008-09 opera/music theatre category.

Over the past twenty years, the issue of diversity has become a critical priority for the Canada Council. On the council’s Statistics FAQ page, three statistics relate to contemporary issues of diversity.

- Council funding provided to youth-related activities: Approximately $9.0 million.
- Council funding provided to Aboriginal artists and organizations: Approximately $7.9 million in direct and indirect funding.
- Council funding provided to culturally diverse artists and organizations: Roughly $10.4 million through direct and indirect funding.93

Aboriginals and members of Canada’s culturally groups—along with women and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered (LGBT) community—make up those groups that fall under the categorization of Canada’s “historically disadvantaged.” Ensuring

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91 Ideally, juries prefer that orchestras include contemporary or commissioned Canadian works on their programs; this is particularly the case for orchestras located in large urban centres. Orchestras located in remote areas tend to be granted more leeway when it comes to programming and are not penalized for incorporating older (more than forty years) Canadian compositions into their programs.

92 I will discuss the work of Queen of Puddings Music Theatre Company in Chapter 6.

93 Canada Council, “Statistics FAQs” under “Research.”
representation by these groups is, politically, an important aspect of Canada’s democratization process. The status of historically disadvantaged groups as an internal, bureaucratic priority at the Canada Council, therefore, reflects the direct influence of federal political priorities on the arm’s-length arts funder. The Canadian government document “Canadian Multiculturalism” notes that according to the country’s 1988 Multiculturalism Act, “all government agencies, departments and Crown corporations… are expected to provide leadership in advancing Canada’s multicultural mix and to take part in the design and implementation of plans, programs, procedures and decision-making strategies that enhance the full and equal participation of minorities within institutional structures.”

The Canada Council, though at arm’s-length, is no exception. In its Strategic Plan for 2008-2011, the third of its five guiding directions was “Enhancing the Council’s leadership role in promoting equity [in original] as a critical priority in fulfilling Canada’s artistic aspirations.” At the Canada Council’s 2010 Annual Public Meeting, the council’s Director and CEO, Robert Sirman announced that the council would continue in the ensuing five years with the directions of the previous strategic plan, reiterating the council’s dedication to equity.

The Canada Council, though, did not take the lead in advocating on behalf of historically disadvantaged artists. In 1989, upon receiving an appropriation from the provincial government specifically earmarked for multiculturalism, the OAC became the first Canadian arts council to adjust its granting programs to accommodate non-Western artists and their art forms. Like democratizing changes that occurred at other levels of government arts funders, the government—and not the arts council—was the catalyst for change.

How arts councils’ peer assessment committees assess grants at the turn of the twenty-first century depends upon how they interpret council priorities—in particular, how they

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96 Ibid.
define diversity—and how they negotiate between council priorities and their own personal artistic and social priorities. Equally critical is how—and whether—jurists, arts councils and politicians define and distinguish between the words “art” and “culture.”

Furthermore, multiculturalism and its catchwords—diversity, representation, outreach—have become common priorities not only in governmental bureaucracies but also in Canadian society as a whole. Few, though, are aware of the conflict inherent in the liberal-democratic philosophy that is the basis of Canada’s multicultural laws, a conflict that plays out in contemporary arts council grant assessments. Any further analysis of current arts council practices and peer jury assessment processes requires a critical understanding of the (history and) philosophy behind Canadian multiculturalism.
Chapter 3

The Conundrums of Multiculturalism

The emergence of multiculturalism as a formal instrument for managing diversity is widely recognized as Canada’s outstanding contribution to the field of race and ethnic relations. It has been praised as bold ... resting on the yet unproven assumption that national unity and social cohesion can be moulded by integrating differences into a societal framework—not denying them.¹

~ Augie Fléras and Jean Leonard Elliott

Canadian multiculturalism presents itself as a new solution to an ancient problem of diversity ... [Far from achieving its goal.] this state-sponsored attempt to design a unified nation has paradoxically led to an increase in both the number of minority identities and in the amount of effort required to “manage” them.²

~ Richard J.F. Day

Multiculturalism—the dignification of ethnicity.³ ~ Manoly Lupul

On October 8, 1971, Pierre Trudeau’s Liberal government tabled a multicultural policy that set in motion the mechanisms for establishing the world’s first officially multicultural nation. Seen in retrospect, we might argue that the values accompanying multiculturalism—tolerance, respect for difference, equality of rights and freedoms—contributed to providing Canadians aspects of the distinctive identity earlier nation-builders had been seeking. Yet, as Canada formally embraced multiculturalism, the process of doing so forced the country’s arbiters of cultural development—including politicians, bureaucrats, arts funders—to reinterpret notions of culture, due largely to the political need to recognize ethno-cultures other than the dominant cultural legacy of the British Isles. This change had the additional effect of recognizing non-elitist forms of Anglo-Canadian culture.

By officially acknowledging Canada as multicultural, the Canadian government sought to recognize the nation-building contributions beyond that of its “founding peoples”—the English and French—appreciating also the cultural and nation-building contributions of Canada’s various ethnic populations and of its indigenous aboriginal population. A series of government manoeuvres from the 1960s through the 1980s officially ended the movement towards assimilation to British cultural norms, and led to an ethnocultural minority rights movement. At its most idealistic, the Canadian philosophy of multiculturalism has come to emphasize diversity over homogeneity.

The philosophy of rights in a multicultural context rests in a politics of equal recognition, which is based upon a foundation of liberal democracy. Between the political philosophies of multiculturalism and liberal democracy, though, lies a philosophical contradiction: in the process of recognizing the rights of the collective (for example an ethnocultural group), which is an aim of multiculturalism, one minimizes the rights (and role) of the individual. Yet, the right of the individual to determine his or her own destiny is the goal of liberal democracy.

Supporters and defenders of Canadian multiculturalism believe that official multiculturalism can help to eradicate discrimination and lead to meaningful discussions about the limits and latitudes of cultural tolerance. The intent of the multicultural process is to create a society in which each person receives the recognition he or she needs to flourish. This may include acknowledging and appreciating (without prejudice) the individual’s membership in a religious or ethnocultural group. Proponents of this aspect of recognition politics deem that an individual’s membership in such groups can be of significant psychological importance to the individual; in effect, the group is necessary to nurture the individual. Charles Taylor, one of the definitive writers on Canadian multiculturalism and an ardent defender of ethnocultural recognition, acknowledges the psychological importance membership in communal entities can have on an individual.4

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Official multiculturalism also shapes music-making in Canada. The country’s publicly funded arts councils are obliged to ensure that all Canadians have access to council programs—irrespective of a musician’s background, the genre they perform, or the audience that hears them. Moreover, the federal government expects its departments, including arms-length institutions like the Canada Council, to take leading roles when it comes to diversity and multicultural issues. As I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters, the philosophical contradiction that exists between multiculturalism and liberal democracy also has a parallel in arts granting programs and in music programs specifically.

Over the past fifteen to twenty years, arts councils have worked to adjust their programs to legislation, promoting equality and democratic representation in arts funding. Yet, few arts workers for legacy organizations in the Canadian music world understand the philosophical underpinnings of multiculturalism—the fundamental right of access to funding—and the reach it has had not only on Canadian demographics but also on bureaucracies, businesses and arts practices. As a result, artists and arts administrators hold contradictory attitudes towards the arts, dependent upon how they understand and interpret the place of multiculturalism in Canadian artistic culture. Some in the artistic community continue to maintain attitudes based upon mid-twentieth century European notions of art, while others appreciate the postcolonial, culturally egalitarian notions of multicultural arts culture. Eurocentric attitudes have the benefit of history, funding, entrenched elite status and a sense of entitlement. In many cases, these attitudes, shielded from any need to change due to consistent funding from arts councils, have promoted stereotyped notions of non-Western cultures. Nevertheless, establishment artists may see their entitlement erode in the face of multicultural democratic ideals and Canada’s rapidly changing ethnocultural demography. Whether stereotypes persist may depend upon

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6 Western classical musicians sometimes see non-Western musical cultures as “cool” or “exotic”, but they do not always see the non-Western musics as equal. When assessed comparatively, the non-Western musics either lose favour with Western classical assessors because their music does not live up to the same aesthetic ideals (ie. intonation, harmonic complexity, written form).
whether (or the degree to which) artists challenge them in the creative process, or whether they embrace the stereotypes as a way of maintaining and marking their ethnocultural identity. Further, I do not believe the Canadian music world fully appreciates the artistically precarious relationships between the politics of stereotype, the politics of multiculturalism and the politics of ethnocultural recognition.

The Appearance of Multiculturalism

Canada legally encoded its democratic traditions and aspirations by engaging in five legislative initiatives: signing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948; passing the Canadian Bill of Human Rights in 1960, which made discrimination illegal; adopting the Canadian Human Rights Act in 1977; adopting the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, which made equal rights part of the constitution; and passing the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. Historians and cultural critics recognize an additional policy, the Multicultural Policy of 1971, as the policy that formally initiated governmental manoeuvres focused specifically upon recognizing aspects of Canadians’ ethnocultural heritage. Idealistically, this recognition presents itself as part of a liberal democratic pursuit of equality. Realistically, however, Richard J. F. Day suggests that official multiculturalism is simply “the present of Canadian diversity catching up with the past,” while Eva Mackey describes the 1971 policy as an “attempt to manage a potentially dangerous situation through recognition and the management of culture.”

The changes have affected many individuals’ way of seeing themselves as cultural beings due to officially sanctioned ethnocultural recognition. Coupled with the current era of cultural consciousness around the globe, the official changes have brought new notions and uses for the word culture. Canadian policy makers, though, have not accompanied broader uses of “culture” with any clear definition of its meaning. The absence of debate regarding the relationship between “art” and “culture” results in conflicting motivations for applying to arts councils and inconsistent modes of assessing music applications to

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7 Day, Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity, 184.
8 Eva Mackey, The House of Difference, 64.
arts councils. Rather than suggesting this lack of debate is a purposeful oversight, I suggest the place of art within the rubric of Canadian culture—and the complications engendered by *multiculturalism* in defining art—have simply been unexplored and possibly even unrecognized by arts policymakers.

**The B and B Commission**

Although multiculturalism now distinguishes Canada as a nation, the creation of the multicultural platform was almost accidental, stemming from growing unrest amongst the country’s Quebecois population. The dismantling of the British Empire combined with the increased emphasis on human rights and cultural egalitarianism following the Second World War led to a growing politics of identity, beginning—in Canada—with that which took hold in Quebec in the 1960s. Through the 1960s, Quebec underwent a process of secularization and bureaucratic dissociation from the Catholic Church. As a result, the increasingly self-aware Quebecois population increasingly “resented their exclusion from the central political institutions and symbolic order of Canadian society.”

Canadians tend to credit Pierre Trudeau with introducing multiculturalism, but the government of his predecessor, Lester B. Pearson, initiated the commission that led to multicultural doctrines. Acknowledging the federal government had a “French problem,” Prime Minister Pearson launched a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (the B and B Commission) in 1963. The Commission’s mandate was to “inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races.”

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9 The early part of this decade is often referred to as the Quiet Revolution, a period during which the province took over education and health responsibilities from the church, and claimed control of the province’s natural resources from foreign ownership.

10 Fléras and Elliott, *Multiculturalism in Canada*, 72.


12 Canada, *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Preliminary Report* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1965), 1. Day takes exception to the B & B Commission’s controversial use of the term “race”. He notes that the commission itself “tried to crawl out from under the heavy terminological load that had been placed upon it” (Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*, 180). The commission states in its preamble “the word ‘race’ is
Further, the commission also had the task of “taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution.”

In 1969—two years before Trudeau’s multicultural policy announcement—the Canadian government published the final report of the B and B commission. The commissioners concluded that the federal government should implement an official languages act: affirming bilingualism within a bicultural framework, thereby extending to the French-speakers the status enjoyed by the English-speaking population. David Chennells notes “support of official bilingualism for linguistic equality was unopposed by the provincial premiers and by the leaders of all federal parties.” Further, he quotes as an “incisive analysis” Charles Taylor’s comment that “to some extent, Trudeau’s remarkable achievement in extending bilingualism was made possible by a growing sympathy towards the French fact among political and social élites in COQ [Canada outside Quebec].”

The recommendation of bilingualism within a bicultural framework, though, stirred consciousness amongst Canada’s other ethnic groups. Some of these groups had come to Canada (to Western Canada in particular) at the turn of the twentieth century, lured with “promises to protect their immigrant language, culture and religion.” The proposed Languages Act disregarded contributions made to the development of the modern Canadian nation by these “other” ethnic groups. Educator and ethnocultural activist Manoly R. Lupul suggests that Canada’s French-speaking population did Canada “a great service in sensitizing most Canadians to the intimate connection between language and culture” but the B and B Commission’s proposal made parents (in particular) of non-

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13 Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Preliminary Report, xxi.
14 David Chennells, The Politics of Nationalism in Canada: Cultural Conflict since 1760 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 217.
16 Fléras and Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada, 71.
British and non-French children “uneasy.” Moreover, ethnocultural groups such as the Ukrainian Doukhobors and German-speaking Mennonites significantly outnumbered local French-Canadian populations in the Prairies; while the Chinese, Japanese, Punjabis and Scandinavians outnumbered French-Canadians in British Columbia. Most importantly, though, a Canada dominated by French and English language and customs implied “second-class status” to those of any other ethnic background.

Commentators have often referred to the “other” ethnic groups in the minority rights struggle as the “third force”, a term coined by the B and B Commission in the fourth volume of their report, The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. “We are not implying the existence in Canada of a ‘third force,’ made up of all those of ethnic origin other than British and French. It should be mentioned that the census lists some 30 different ethnic origin categories and still does not list them all…” Yet, as Day implies, the mere grouping of non-British and non-French into a collective “other” lent power to the large group of non-chartered Canadians who rallied against biculturalism. Thus, the commission’s fourth volume laid the foundation for the government’s move to expand the bicultural framework. Day, meanwhile, describes the cultural predicament facing the Anglo-Canadian political majority cynically. “Something had to be done to solve the ‘problems’ of the French, the immigrant, and the Indian once and for all. This something was called ‘multiculturalism’.” As an ethnoculturalist, Lupul felt “the B and B Commission appeared to be inviting individuals to participate in a revival of ethnic

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17 Lupul, The Politics of Multiculturalism, 134. Lupul also notes that Canadian descendants from territories such as the Ukraine, which had been subsumed by the Soviet Union, were particularly concerned about cultural loss, as the Soviet presence had led to a Russification of their cultural homeland.
18 Fléras and Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada, 72.
19 Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Final Report. vol. 4, (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1969), 435. Interestingly, later government documents use “the third force” to refer to Canada’s non-British and non-French populations, even though the original document simply posited that such a force did not exist.
20 Day suggests that “official bilingualism and biculturalism, which was supposed to give the Québécois nation an official state identity [italics in origina], and thereby transform it from an Other to a Self position … carried out the same transformation on the Other Ethnic Groups …” Day, Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity, 178-179.
21 Ibid., 187.
subcultures—to become something of ‘born-again ethnics’.” Both perspectives suggest Canadian multiculturalism can be traced to public reaction to the findings of the B and B Commission.

**Between the lines of Multiculturalism**

**Multicultural Policy**

On October 8, 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau declared:

> It was the view of the Royal Commission, shared by the government and, I am sure, by all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly. …

> A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one’s own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all.

> The government will support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expressions and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for us all.

> In the past, substantial public support has been given largely to the arts and cultural institutions of English-speaking Canada. …(T)here has been a conscious effort on the government’s part to correct any bias against the French language and culture. …(T)he policy I am announcing today accepts the contention of the other cultural communities that they, too, are essential elements in Canada and deserve government assistance in order to contribute to regional and national life in ways that derive from their heritages yet are distinctively Canadian.

> In implementing a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, the government will provide support in four ways.

> First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada…

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Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.

Third, the government will promote creative [italics in original] encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.

Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages...

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the view of the government that a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework is basically the conscious support of individual freedom of choice. We are free to be ourselves. But this cannot be left to chance. It must be fostered and pursued actively. If freedom of choice is in danger for some ethnic groups, it is in danger for all. It is the policy of this government to eliminate any such danger and to “safeguard” this freedom.23

According to Chennells, Canada’s political élite (including the cabinet of Québec’s National Assembly) supported Trudeau’s multicultural policy as they had official bilingualism, but the policy was contentious amongst other segments of the Canadian public as well as with opposition political parties in Québec.24 In their annual review of federal politics for 1971, John Saywell and Paul Stevens’ description of reactions to the policy announcement suggests that the policy disturbed Canada’s non-ethnic population:

However attractive to ethnic groups across the country, the new policy attracted little support elsewhere. “New Political Dynamite,” thundered the Vancouver Province (October 16), “Can we survive as a nation that relies for strength on fragmentation?” “Bi - or Babel?” asked the Toronto Star, arguing that “no immigrant should be encouraged to think that Canada is essentially a chain of ethnic enclaves ...” Others saw it as nothing more than a political game to woo the ethnic population, estimated at about 30 per cent.25

While they note that the cabinet of Québec Premier Robert Bourassa “applauded” the multicultural policy, Saywell and Stevens write that the premier and his Minister of Cultural Affairs, François Cloutier “had serious reservations” about it.26 Trudeau may have added to their concerns by referring to languages during an address to the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress the day after announcing the multicultural policy. "Languages have two functions. They act both as a vehicle of communication, and as

26 Ibid., 97.
preservation of culture. Governments can support languages in either or both of these roles, but it is only in the communication role that the term ‘official’ is employed.”  

For Bourassa and Cloutier, “language and culture were inseparable” and it therefore became “essential” to them “that Quebec have cultural autonomy.” For other ethnocultural groups, Trudeau’s words clarified that the government’s parameters of linguistic support extended only to heritage preservation.

There are three key aspects of Trudeau’s 1971 policy statement we need to acknowledge in understanding the effects official multiculturalism has had on publicly funded artistic culture in Canada, in particular the problematic issue of peer assessment at the intersection of identity, ethnocultural representation and artistic expression. First, the policy makes clear that the wellbeing of the individual and the freedom to pursue wellbeing, which is the goal of liberal-democratic philosophy, is the base from which multiculturalism stems. Trudeau notes this in three instances: “assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians”; “National unity … must be founded on confidence in one’s own individual identity”; and “a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework is basically the conscious support of individual freedom of choice.” The penultimate statement of his policy statement—“If freedom of choice is in danger for some ethnic groups, it is in danger for all”—clearly indicates that a liberal-democratic philosophical vision must extend protection of ethnocultural rights beyond the original bicultural recommendation.

Second, Trudeau notes that “the arts and cultural institutions of English-speaking Canada” have received “substantial public support.” He then continues by saying that the government has consciously undertaken measures to remedy past biases against French-Canadian culture. To extend the principles of liberal-democratic philosophy to all Canadians—as recommended by the B and B Commission—the government must, without partisanship, offer cultural assistance to Canada’s other ethno-cultures, while reserving official language status to English and French only. Thus, the first motion of multicultural support Trudeau declares is “the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada …”

Finally, Trudeau makes numerous references to things cultural—cultural policy, cultural freedom, cultural jealousies, cultural groups—while also saying that Canada has “no official culture.” Yet, as noted earlier, Trudeau had already deemed culture a “vague” word in his pre-leadership writings while simultaneously suggesting that the government must intervene in supporting “culture.” We should therefore consider that Trudeau’s use of “culture” in the multicultural policy statement does not imply that culture is merely expressive (or artistic) forms of culture, for he refers to “arts institutions” separately. Rather, when Trudeau says Canada has “no official culture”, he must—at least in part—imply that Canadians do not live according to a dominant or predominant ethno-culture. Taken as an anthropological interpretation of culture, Trudeau’s multicultural declaration erases previously held desires for Canadians to nurture (or re-create) a singular culture and simultaneously makes space for a distinct kind of Canadian culture molded by a multiplicity of cultures.

**Contested Culture**

Before examining the concept of multiculturalism, it may be useful to look at the etymology and signification of the term “culture”. Doing so will help to clarify the problematic place the word “culture” holds in the context of Canadian arts councils and public policy.
The Canadian Oxford Dictionary of English gives the following definitions for “culture” as a noun:

1a the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively. b a refined understanding of this; intellectual development  
2a the customs, civilization, and achievements of a particular time or people. b the mode of behaviour within a particular group,  
3 improvement by mental or physical training.  
4a the cultivation of plants; the rearing of bees, silkworms, etc. b the cultivation of the soil.  
5 a quantity of micro-organisms and the nutrient material supporting their growth.29

In the first half of the twentieth century, the first (and to a lesser extent, the third) definition reflected the dominant non-biological understanding of “culture.” Canada’s Masseyites equated culture with British notions of culture as expressive arts practices. Further, “improving” Canadians through exposure to the arts, would contribute to the development of a cultured society and a cultured, modern nation. Although it is increasingly rare, some Canadian arts workers in the twenty-first century continue to restrict their interpretation of culture to this narrow definition.

The fourth and fifth definitions of “culture” relate to the original Latin root verb *colere*—to “tend, guard, cultivate, till,” from which the Latin noun *cultura*—“a cultivating agriculture”—is derived.30 Its meaning still related to agriculture, “culture” entered the English language from middle French sometime in the 15th century. Raymond Williams notes that by the 16th century, culture began to extend its signification to the “secular process of human development.”31 This eventually resulted in the word’s usage being equated to the positive evolutionary progress of an individual (or social group) with the degree of their intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual learning. Hence, the evolution to the Oxford dictionary’s first and third definitions of culture.

30 *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. “culture,”  
31 Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed. (London: Fontana, 1983), 89.
Trudeau’s conception of culture, which I have referred to as “anthropological”, relates to the second dictionary definition. The first significant anthropological definition of culture in English comes from Edward Burnett Tyler. In his 1871 book *Primitive Culture*, Tyler offered the following still-valid definition:

Culture … taken in its widest ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. The condition of culture among the various societies of mankind, in so far as it is capable of being investigated on general principles, is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action.32

Archaeologist Even Keith Eppich argues that beyond the initial definition of culture, Tyler’s writing sustains the Northern European concerns with progress and development: of becoming “cultured.”33 As an example, Eppich quotes Tyler’s, “a transition from the savage state to our own would be, practically, that very progress of art and knowledge which is one main element in the development of culture.”34 Deconstructing this quotation, Eppich remarks that for Tyler, culture, “therefore possesses a function, a goal and the relative progression towards this goal the measure by which societies may be ranked.”35 Thus, the colonizing European nations’ belief in their own cultural and technological superiority gave them the sense of entitlement necessary to conquer nations and peoples they considered uncivilized and uncultured. This, too, was Canada’s heritage; but by Trudeau’s time in power, righting the injustices meted to Canada’s original peoples had become as important as acknowledging the distinctness of the country’s Francophone population.

An equally important writer on culture was the (previously mentioned) eighteenth century German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder who opposed European notions of superiority, suggesting that they ran counter to nature. By von Herder’s time, the German language had already adopted “culture” into its lexicon from French. Von Herder

34 Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i27.
35 Eppich, “The Progress of Culture” under “Culture as the gradual perfection of man.”
significantly shifted the meaning of culture (*Kultur*), using it to describe his own philosophy of an egalitarian *Volkskultur* (folk culture or culture of the people). Von Herder was particularly concerned with nationhood and the multiple attributes—the culture—that bind a people together and make them distinct from other groups. *Kultur*, for him, referred primarily to the idea of *Volkskultur* and *Volksgeist* (spirit of the people), notions that were about neither process nor progress. Equally importantly, it also described people in a manner that was beyond politics and class. Therefore, according to von Herder, one must speak of cultures in the plural, and the notion of multiple egalitarian cultures forms the basis of contemporary cultural belief.

Taylor points out that von Herder also iterated an ideal of individual authenticity—that “there is a certain way of being human that is *my* way”—a notion of individuality that has “burrowed very deep into modern consciousness.”36 Taylor also notes that von Herder extended the notion of being true to oneself to the macroscopic notion of the *Volk* being true to their *Volkskultur*, an idea that influenced nineteenth-century notions of nationalism in Europe. As I discuss below, both of von Herder’s philosophies—of culture and individuality—contribute to the “politics of recognition” that underlies Canadian multiculturalism, whereby cultivation of individuality may require a degree of participation in (or recognition of) one’s hereditary ethno-culture.

Gilles Paquet offers a definition of culture arguably framed by the contemporary Canadian context. He suggests that because culture “connotes a whole way of life, it would be unduly reductive to define it only on the basis of ethnicity.”37 Instead, Paquet describes culture as “a shared symbolic blueprint that guides action in what is perceived as an ideal course and gives life meaning.”38 Paquet also touches upon the role of language in culture, including how language distinguishes cultural boundaries, but how *shared* language in a diverse community facilitates exchange.

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38 Ibid., 60.
Language is indeed a central operational common denominator, or the matrix on which culture is erected. Cultural values are underlying reference points in all these communication activities. Building on this communication notion of culture, cultural identity acts as a set of boundaries that, while facilitating communication within a community, may in fact frustrate communication with “the outside”, with those who are not part of the cultural group. In an “open society” that allows for respect for diversity, social cohesion, and non-discrimination, language is a vector of communication, exchanges and mixing.39

Although Paquet’s definition of culture neither explicitly includes nor excludes the arts, the notions of cultural boundedness and cultural exchange figure prominently in the practical effects official multiculturalism has had on music-making in Canada.

Private and Public in Multiculturalism

In announcing a multicultural policy, Pierre Trudeau set into motion a process that uprooted the Massey-era concept of culture. Yet, he did this aware of the unclear meaning of “culture” and having declared that Canada had no “official culture”. Is it any wonder, then, that using and defining culture in contemporary Canada is prone to misrepresentation and misuse? Use of the term has been furthered by the discourse of multiculturalism. In the realm of arts funding, it is particularly troublesome as bureaucrats and arts workers continue to use “culture” to refer to those activities associated with expressive culture (otherwise called “the arts”—dance, music, theatre, literature, visual arts and media arts), while sometimes also referring to the wider range of human activities.40

Multiculturalism helped to revise popular notions of private and public culture. Premulticultural Canada had tolerated ethnics. As we have seen in Chapter One, the Anglo-Canadians owners of the CPR even “displayed” the differences of non-British white Canadians in their early twentieth century festivals. While the displays served in one way

39 Ibid., 20.
40 Other words have entered the bureaucratic vocabulary of multiculturalism as necessary, replacing words that have outlived their functionality or degree of political correctness in the ever-evolving rights debate.

An example of the problematic usage of “culture” occurs when bureaucrats and arts workers refer to Statistics Canada reports, which list a range of “cultural” activities that include not only the expressive arts but sports, dining, language, ethnic festivals and tourism.
to elevate the minority European ethno-cultures psychologically because of their being invited to perform their difference, the festivals were profit-oriented enterprises. As such, the festivals were vehicles for consuming, as exotica, the traditions of the ethnocultural groups whose communities dotted the Canadian landscape traversed by the railway. Apart from these staged productions of the pre-Depression era, “differences were tolerated, but deemed to be private and personal and well outside the public realm.”\textsuperscript{41} The federal government’s introduction of a multicultural policy moved some of these rituals and performances from private to public. In response, rather than assuming the need to assimilate, ethnocultural minorities began to ask for accommodation. Accommodation ranged from religious accommodation—such as making adjustments to hard hats (and helmet laws) so that Sikh engineers and construction workers did not have to cut their hair order to work on oil rigs or construction sites—to including ethnocultural dance, dress and food in municipal festivals and parades.

The primary goal of ethnocultural minorities was fair and equal access to work and civic engagement, including access to the country’s bureaucracies, which—with specific regard to cultural institutions—traditionally restricted access according to priorities of the dominant Anglo-Canadian ethno-culture. Thus, while aspects of multiculturalism have served to promote ethnocultural difference, one of the fundamental goals of Canadian multiculturalism has been to provide the necessary foundation for fostering civic engagement.

Philosopher Michael Warner contends, “there is a romantic longing for unity between the public and the private self.”\textsuperscript{42} To a certain extent, multiculturalism—steered by liberal democratic philosophy—works to unite the private and public such that each citizen has the means to fully develop as an individual and therefore fully participate in the society in which they live. If full participation of a nation’s citizenry is desirable in a democracy, then providing the means to full participation—such as various kinds of accommodation—should be a desirable political motive. Thus, depriving a person or

\textsuperscript{41} Fléras and Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada, 71.

people of their potential by denying them public display (or acceptance) of aspects they feel critical to their identity works against liberal democratic goals, and further deprives the state of engaged citizenry.

The communal action of identity politics functions to alter the public parameters that impel members of a group to relegate aspects of their selfhood to the private realm. Paul Fairfield describes the nature of identity politics in Canada as:

“a communitarian mode of thinking … [that] asserts the priority of ‘shared aspirations’ to individual freedoms. While frequently employing a vocabulary of equal rights, typically it is the rights not of individuals but of collectivities that are claimed as conditions of collective dignity and equality with other groups. The tendency to accentuate collective over individual rights has long characterized Canadian politics and has served as a key distinguishing feature between Canadian and American political cultures. … Contemporary political debate in Canada … arises between varying sorts of collectivities, including provinces, language communities, cultural and ethnic organizations, feminist groups, religious groups, and other minorities.”

According to Fairfield’s summary, ethnoculturally focused identity politics is just one of many kinds of collectivities influencing Canadian politics. The endeavours of such groups work to shift particular ethnocultural behaviours or practices from the private into a public place, and the mere act of initiating discussion of such shifts requires “a public questioning of the private.” The shift into the public space, though, demands tolerance from all those who share that space. The place where tolerance exists in tandem with democratic participation is the locus of multiculturalism’s ideals, yet by its nature, the place of tolerance demands delicate and constant negotiation of the limits of difference.

Day offers an alternate political consideration of public and private. He claims that “the problem of Canadian diversity has always been public [italics in original], it has always involved state-sponsored attempts to define, know, and structure the actions of a field of

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44 Warner, Publics and Counterpublics, 31.
problematic Others. Day shows how the “other” has changed over time, such that some of those he describes as once problematic others—Québécois, Métis, immigrants—have now become unproblematic “selves”. Contemporary Canada’s unproblematic selves are those of Western European descent. By means of elimination, today’s problematic others would consist of Canada’s aboriginal populations and visible minorities. According to Day’s thesis, these groups have not adapted to what he calls “Anglo-conformity”. Nevertheless, the inherent nature of in-group displays coupled with emphases on difference tends to reinforce stereotypes in the public imagination, and as I will argue, this affects – and can limit – the latitude of expression we give creative artists belonging to ethnocultural groups who seek funding at the arts councils.

Recognition Politics

The politics of recognition underlying Canadian multiculturalism stems—as noted earlier—from a fundamental belief in liberal democracy. Democracy grants each citizen the right to participate equally in creating, re-creating, defining and redefining the political state to which they belong—whether that belonging comes by birth or by choice. Liberalism, in a liberal democratic state, allows each citizen the freedom to create and define themselves as they desire, so long as they do so within the boundaries of the law, laws which are intended to restrict citizens from causing harm to fellow citizens. Ideally, then, liberal states promote the notion of “self-authorship” of the individual. Thus, as K. Anthony Appiah notes, “If we are the authors of ourselves, it is state and society that provide us with the tools and the contexts of our authorship.”

The first premise of self-authorship is that each individual possesses dignity and is deserving of respect. Belief in self-authorship also requires a belief in human potential,

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45 Day, Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity, 5.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid., 8.
and so long as the belief in an individual’s potential is applied universally, it “ensures that each person deserves respect” and recognition.  

Appiah suggests that modern notions of liberalism developed in the Western world through the nineteenth century when both democratic political institutions and private ownership of property became prevalent. In the twentieth century, concerns for social welfare began to complement those of democracy in politics. Welfare—specifically social welfare—became an aspect of individuals pursuing “lives worth living,” which included health, social welfare, and education. Thus, liberal politics endeavours to create “a well-ordered society” that allows one to “lead a good life.”

According to Charles Taylor, whose essay on the “politics of recognition” is, effectively, a philosophical treatment of Canadian-style multiculturalism, a person’s sense of self—his or her identity—is formed by means of relationships, or as he says, “dialogically.” The state provides a critical relationship in developing a person’s sense of identity in terms of what aspects of a person’s identity it acknowledges and what it disregards. Thus, as Taylor shows, the process of recognizing sometimes requires that the state treat some individuals (or groups) differently so that they receive the recognition and respect they deserve.

A number of strands in contemporary politics turn on the need, sometimes the demand, for recognition [italics in original]. … And the demand comes to the fore in a number of ways in today’s politics, on behalf of minority or “subaltern” groups, in some forms of feminism and in what is today called the politics of “multiculturalism.”

… The thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition [italics in original] of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being.

50 Ibid., x.
51 Ibid., 30.
52 Ibid., 232.
53 Ibid., 32.
54 Ibid., 25.
Taylor uses the phrase “difference politics” to describe the kind of politics that aims to rectify nonrecognition or misrecognition. In the process of recognizing a group adequately, difference politics necessarily makes exceptions to the notion of absolute equality and universality; thereby allowing for the possibility of acknowledging “differences”. The result is a kind of liberalism that is not equal, not universal, not neutral. Yet, the aim of difference politics is achieving fairness. Amy Gutmann notes, “The challenge for a multicultural democracy is not to be culture-blind but to be fair [italics, mine] to all individuals … Fairness, in turn, favours democratic support of cultural practices that are compatible with respect for individuals while rejecting those practices that are not.” Fairness, therefore, is not universally fair; nor is fairness a standard concept across cultures. In multicultural Canada, then, we need to acknowledge certain limitations that come with citizenship in a liberal democracy.

Choosing Identity

_When we are asked who we are, we are also being asked what we are as well._

~ Kwame Anthony Appiah

How—under an umbrella of multiculturalism that privileges ethnocultural identity—does one fashion an identity? Liberal philosophy argues that in an ideal liberal-democratic state, a person should have the right to choose and create their unique identity from amongst a number of options. Further, the ideal liberal-democratic state ought to grant freedom—or “liberty”—to its citizens to choose, while upholding its side of the liberal situation by “providing the conditions under which a choice … is possible.” In contemporary Canada, one of the choices people have is the option to attach themselves, socially and/or psychologically, to an ethnocultural community. Ideally, this choice should be an option, and for many new immigrants (for example) the infrastructure

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56 Ibid. Similarly, Appiah notes that neutrality is not neutral for it “favours neutralists over others.” Appiah, _The Ethics of Identity_, 80.
57 Appiah, _The Ethics of Identity_, xiv.
58 Ibid., 5.
provided by an established ethnocultural community can provide a beneficial association, helping newcomers negotiate their new surroundings by giving them access to the new by means of familiar symbols, traditions and language from their country of origin. But not all newcomers want to retain ties to their past, and not all Canadians are interested in maintaining connections with the ethno-cultures of their parents or grandparents. Yet, perhaps because immigrants form a significant percentage of our population or because our ethnocultural history might suggest it, we sometimes assume that a number of Canadians will (want to) identify ethnoculturally.

Statistics Canada (Statcan), the official census-taking branch of the federal government, is aware that such assumptions paint an inaccurate picture of Canadians’ own way of identifying themselves. Statcan has continued to refine their census instruments to paint a picture of Canadian citizenry that best reflects both a sociological and a psychological accuracy. While one might argue that documenting ethnocultural heritage has racial overtones, in its 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey Statcan attempted to compensate for differences between psychological and ethnocultural sensibility by asking distinct questions regarding ethnic origin (the ethnocultural heritage of one’s family) and ethnic identity (the individual’s sense of civic belonging).

I would argue that not all Canadians recognize the distinction between ethnic identity and ethnic origin. As a result, our multicultural nature lends itself to making inaccurate assumptions based upon ethnocultural generalities. Thus, when one asks Appiah’s question “who are you?” the Canadian equivalent implies, “what is your ethnocultural heritage?” If we truly believe in liberty, then the question should be interpreted as “how do you identify ethnoculturally?” and a response of “Canadian” should be a valid one.59 Unfortunately, this is often not the case, and particularly not so for visible minority and aboriginal populations.

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59 Victoria M. Esses and R. C. Gardner note that ethnic identity is more of a “psychological construct” that may have symbolic parameters, such as “pride in and attachment to one’s ethnic group,” and/or behavioural consequences, such as “outward expressions of ethnicity and culture.” Victoria M. Esses and R. C. Gardner, “Multiculturalism in Canada: Context and Current Status.” *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Sciences* 128, no. 3 (1996): 148.
Who’s Canadian?

A friend and former musical colleague, Bette B.,60 once described her frustration with identity in Canada during a casual conversation. Her delivery was hilarious and had us both in fits of laughter, but her words were revealing. When I asked whether I could write about the episode in print, Bette responded, “Yes, I remember that conversation. I like to talk about it. It ends up with, ‘I have no people! Jamaicans won't have me because I have never lived there and don't know anything about the place except for what I've been told by my parents, and Canadians won't believe I'm Canadian because I'm not white.’” Then Bette paused before exclaiming, “I have no people!”

Bette and I have occasionally talked about the positives and negatives of being people of colour in Canada, particularly in a cosmopolitan city like Toronto, where we first met. Both of us left Canada to study Western classical music in Europe and recall being stared at as if we were aliens. I constantly encountered Swiss citizens and municipal officials who refused to believe I was Canadian, while Bette had similar experiences in Austria. Now living in Halifax with her Nova Scotian-born (white, Irish-descent) husband, Bette says that people often stare at her there, even though Nova Scotia has been home to a sizeable black population for almost two centuries. Halifax’s Black population though—descendants of refugee American slaves—lived physically segregated from the rest of the Haligonian population and today remains socially segregated,61 a fact of which I was made painfully aware during the 2010 CNMN forum when one of the local composers publicly declared that he knew nothing about music-making amongst the Nova Scotian Black community. Ironically, Russell Kelly, who attended the forum as (then) head of the Music Section at the Canada Council, is an Afro-Canadian singer-songwriter with ties to Nova Scotia.

60 Bette B. is a pseudonym.
61 Interview with Bette B., (personal communication, January 2010). Approximately two thousand Black refugees – former American slaves – arrived in Nova Scotia between 1813 and 1816. Unwilling to either return to the United Sates or go to Sierra Leone, they lived segregated from the rest of the Haligonian population in an area that came to be known as Africville. The City of Halifax deprived Africville of basic utilities and sanitation for decades and in 1969 forced the residents of Africville to relocate elsewhere before razing the area.
If, as Taylor suggests, identity construction is dialogical in nature, then something in Canadian national consciousness does not want to embrace people of colour as real Canadians. At some point, the dialogue stops, leaving the person of colour forced to defend or qualify their decision to identify as Canadian. Is this because multiculturalism allows us to remain attached to our ethnocultural heritages and with this has come an expectation to remain attached to them? Is it because the vocal and powerful visible minority Canadians who want to remain identified with their ethnocultural backgrounds overwhelm the voices of visible minorities who prefer to choose “Canadian” as their ethnic identity? Is it because our country’s foreign-born non-European population has increased exponentially over the past two decades at the same time as the technologies of globalization—particularly travel and communications technology—have made it easier for immigrants to maintain connections with their places of origin? Or is it simply that we have not yet fully embraced a visible and non-visible egalitarianism that is willing to recognize a “Canadian” beyond the colour of his or her skin?

In The House of Difference, based upon research conducted in the early 1990s, Mackey contends that “whiteness is normative and ubiquitous” in Canada, and, “it is those ‘people’ historically defined as white unmarked Canadian-Canadians, who claim the final authority to define inclusions and exclusions in this civic nation.” Because most Canadians consider white Western identity as normative, Mackey argues they do not see it as “ethnic” in itself. The evolution of applying “ethnic” from anyone who was non-English (such as in J. Murray Gibbon’s time) to anyone who was nonwhite occurred towards the end of the twentieth century. Therefore, Canadian-Canadians (also called “core Canadians” by Mackey) choose the extent to which they recognize the other

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62 Recently released statistics from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship indicate that between 2001 to 2010, more than 44% of people who became permanent residents of Canada came from Asia and the Pacific countries, specifically (and in order) The Philippines, India and the People’s Republic of China. The Middle East and Africa were the second most significant “source area” of permanent residents, with percentages ranging between 19.7% and 25.1% over the same ten-year period. [Canada, Canada Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview, Permanent and Temporary Residents (Ottawa: Research and Evaluation Branch, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011), 20-27.]

63 Mackey, The House of Difference, 94.

64 Ibid., 156.
cultural groups and the contributions of those “others” to “Canadian culture, identity, and nation-building, (and in doing so help to differentiate the Canadian project of nation building from that of other nation-states.”\textsuperscript{65} Bette B.’s experiences suggest that core Canadians also determine who is a “real” Canadian.

If, as both Day and Mackey suggest, the core culture “manages, limits and tolerates” diversity, then in the process of doing so, the core distinguish themselves as distinct from ethnic (or “other”) Canadians. Core Canadians set the parameters of what makes someone a “real Canadian” by limiting the others’ abilities to be recognized domestically as Canadian. If we accept Mackey’s conclusions about whiteness as a marker of Canadian-Canadians, then skin colour is a primary limiting factor for identity in Canada. The result creates situations for people of colour – such as Bette, whose choice to identify ethnically as Canadian is constantly challenged by the society around her – that are fundamentally at odds with liberal democracy.\textsuperscript{66}

\textit{The fine line between recognizing and stereotyping}

In a discussion of identity groups that exist in democratic polities, Amy Gutmann discusses the importance of identity groups on democracy, particularly on the pursuit of equal rights through the political activism of identity groups. Yet, she singles out as unjust, identity groups defined by ascription, for “members of ascriptive groups have no choice [of voluntary association] at all.”\textsuperscript{67} Of crucial importance, an individual’s option to both join and leave (“right of exit”) a group is a defining characteristic of liberal democracy. Therefore, ascriptive association—associations made by forces external to the ascribed individual—potentially limits the democratic rights of the individual.

Groups, by their nature, invite generalizations and stereotyping; but ascriptive associations are unsolicited, and \textit{false} stereotypes that “impose inaccurate

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 89.

\textsuperscript{66} Day pushes the envelope even further, suggesting that true Canadians are Anglo-Canadians, and that while other Canadians of European heritage may appear Canadian, they will always be hyphenated by the ruling—and superior—Canadians of British ancestral origin.

\textsuperscript{67} Gutmann, \textit{Identity in Democracy}, 106.
generalizations” can accompany them.\(^{68}\) In describing group association, Appiah notes that “some people resist being fully integrated into a group so that they may gain some measure of distance from its reflexive assumptions.”\(^{69}\) Yet, where a “social conception” [italics in original] exists for a group of people, some of those people will choose to identify with the group, while others will be “treated” [italics in original] as if they were part of the group.\(^{70}\) Thus, stereotypes—whether false or simply inaccurate for a particular individual—have the potential to harm or constrain the ascribed individual.

Once labels are applied to people, ideas about people who fit the label come to have social and psychological effects. In particular, these ideas shape the ways people conceive of themselves … So the labels operate to mold what we may call identification, the process through which individuals shape their projects ... by reference to available labels, available identities.\(^{71}\)

The conundrum of a multicultural liberal democracy like Canada, then, is the struggle between liberalism, whereby the state treats its members purely as individuals without any kind of favouritism, and multiculturalism, which asks the state to recognize aspects of social (vs. individual) identities so that such recognition might allow the individual to more easily develop their authentic self. Appiah contends that ethnocultural groups came to recognize themselves as distinctive groups only following contact (and/or domination) with another group. Therefore, in his opinion “differences of identity are … prior to [italics, mine] those of culture”.\(^{72}\) In Canada, though, multicultural politics and the politics of difference recognition have infused a degree of ethnocultural stereotyping into the consciousness of many citizens creating a situation whereby presumed differences in culture potentially overwhelm (and subsume) differences in individual identity before they have had a chance to develop.

Writer Neil Bissoondath describes his introduction to this kind of ascriptive, individual-negating behaviour when he arrived in Canada in 1973 to attend university.

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\(^{68}\) Ibid., 96.
\(^{69}\) Ibid., 96.
\(^{70}\) Appiah, The Ethics of Identity, 125.
\(^{71}\) Ibid., 69.
\(^{72}\) Ibid., 66.
Bissoondath’s adviser assigned him to what he felt was the “wrong” college because the adviser had seen her new student “through the lens of her own stereotype.”

My adviser assumed that I would be most comfortable in an environment where a high percentage of students were, like me, non-white. It was an assuredly benign assumption, one made with the best of intentions – but also with no regard to my personal beliefs or intellectual interests.

He goes on to describe student groups on campus that:

would have welcomed me not as an individual but as an individual of a certain skin colour, with a certain accent, with a certain assumed cultural outlook … [groups] that would have welcomed me not for who I was and for what I could do, but for what I was and for what they presumed I represented.

Presumption and assumption are core constituents of stereotypic thinking. As Bissoondath notes, assumptions can be made with the best of intentions: perhaps they are part of the process of attempting to create a tolerant and welcoming multicultural society, even if the outcome demonstrates naïveté.

There are numerous problems with stereotype in the performing arts, but performance as representation—while contributing symbolically to multiculturalism and to the “colourful” and “diverse” nature of Canada’s performing arts scene—can have constricting influences on both performers and audiences. When ethnocultural groups (or identifiable members of ethnocultural groups) participate in festivals or intercultural displays hosted outside of their own communities—be the festivals tagged as multicultural or not—programmers invite them to do so under the aegis of “celebrating difference”. Mackey, who asserts that multiculturalism replaced Britain as a defining symbol of Canada, also suggests that bureaucrats and culture makers use cultural festivals as symbolic moments during which:

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74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., 22.
76 Mackey, The House of Difference, 65.
cultural difference is marked and brought to the foreground. … Differences are highlighted and pulled out in the service of Canadian unity, and in selling and celebrating differences. Significantly, the focus is on culture as colour, as folk entertainment, and as a product for consumption. ‘Multicultural’ festivals are an authorised space in which cultural pluralism is recognized, celebrated and sold.77

This way of highlighting difference is problematic on many levels, not least of which is the power imbalance demonstrated by the restricted use (and usefulness) of non-Canadian-Canadians’ ethnocultural displays in the “service of” Canadian-Canadians’ politics. From a liberal-democratic perspective, displaying difference in a limited way that shows only “in-group” aspects of culture is also potentially problematic. First, it denies the internal diversity of ethnocultural groups. The differences that tend to be showcased in the public arena are differences representative of the ethnocultural group, whereas, a more egalitarian (and liberal-democratic) form of multiculturalism might feature performers of various ethnic origins performing their own creative works, be the works concerned with authentic representation of an ethnocultural tradition or be they unique to the individual. Then, one might experience a true diversity of artistic expression performed by artists representing ethnoculturally different groups.

Another critical problem with promoting “in-group” performances under the rubric of multiculturalism is that such displays are often trademarked as “authentic” practices. Alone, authentic practice is not problematic and is fundamental to any kind of performance tradition. But when authentic performance practice is coupled with authenticity of ethnic origin and these two authenticities become fused in the minds of performers, audiences and programmers, then representative performance falls prey to stereotyping which can lead to situations that conflict with principles of liberal democracy.

During my conversation with Bette B., she revealed experiences with ethno-racial stereotyping that eventually cast a pall over her musical career. One particular example demonstrates how false stereotyping can be manifested in the performing arts. In this

77 Ibid., 94.
case, the holders of the stereotype had not considered the possibility of inner diversity within the broad ethnocultural group from which they wanted to hire.

*Bette described one of the last auditions she took before deciding to leave what had been a well-admired and respectable career as a professional singer. Although trained formally as an opera singer, Bette’s work crossed many genres, including contemporary opera, musical theatre, jazz, and singing backup vocals in Latin and Greek bands. Her reputation preceded her when she received a call from the producers of a new musical asking her to audition at the Toronto auditions.*

*Bette described entering the audition room and singing—as requested—three contrasting works that demonstrated the range of her vocal abilities. When she finished, the auditioners asked why she had not sung any gospel. They had expected Bette to sing something traditional to her “heritage”. Bette recalls her indignant response, “Anglicans don’t sing gospel!”*

*Ultimately, Bette appeased the audition committee and sang a spiritual. But she also decided she was not going to work for people who displayed the kind of ignorance the audition committee had.*

In Bette’s example, the auditioners equated Bette’s skin colour with a particular kind of music. They made incorrect assumptions about the style of music for which they were casting and about those who perform it. On one level, the example says something about the strength of musical stereotypes, but in this case, the false assumption also minimized Bette’s sense of self. Had the production company clearly stated before the auditions what they wanted to hear (and perhaps also *why*), Bette would have had the option to choose whether to audition for a show intending to portray some degree of musical-racial stereotype.

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78 Personal Communication (January, 2010).
The Problem with Authenticity

The Westerner’s enjoyment of ‘authenticity’ (is) ... a sort of Epcot ethnicity for the curious traveller.\(^{79}\) – Kwame Anthony Appiah

There is something deeply inauthentic about the contemporary demand for authenticity. ... Premodern cultures were traditional but in an unselfconscious fashion. Yet, multiculturalism has created ‘self-conscious traditionalism’.\(^{80}\) – Kenan Malick

An infatuation with authenticity saturates our contemporary world whether our concern is upon reception (having an authentic experience) or upon exhibition (outwardly displaying authenticity).

Dealing with notions of authenticity and stereotypes in an era of identity politics is of particular concern for visible minorities argues Neil Bissoondath in Selling Illusions.\(^{81}\) In the introduction to the second (2002) edition of the book, Bissoondath tells us that he originally wrote the book in 1994 as “a plea for the government to stop limiting those most personal of choices through its interpretation and promotion of multiculturalism.”\(^{82}\)

While his book may lack the rigour found in academic writings on multiculturalism,\(^{83}\) a number of elements have made Bissoondath’s work important and highly influential. First, he writes with the emotional passion of a writer and novelist, attributes we must not ignore when examining the state of artistic culture for visible minority Canadian artists. Second, Bissoondath is lumped in the “South Asian” category, yet multiple generations separate him from the geography of continental South Asia and from its culture, thus

\(^{79}\) Appiah, The Ethics of Identity, 151.

\(^{80}\) Kenan Malick, “Making a Difference: Culture, Race and Social Policy” in Patterns of Prejudice, 39, no. 4 (2005), 368.

\(^{81}\) Bissoondath, Selling Illusions.

\(^{82}\) Ibid.,xii.

\(^{83}\) In Multicultiphobia Phil Ryan points out that Bissoondath refers to Pierre Trudeau’s 1971 declaration as the Multicultural Act, when in fact, Trudeau only announced multiculturalism as a policy in 1971. Ryan also points out that numerous subsequent writings on multiculturalism quote Bissoondath and repeat his error, leaving many Canadians believing that “official multiculturalism” began in 1971, when in fact, multiculturalism became officially instituted as law only in 1988, previous to which it was only a policy direction. Phil Ryan, Multicultiphobia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 23.
exposing the inaccurate assumptions that can accompany government (and census) ethnocultural categorizations. Perhaps most importantly, Bissoondath is “troublesome” for pro-multiculturalists because he is an “articulate figure who … challenge[s] the seeming partition of the nation into multicultural fragments … from an immigrant perspective.”

In Selling Illusions, Bissoondath lambasts the stereotypes multiculturalism foists upon visible minorities. If we assess his stance from an artistic point of view, whereby the novelist earns his artistic worth in the process of being original and not in relying upon (or relaxing into) stereotype, Bissoondath’s criticism is understandable. His anti-multiculturalism writing has power because it comes from the pen of a visible minority immigrant to Canada who has no desire to be associated with any aspect of his ethnocultural heritage let alone to preserve or display it. As a result, numerous critics of multiculturalism have quoted from Selling Illusions. Perhaps even more succinctly than the novelist himself, David Ley pinpoints the concerns shared by Bissoondath and other anti-multiculturalist immigrants. “They disagree with the cultural essentialism of multiculturalism, seeing not only the benign project of cultural recognition, but also a more troubling consequence that reproduces cultural difference, thereby prescribing the appropriate cultural repertoire for any hyphenated Canadian.”

Bissoondath—employing a similar metaphor to Appiah’s comment on cultural authenticity—describes displays of Canadian multiculturalism at the end of the twentieth century as “a type of Disneyfied culture.” He suggests that multiculturalism devalues culture by treating it as “a thing that can be displayed, performed, admired, sold or...

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84 David Ley, Multiculturalism: A Canadian Defence, (Vancouver: Vancouver Centre of Excellence), 7.
85 Ibid., 7-8.
86 Bissoondath, Selling Illusions, 77. He also described Toronto’s Festival Caravan, which was a collection of ethnic pavilions one could visit for a nominal fee, as a “Canadian mosaic version of the Jungle Cruise at Disney World.” (Bissoondath, Selling Illusions, 76.) Yet, in 2004—after more than thirty years—the City of Toronto cancelled Caravan, due to waning public interest and a sense that the festival was no longer necessary as a symbol of municipal multiculturalism. However, similar festivals continue in Toronto suburbs (e.g. CaraBram in Brampton) and in other urban centres (Surrey, Winnipeg, Halifax, Kitchener-Waterloo, Calgary).
forgotten,” and that this kind of commodification ultimately devalues any notion of culture.\(^{87}\) Like Mackey, he also believes that Canada’s ethnic cultural festivals are “usually shaped with blatant political ends in mind.”\(^{88}\)

On the other hand, Bissoondath does not direct all of his anti-multicultural rhetoric against only those bureaucratic powers responsible for drafting and implementing the official tools of multiculturalism. He also points the finger at “professional ethnics” who purposely cultivate their exoticism, and—in a statement indicating a significant degree of opposition to Charles Taylor’s multicultural defence—“depend on their exoticism for a sense of self, … [behaviour that] can prevent an individual from being ordinary, and … from being accepted.”\(^{89}\)

Bissoondath also blames recent immigrants for contributing to the multicultural preoccupation with ethnic authenticity. He suggests that first generation immigrants exhibit an ethnic “arrogance … informed by notions of racial ethnic purity” when they demean second (or greater) generation Canadians of similar ethnocultural heritages and describe them as not “real” representatives of their ethno-culture.\(^{90}\) To suggest that someone is not a “real” or true representative of an ethno-culture presupposes a homogeneous conception of group authenticity. While individuality guarantees that no group can be internally homogeneous, Bissoondath’s example suggests a hierarchy of authentic superiority that places proximity to the source (usually geographic) at the apex of authentic ethnocultural order. As such, this kind of group authenticity has the power to overwhelm any recognition of personal authenticity simply by negating it as ethnoculturally inauthentic.\(^{91}\) Might we consider, then, that a combination of in-group

\(^{87}\) Ibid., 77.
\(^{88}\) Ibid., 78.
\(^{89}\) Ibid., 106.
\(^{90}\) Ibid., 97. Bissoondath offers, as an example, the term “banana” used by Chinese-born immigrants to describe Canadian-born citizens of Chinese heritage: yellow on the outside but white on the inside because the Canadian-born do not truly know the Chinese traditions and often do not speak Cantonese or Mandarin with fluency. Similarly, the epithet “coconut” is used to describe Canadians of South Asian ancestry.

\(^{91}\) This idea parallels Leanne Fetterley’s formula for gauging musical authenticity (discussed in Chapter 6). “Authenticity decreases relative to the level of mediation of a text or practice.
ethnic arrogance and bureaucratic strategies used to celebrate multiculturalism work

together to create and perpetuate stereotypes in the minds of Canadians outside of the

etnic groups for whom those stereotypes exist?

Where does this leave visible minority Canadians, like Bette B.—who can be neither a

Canadian-Canadian nor a “real” Jamaican? Where do they fit in the Canadian

ethnocultural landscape? How do we devalue Bette’s personal authenticity when group

stereotyping overwhelms it? To what extent has multicultural stereotyping contributed to

stunting the external projection—and the reception—of (her) personal authentic musical

voice? How much choice do visible minority artists psychologically have to choose

whether they follow the path of “prescribed appropriate cultural repertoire”?

Multicultural Timelines

While historians and political commentators generally regard Canadian multicultural

policy as groundbreaking, the 1987 report of the Standing Committee on

Multiculturalism—a group whose findings and recommendations contributed

significantly to changing the structural dominance of Canada’s Anglo-Celtic

bureaucracy—felt the 1971 policy did not go far enough. “It is unfortunate that while

bilingualism was implemented through legislation, multiculturalism was announced only

by means of a policy statement in the House of Commons and agreed to by all parties.”

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In comparison to legislation, policy is simply “an explicit statement of intent [italics,

mine] for conducting business according to certain principles and practices”. 93

Critically,

Mediation refers broadly to any ‘deviation’ from a perceived original practice, or any distance

between a musical statement and its reception” (Leanne Fetterley, “‘Give Me Real, Don’t Give

me Fake’: Authenticity, Value, and Popular Music” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2007),

118-119). Furthermore, she suggests that genres and styles “defend their borders by situating

themselves in opposition to inauthenticity.” (Ibid., 246)

92 Canada, House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, Multiculturalism: 

Building the Canadian Mosaic, Report of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism (Ottawa:

The Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, 1987), 17.

93 Fléras and Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada, 69.
citizens, businesses and governments are not legally bound to conduct their affairs according to government policy.

Sociologists Augie Fléras and Jean Leonard Elliott suggest there are two ways to interpret the effects of the 1971 policy. First, the policy supported “specific government initiatives (programs, services, funding allocations, etc.) to assist and promote the sociocultural needs of ethnoracial minorities. … [Second, it supported] the establishment of an overarching political agenda that legitimizes specific government policies and programs toward minorities along pluralistic lines.”

In “Multiculturalism: A Canadian Institution,” geographer Audrey Kobayashi identifies three stages of multiculturalism: demographic multiculturalism, symbolic multiculturalism, and structural multiculturalism. With the federal government’s 1971 multicultural policy, the government formally acknowledged the demographic reality of Canada’s multiculturalism. The government promoted this formal acknowledgment by funding ethnocultural groups that had previously been unrecognized and ineligible for cultural funding. The funding nurtured multiculturalism symbolically. In some cases, the funding allowed for the creation of ethnocultural associations; in other cases, it enabled already existing associations to expand and to create in-group language and heritage programs. The “perhaps unintentional” result of these government strategies, suggests Kobayashi, is that “by strengthening the base of community support, especially among the non-charter groups, multiculturalism became a self-fulfilling prophecy.”

Heritage Performances and Symbolic Multiculturalism

Memory requires its prostheses, and never have they been as numerous or as inventive as in our own time. (Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett)

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94 Ibid., 70.
96 Ibid., 218.
Ethnocultural displays as part of folk festivals and heritage performances have been a critical site of symbolic multiculturalism in Canada, not only as a means of advancing bureaucratic agendas but also for the role they have played in fostering the notion of ethnoculturally conscious, “representative” performance.

In “Theorizing Heritage,” Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes heritage as “the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead and the defunct. Heritage is created through a process of exhibition (as knowledge, as performance, as museum display). Exhibition endows heritage thus conceived with a second life.” If we accept that there is a hierarchy of ethnocultural authenticity in the Canadian context that is manifest by temporal proximity to the source, then to describe Canadian heritage displays as “obsolete” or “dead” is inaccurate for recent immigrants. Nevertheless, such displays are translocated and are therefore translated.

Kirsenblatt-Gimblett notes that heritage exhibition often aims to “preserve” and present heritage as preserved tradition, yet the context in which such exhibitions take place can only but produce something new. She uses the word “interface” to describe the various “instruments” that give site—and add value to—contemporary heritage exhibitions.

A key concept here is the notion of interface and the possibilities interface affords for conveying messages other than those of heritage.

… A hallmark of heritage production – perhaps their defining feature – is precisely the foreignness of the ‘tradition’ to its context of production. This estrangement … makes the interface a critical site for the production of meaning other than the ‘heritage’ message. Messages of reconciliation, of multiculturalism or biculturalism, or of development are likely to be encoded in the interface.

… The call for ‘realness’ requires that the interface, the means by which the representation is staged, be muted or concealed. … The kind of authenticity that requires the recession of the frame represses what is at stake for those whose heritage is exhibited. … The interface – folk festivals, museum exhibitions, historical villages, concert parties, postcards – are cultural forms in their own right and powerful engines of meaning.

98 Ibid., 369.
99 Ibid., 374.
100 Ibid.
A Canadian Department of Justice document on Cultural Diversity describes the Multiculturalism Directorate of the 1970s as promoting “many programs aimed at helping ethnic groups to preserve their traditions, customs, folklore and languages to reinforce the multicultural image of Canadian society” through the 1970s.\textsuperscript{101} Using Kirshenblatt-Gimbllett’s terminology, we could say that Canada’s federal government has been a primary instrument for creating the interfaces between ethnocultural preservation and public representation. One might also consider that the bureaucracies and businesses that present ethnocultural festivals discipline the “where” and “when” of displaying ethnocultural authenticity while those who are closer to the source of authenticity simultaneously discipline Canadian generations for “how” to be ethnoculturally authentic.

\textit{Towards Structural Multiculturalism—the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism}

In 1984, the Canadian Parliament’s Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society published the results of its findings in a report entitled \textit{Equality Now!}. The report—based upon testimonials by visible minority citizens—suggested that visible minority Canadians encountered numerous barriers to their ability to fully participate in Canadian society. Subsequent to the publication of \textit{Equality Now!}, Parliament created a Standing Committee on Multiculturalism (the Standing Committee) whose 1987 report identified many of the barriers in Canadian institutions—particularly governmental (and governmentally funded) institutions—that restricted equal opportunity, and by extension, equal participation. The Standing Committee’s two primary recommendations were that multiculturalism be enacted into law and that the government establish a ministry dedicated to multiculturalism. One can find much of the wording of the 1988 Multiculturalism Act in the Standing Committee’s report. Furthermore, the federal government established a Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship in 1991.

\textsuperscript{101} Peter S. Li, “Cultural Diversity in Canada: The Social Construction of Racial Difference” under “The Politics of Multiculturalism” \url{http://justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/rs/rep-rap/2002/rp02_8-dr02_8/p5.html}, accessed 09 March 2012 (Ottawa: Department of Justice, 2003, updated 2011). Although the document is on an official government web page, its title page notes “The views expressed herein are solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Justice Canada.”
In addition to making recommendations on closing the gaps of inequality in Canadian society, the Standing Committee’s 1987 report also provides a historical survey of strides made towards equality.\textsuperscript{102} The report acknowledges the CPR’s early attempts to recognize ethnocultural minorities in the 1920s. It mentions Canada’s growing independence from Great Britain following the Second World War in tandem with a weakening of Anglo-cultural influence, and it acknowledges the impact of the Quiet Revolution on Quebec and the rest of Canada. The report also observes that despite global advances in the realm of human rights, the Canadian government maintained racially discriminatory immigration policies until 1967.

The Standing Committee’s report then notes two governmental actions that strengthened the country’s political commitment to liberal democracy. First, Parliament passed the Canadian Human Rights Act in 1977, an act which prohibited discrimination based upon “race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, family status, disability or conviction for an offence for which a pardon has been granted.”\textsuperscript{103} Five years later, the Canadian government patriated the constitution, enacting sovereignty from Great Britain. Part I of the Constitution Act contains the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (the Charter), within which section 15—the Equality Rights section (which came into effect in 1985)—enhances the commitment to human rights by espousing equal rights for all Canadian citizens, and guarantees legal protection from discrimination. “Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability.”\textsuperscript{104} Critically, Paquet describes the Charter as “an invitation for all groups feeling relatively disadvantaged … to argue that equality … be interpreted not as equality of opportunity but equality of outcome [italics mine].”\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{102} Although the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism’s primary concern was ethnocultural equality, their 1987 report also takes inequalities of gender and physical disability into consideration in their recommendations.
\textsuperscript{104} Canada, \textit{Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Canadian Constitution Act, 1982}, schedule B, pt. 1, s. 15.
\textsuperscript{105} Paquet, \textit{Deep Cultural Diversity}, 139.
Although the Charter legally protected Canadian citizens from discrimination, the Standing Committee’s report suggests cultural barriers continued to limit some minorities from full participation in Canadian society.

The Multicultural Policy of 1971 is clearly insufficient and out of date. It does not have the ability to respond to the needs of today’s multicultural society. There is a sense this fifteen-year-old policy is floundering. It needs clear direction. The cultural industries and government projects are not doing enough to preserve and enhance our multicultural reality. Ethnocultural and visible minorities continue to face varying degrees of discrimination in employment … With a budget of only $23.6 million, which is minimal in comparison with other programs, Multiculturalism can only be seen as something of a marginal policy.  

The committee’s recommendations suggest that the answer to alleviating the barriers facing ethnocultural minorities lay in clarifying the conception of Canada as a multicultural nation and focusing governance around this notion. Accordingly, the committee suggested that the federal government’s first step should be to legislate multiculturalism by means of a Multicultural Act and “establish a clear policy and a full-fledged Department of Multiculturalism.” The committee recommended that the new policy should have eight principles: “multiculturalism for all Canadians; advancement of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework; equality of opportunity; preservation and enhancement of cultural diversity; elimination of discrimination; establishment of affirmative measures; enhancement of heritage languages; and support for immigration integration.”

The Standing Committee had specific concerns regarding culture, the arts and the need to “multiculturalize” Canadian cultural institutions. The report noted,

In recent years, there has been a debate as to the direction of the [multicultural] policy. Some groups see the multicultural policy as being primarily, or in some cases, only a cultural policy. According to this view, the policy should focus on cultural retention – on language, dance, food, festivals, music, traditions and religion. This was the focus of the policy in the early seventies. According to this view, the

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106 Canada, House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, Multiculturalism: Building the Canadian Mosaic, Executive Summary.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
logical growth of the policy would therefore be to effectively “multiculturalize” the mainstream cultural agencies, e.g. the Canada Council, the CBC, the NFB, National Museums, Public Archives, etc. If Canadian culture is genuinely multicultural, i.e. culturally pluralistic, then the Minister for Multiculturalism should be in charge of all cultural agencies. …109

Within a few years, these concerns had an impact on previously unreceptive cultural funders such as the Canada Council.

Legislating Structural Multiculturalism

On July 21, 1988, the Canadian Parliament passed the Canadian Multiculturalism Act: an Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada. The Act formally acknowledges Canadian commitment to equality and equal protection by law of all individuals irrespective of their beliefs, backgrounds or differences. Critically, the Act recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada.110

Embedded within the Multiculturalism Act is a new Multiculturalism Policy, which states,

(1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada to
(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;
(b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada’s future;
(c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation;
(d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;
(e) ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;

109 Ibid., 22.
110 Canada, Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988, 2.
(f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada’s multicultural character;

(g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

(h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;

(i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and

(j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.111

The second part of the new policy provides guidelines for federal institutions.

(2) It is further declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada that all federal institutions shall

(a) ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions;

(b) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute to the continuing evolution of Canada;

(c) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society;

(d) collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada;

(e) make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins; and

(f) generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada.112

As a final step in implementing multiculturalism at a federal structural level, Parliament approved and passed legislation to create the asked-for Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship, which became a functioning department in 1991. Michael Dewing and Marc Leman, in their official parliamentary overview of multiculturalism, note that the new department became responsible for three programs:

• Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding “to promote among Canadians and in Canadian institutions appreciation, acceptance and implementation of the principles of racial equality and multiculturalism”;

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111 Ibid.
112 Ibid.
• Heritage Cultures and Languages “to assist Canadians to preserve, enhance and share their cultures, languages and ethnocultural group identities”;
• Community Support and Participation “to support the full and equitable participation in Canadian life of individuals”\textsuperscript{113}

Yet, the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship functioned for only two years before being integrated into a new mega-department, the Department of Canadian Heritage. The Department of Canadian Heritage (Department of Heritage) became responsible for official languages, arts and culture (including the Canada Council), broadcasting, national parks and historical sights, voluntary action, human rights, amateur sports, state ceremonial affairs and the National Capital Commission.

\textit{Structure and Change}

In its official title—the Canadian Multiculturalism Act: an Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada—the Act stresses “preservation” and “enhancement”. “Preservation” implies maintaining something, possibly maintaining it in stasis or beyond its natural life; and the emphasis on unnatural preservation is at the heart of the anti-multiculturalist stance taken by Bissoondath. “Enhancement”, on the other hand, suggests momentum. The Multiculturalism Act contains key words suggesting that “enhancement” implies going beyond preservation. Articles 1(g) and 1(h), in particular, of the Act’s Multiculturalism Policy state that the Government of Canada shall: “promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins…”; and “… promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures.”\textsuperscript{114}

The creative interaction and evolving expressions represents one face of multiculturalism, while preservationism represents another side. These two possible cultural outcomes of official multiculturalism are not unlike the dual natures and interpretations of authenticity. Moreover, appreciating this duality may hold a key to improving the way

\textsuperscript{114} Canada, “Multicultural Policy” in \textit{Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988}.
cultural funders assess creative expression (particularly music) within the arts granting agencies.

By spelling out the responsibility of the Government of Canada and its institutions to uphold multiculturalism in the second part of the 1988 Multicultural Policy, the government placed its own institutions (including Crown Corporations such as the CBC, the Canada Council and the National Film Board) at the heart of structural change, effectively imposing a kind of affirmative action. As a result, the federal arts funder, the Canada Council, had no choice but to change its internal policies for hiring, granting programs and funding priorities in order to comply with the Multiculturalism Act. The council’s Music Section had to fundamentally alter its aesthetic and artistic priorities, until then firmly oriented around Western classical music, to open its doors to all professional Canadians musicians irrespective of not only ethnic heritage but also—and by necessary extension—genre.
Part II
The Canada Council for the Arts (est. March, 1957)
Ontario Arts Council (est. 1963)
Toronto Arts Council (est. 1974; arm’s-length 1986)

Table 1. Other Provincial Arts Funders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Name of funder</th>
<th>Date of Creation</th>
<th>Arm’s-Length status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>British Columbia Cultural Services Branch</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(current) British Columbia Arts Council</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
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<td>Alberta</td>
<td>Alberta Cultural Development Branch</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(current) Alberta Foundation for the Arts</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>Saskatchewan Arts Board</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>Manitoba Arts Council</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>Quebec Department of Cultural Affairs</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conseil des arts et des letters Québec</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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</table>

1 The Toronto Arts Council, although created by the City of Toronto in 1974, did not become an arm’s-length organization until the mid-1980s. According to Beth Reynolds, the TAC’s Director of Grants, “the TAC made recommendations, but the city issued the cheques.” At the prodding of local artists who were concerned about transparency, Reynolds says the TAC became an arm’s-length agency around 1986. (Beth Reynolds, telephone conversation with author, March 2013).

2 Where arts councils or government cultural funder names have changed, I have given the original name (or government sector) of the provincial cultural funder and the current funder’s name (as of 2013). In some cases, particularly where the funder is not at arm’s-length to the government, the name has changed multiple times between the original date and the current. Additionally, I have checked “arm’s-length” only in the cases where the legislative act—defining each funder’s relationship to its provincial government—explicitly states an “arm’s-length” status.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province/Region</th>
<th>Arts Authority/Website</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Active?</th>
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<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>Department of Culture, Arts New Brunswick</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture (current)</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Arts Nova Scotia</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
<td>Prince Edward Island Council of the Arts</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Newfoundland &amp; Labrador</td>
<td>Newfoundland Division of Cultural Affairs</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Yukon Territories</td>
<td>Yukon Arts Council, Yukon Arts Advisory Council</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2000</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>Northwest Territories Department of Culture and Communication</td>
<td>1985</td>
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<td>Nunavut</td>
<td>Nunavut Arts Council</td>
<td>1991</td>
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Introduction to Part II

Setting the Stage: the Structures of Racism

During my PhD studies, racism confronted me in a way that disrupted my research and shook my sense of self to the core. Encountering racism was not new to me. I dealt with it regularly through my childhood in Calgary in the 1970s, and I encountered it while living in continental Europe in the late 1980s. In comparison to other countries in which I had studied and countries I had visited, I thought of Canada at the end of the twentieth century as a relatively racism-free country; and for overt racism, that may be true. Thus, when a colleague who worked as a junior producer at the CBC—and who had once referred to me musically as “the real deal”—said to my face, “the only reason you are a member of the Toronto Arts Council is because you’re a woman of colour. And that’s probably how you got into the PhD program too,’’ I was completely stunned. Any illusions I had about Canada being racially enlightened were shattered. While I suspected my “difference” probably worked in my favour academically, that someone should question my musicianship based on my skin colour was inconceivable to me. I have been unsure of other things in my life, but never of my musicianship, nor have I ever had cause to question it. One of the reasons I value being a musician—and especially a recording musician—is that microphones are incapable of racial discrimination: my musical worth is dependent upon being heard, not seen.

Unfortunately, the distinction between “heard” and “seen” has a racial component in the contemporary Canadian music scene: stereotyping. As a musician, I have confounded contemporary ethnic stereotyping. Too often, people who do not look beyond the cover of my name and headshot make assumptions about my musical background, assumptions that—in their minds—should accord with my ethnic heritage. Thus, because I defy stereotyping, I fight against them in music assessment. If I have any privilege at all, it is in my ability to speak the lingua franca of the still-privileged musical establishment rather than because of my visible minority status. It is a strange predicament to be
resented because I am “other” but also not other. A twist of fate caught me in an era between colonial and postcolonial, the child of parents who were thoroughly colonized but by circumstance of time and place did not experience decolonization.

Racism is a strong word. One might ask why we need to talk about it in the context of contemporary Canadian music-making and its funding. Does racism exist in Canadian music? Is it an issue in funding? In the concluding chapter of their edited 2009 publication, *The Politics of Race in Canada*, Wallis and Fléras unequivocally write,

the common assumption of Canada as a raceless society is simply a hegemonic lie. … Race is deeply embedded in the core values, institutional arrangements and Eurocentric constitutional order of Canadian and American societies. No amount of denial over race-neutrality can dislodge an entrenched structural whiteness.¹

In his memoirs, educator and contributor to the multiculturalism section of the Canadian constitution, Manoly R. Lupul recalls a 1978 paper he gave about racism:

I attributed racism in North America mainly to the small value placed upon liberal education by “a very special type of white man—the Anglo-Celt—who is the model for all other white men, except possibly the French Canadians of Quebec and the Acadians of New Brunswick.” As a result, a “conspiracy of silence” about minorities has prevailed among most Canadians, who are ill equipped to deal with the differences of colour, language, religion, social class and ethnicity around them. In the circumstances, racial minorities could aspire to only a “modest” role in Canada, as North American whites were not particularly fond of immigrants, and “dark-skinned immigrants who can explain things are particularly obnoxious.”²

Racism has also affected the public agencies that fund music in Canada. In a 1992 article that examines the equity initiatives undertaken by the same three arts councils that are the focus of this study, Cameron Bailey writes of the councils,

critics have pointed out that the staffing, jury selection and everyday communications of arts councils excluded all but a privileged minority, and that the definitions of excellence, professionalism and art itself … were biased in favour of European high art traditions. In other words, arts councils were relentlessly white, ignoring both the complexity of the communities they served, and the dangerous

internal rot indicated by systemic racism. In a country where a working artist is almost by definition a government-funded artist, this situation amounted to state-sanctioned cultural apartheid.³

Efforts to remedy funding imbalances attributable to race have taken place over the past twenty years, but we cannot assume that racism in some form—subtle, overt or structural—does not continue to affect the three arts councils that concern this study. Most importantly, believing that music and the arts are beyond “race”—especially maintaining such a belief in Canada—is naive.⁴ Canada’s race politics has profoundly affected music-making in the country, and the work of antiracism advocates has radically changed the funding priorities of the arts councils. For this reason alone, it behooves us to examine the premises that underlie antiracist advocacy in Canada. Furthermore, as music is heavily imbued with cultural symbolism, and because music is often used as an ethnocultural marker, it cannot remain beyond the scope of antiracism critique.

Antiracism Advocacy and Equity
The goal of achieving equity amongst Canadian citizens motivates many who concern themselves with race politics. As a means of fighting for democratic rights, antiracism advocacy became the natural successor to the original multicultural campaign for recognition, and the contemporary campaigns of antiracist activists are deeply intertwined with multiculturalism and multicultural politics. Wallis and Fléras suggest that although Canada is far from being a racism-free country, over the past twenty years, “the race dynamic (has been) transformative in its process and outcome.”⁵

Following the passing of the Multicultural Act, antiracist advocates—finally, with multiculturalism’s laws of equal citizenship on their side—began tackling the country’s racism and Eurocentrism. As a result, official strategies to combat race-based and ethnic

⁴ How often do we hear the phrase, “music is a universal language”? Research by the world’s ethnomusicologists should have rendered such a belief obsolete, but it continues to be heard as a rallying cry of social equality, often uttered by the most well-intentioned of cultural and social advocates.
prejudices began to change the functioning and priorities of all federal government structures and bureaucracies. These changes and antiracist reforms began taking place in earnest at the beginning of the 1990s.

Most provinces also have forms of multicultural legislation, enabling provincial legislators to institute similar antiracism and equity initiatives as those created for federal departments. Provincially, Saskatchewan was the first province to pass multicultural legislation in 1974. Ontario followed three years later with a multicultural policy. Yet, Michael Dewing and Marc Leman note in their official federal parliamentary document on multiculturalism that—until it established a Ministry of Citizenship and Culture in 1982—Ontario succeeded only in promoting “cultural activities of the various ethnic groups.” Substantial, structural changes at the provincial level came only at the end of the 1980s.

Dewing and Leman note that race politics has had transformative effects on minorities’ sense of identity, affecting in particular the way they use their identity socially and politically. “Racialized minorities rely on race as identity construction, to challenge Eurocentric constructs, as grounds for recognition and equality according to equity programs, and as a basis for anti-racism politics.”

In explaining racism in the contemporary Canadian context, Wallis and Fléras make important distinctions between the various terms used to describe the sociology of racial inequality in Western democracies. In the United Kingdom, the term most often used to discuss the social influence of race and its ramifications is “racialization”; in the United States, it is “racial formation.” In Canada, antiracist theorists talk about “systemic racism.” The Canadian phrase focuses on collectivities—networks of social machinations greater than the individual—implying that the collectivities harbour and sustain racist thought and behaviour, whether consciously or unconsciously, to maintain the status quo.

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6 Dewing and Leman, Canadian Multiculturalism, 14.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid., 256.
To expose structural racism, antiracist activists look at who is seen, who is heard, who is hired, who receives contracts and who receives funding. They contrast those “whos” with who is not seen, not heard, not hired, not contracted or not funded. In this way, antiracist theorists have found patterns clearly pointing towards a history of systemic biases against non-European and non-Western behaviours and practices in Canadian institutions.

One of the most vocal and oft-quoted antiracist theorists in Canada, sociologist Himani Bannerji, feels multiculturalism serves as a mechanism for controlling the country’s nonwhite immigrant population. Describing the perspective of an early 1970s nonwhite immigrant to Canada, she writes,

non-white and Third World legal and illegal “immigrants” and “new Canadians” feel that the machinery of the state has us impaled against its spikes. … (It) rules our lives with “regulations.” …

But simultaneously with the growth of the state we grew too, both in numbers and protest, and became a substantial voting population in Canada. We demanded some genuine reforms, some changes—some among us even demanded the end of racist capitalism—and instead we got “multiculturalism.”

**Naming**

In tandem with multiculturalism, Canadians moved beyond naming each other linguistically—as Anglophone or Francophone. The spirit of recognition created hyphenated Canadians, hyphenated according to ethnocultural backgrounds: Polish-Canadian, Haitian-Canadian, Indo-Canadian, etc. Bannerji suggests that this act of naming opened a kind of Pandora’s Box of evolving labels, each new label meant to exhibit both tolerance and appropriate acknowledgment. As the nomenclature evolved, new terms typically were more general, encompassing a greater number of people. Thus, Indo-Canadian (the appellation with which I am most familiar) became South Asian, to describe people with genetic roots from the Indian subcontinent but cultural or national affiliations not necessarily rooted in contemporary India. South Asian then became swallowed by the term “visible minority,” a term describing anyone who was visually not

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white. “Visible minority” evolved into the term currently in vogue in Canadian bureaucracies: “historically disadvantaged.”

Historically disadvantaged is the least racial of the minority designations, and therefore, it might seem the most politically correct one. It acknowledges the large swathes of peoples who, at some time in Canada’s history, have not had the privilege of full participation in the country’s bureaucratic systems. Along with the term “diversity”, “historically disadvantaged” includes the greatest number of potentially disadvantaged peoples; but in claiming a possible disadvantage, the two terms are also the most nebulous of categories under which almost any disadvantage can be claimed. Thus as Bailey notes, “the phrase ‘culturally diverse’ is consistently used as a polite codeword that includes people of colour but doesn’t necessarily exclude anyone else.”

Musically speaking, funding bodies (and musicians) justify the relatively recent addition of various genres associated with popular music to funding streams according to the logic that such genres have been “historically disadvantaged”. By extension, the creators of popular music—the songwriters and their backup musicians—can claim to belong to a historically disadvantaged group of people. Justifying disadvantage then becomes a question of semantics. For an antiracist, the justification of disadvantage beyond race becomes an example of the historically advantaged taking advantage of the bureaucratic system: something potentially easier for them to do because—having been a part of the system already—they are more familiar with the system and have the tools to manipulate it. In the most basic instance, this can mean simply knowing that funders exist.

While “visible minority” is still widely used by the general Canadian population, those I spoke with at the Canada Council and the Department of Heritage used the phrase “historically disadvantaged”; often subtly correcting me by responding to my questions and comments about “visibility minorities” with responses about the “historically disadvantaged”.


For example, the OAC and the Canada Council only fund professional artists, thus they were not responsible for funding ethnocultural community groups seeking cultural preservation funding. As a result, non-Western musical genres have not had the historical benefit of knowing that funding exists for artists at the professional level.
As a result, granting program submissions include applications from non-visible musicians who emphasize their ethnic heritage and then attempt to make their need for funding due to a lack of social recognition and a lack of ethnocultural representation. For example, an increasing number of Western classical musical organizations (particularly smaller ones) choose to emphasize the ethnocultural identity of their conductor (or founder), who in turn relies on members of his/her ethnocultural group to support the group—often both financially and as audience members—thus making the group appear ethnically galvanized. The group then emphasizes their ethnocultural identity in arts grant applications, claiming they “represent” their specific ethnocultural community. They further substantiate this claim by programming works by composers belonging to their ethnocultural community. Yet, the music the group performs is not significantly different to that traditionally performed by other, well-established Western classical ensembles. The difficulty for an arts council jury then becomes one of deciding whether to assess this kind of group along genre lines—according to the components of “artistic excellence” normally used to assess Western classical music, or to assess the group on the basis of ethnocultural representation, thus appealing to the psycho-social parameters of recognition politics.

**Racism and Identity**

In the early days of ethnocultural community formation, many communities banded together so that that the body politic might recognize them as distinct and viable communities. The communities—if seen as sizeable groups—could apply to the government for ethnoculturally targeted funding. According to Bannerji, the funding tended to serve two purposes: to create (or expand upon) “essential services” for communities inadequately served by existing public services; and to help sustain the ethnic community and maintain its identity. While the ethnocultural coming together had the effect of creating “strength in numbers” communities and contributed to the

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14 Some Toronto-based ensembles include musicians who are also from the same ethnocultural background and who then become part of the core ensemble, but often, a greater number of musicians have no ethnocultural ties to the ensemble and are simply a part of the freelance pool of local professionals.

15 Ibid.
sociological notion of “institutional completeness”, it also tended to contribute to the singular, homogeneous perceptions of a group’s socio-cultural makeup. The result accentuated (or exaggerated) stereotypes in the minds of other Canadians, being of benefit to group recognition and of disservice to internal idiosyncrasies. Thus, Bannerji suggests that cultivating and promoting ethnocultural groups and their politics has created “an unofficial apartheid of culture and identity [that] organizes the social space of Canada.”\(^\text{16}\)

Ironically, the ethnocultural groups that initiated the push for recognition were those European communities that J. Murray Gibbon attempted to recognize in his CPR festivals of the 1920s and in his publications. During Gibbon’s time, non-British European ethnicities made up Canada’s racial “others”. If we accept Eva Mackey’s hypothesis that at the end of the twentieth century one could describe a typical Canadian as *non-visible*\(^\text{17}\)—or “white” of European descent, irrespective of whether they are a multigenerational Canadian or a recent immigrant—then racism today applies to those who are visible and not white. As Bannerji notes,

> all white people, no matter when they immigrate … become invisible … while others remain immigrants generations later. … If Ukrainians now seek to be ethnics it is because the price to be paid is no longer there. … They have been ingested by a “white-Anglo” ethos, which has left behind only the debris of self-consciously resurrected folklores as special effects in “ethnic” shows.\(^\text{18}\)

Bannerji touches upon the troubling intersection of identity politics, ethnocultural representation and equitable representation. By emphasizing ethno-cultures in a seemingly egalitarian manner, initiatives that might seek to address inequity (such as publicly funded and publicly performed “ethnic” shows) contribute to what Bannerji, Bailey and Bissoondath all describe as “cultural apartheid” at the level of performed culture.\(^\text{19}\) Showcasing the performance of difference reinforces ethnocultural stereotypes

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\(^\text{17}\) Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference*.
\(^\text{18}\) Bannerji, “The Dark Side of the Nation,” 11.
while it masks other issues of inequity faced by visible minority performers. Sometimes, the result is a kind of racial profiling in Canadian artistic culture.

Those unaware of the weight of otherness may also see the representation as more important than the individual. When this happens, the result can amplify the disrespect if the individual is also the creator, for it negates authorship of the creation along with self-authorship of the individual. Toronto-based singer-songwriter Cyrus Sundar-Singh, whose artistic output does not fall into an ethnically stereotypical category, relates a personal story that highlights the egregious result of such assumptions.

In December 1999, the ROM was launching the Christopher Ondaatje South Asian Gallery. Two years prior to that, I was invited to be part of its community consulting group. At the end of it, there was a big launch and I was invited to perform. I had just launched my album (previous to the gallery opening); so, I had all my promo stuff. They said, “We’ll use you to promote the [event].”

So there’s a great huge picture of my face in the paper: a full page ad. This is great for me, right? What does the caption say? “South Asian Artist.” That’s it. Who’s the South Asian artist??

I have been promoting and making music and using marketing for twenty years. Everything I send out has the name of the artist and the name of the photographer – and in this case, the photographer was Michael Chambers. The rule of thumb: put the artist’s name, and the photo credit on. That’s how it’s done.

So somebody – someone who is getting paid a salary – had to consciously make a decision to put the phrase “South Asian artist” and had to consciously not put the photo credit and not put my name. What does that mean??

I have problems with “South Asian”. I don’t know where South Asia is! I don’t talk about that term. It was a hit to the ego; a hit to my professional ego; a hit to my professionalism; and a hit to my politics.

A mistake is one thing: this was not a mistake. It may not have been a conscious decision to wipe me away, but it was a conscious decision to make it universally-sounding: a political correctness of some sort that went awry. It also said, “You’re just a South Asian. You’re a museum piece.” What if it was Gordon Lightfoot? Would you say, “Canadian artist”? Even that would have made more sense.

It’s about the value. I’ve paid my dues, done my work, I’m part of the industry and pffew! (makes the sound of a bullet being fired). It’s back to the starting gate. It’s a question of someone who is not a minority making an executive decision that they thought was right without consulting anyone else, and they made the wrong decision. Talk about value! My uncle didn’t take this picture, Michael Chambers took this picture! That’s why I paid him. But Michael Chambers isn’t white; maybe that’s why he didn’t get his photo credit.20

Thus, in a calculated move founded in the ignorance of someone naïve to the extra burden visibility brings to personal identity, the musical career Cyrus had built and the name he had carved for himself were obliterated when that “someone” saw Cyrus not as an individual, but as an ethnic.21

**Racism and Liberal Democracy**

A further complication with systemic racism is that it exists within the paradox of democratic philosophy. While democracy aims to nurture a fair and just society in which each person is treated equally, the act of launching interventions such as equity programs that promote one kind of person over another “is perceived to be in conflict with, and a threat to, liberal democracy.”22 Thus Wallis and Fléras note that, “according to the tenets of colour blind ideology and liberal universalism, race no longer matters because people are fundamentally the same under the skin and equal before the law.”23

On the other hand, Carol Tator and her colleagues suggest that most Canadians “hold some degree of racist attitudes. But … most Canadians also recognize that these attitudes are socially unacceptable.”24 If this is true, then Canadians’ beliefs are at odds with their commitment to a democratic society in which not only race, but gender, age and disability are irrelevant. As a result, the term for subtle racism in a democratic society is “democratic racism”. Tator et. al. define democratic racism as “an ideology in which two conflicting sets of values are made congruent to each other. Commitments to democratic principles such as justice, equity and fairness conflict with … negative feelings about minority groups.”25 Further, the authors suggest,

> Racist ideology organizes, preserves and perpetuates the power structures in society. … [A] system of dominance is communicated and reproduced through agencies of

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21 As a musical persona, Sundar-Singh used only the name “Cyrus”.
25 Ibid., 115.
socialization [such as]... mass media, schools, religious doctrine, symbols and images, art, music, and literature.\textsuperscript{26}

How does racism persist in a country like Canada, a country strongly commitment to democracy, and a country often cited as the model for ethno-racial tolerance? Tator and her colleagues, again, believe that the emphasis on “tolerance” results in a situation whereby the average Canadian must “tolerate” the peculiarities of those whom they consider “other.” Yet in their analysis, this premise of tolerance merely veils an underlying belief “that the dominant way is superior.”\textsuperscript{27}

**Music and Equity**

Canadian arts councils maintained beliefs in the supremacy and normativity of Eurocentric aesthetics well into the late 1980s and early 1990s. One could argue that aspects of this supremacy continue to linger, if not among fulltime council employees, then amongst peer assessors hired by the councils to help make decisions on arts grants. Such attitudes, then, are extra-structural to the councils: learned prejudices that contribute to maintaining a level of structural racism in the arts. At the same time, the bureaucratic funding mechanisms that govern arts councils also contribute to the structural hierarchy that sustains Eurocentric musical dominance. Nevertheless, the passing of the official Multiculturalism Act gave people who did not qualify for government funding programs—including arts programs—the legal right to demand changes to the programs so that the government agencies could not be accused of discrimination.

In the years leading up to the establishment of official multiculturalism, non-Charter Canadians of European descent likely had little reason to take issue with the existing music funding programs. If they did, then it could only be to argue against arts councils’ genre biases. Western classical music—the mainstay of arts council music funding—was part of the pan-European tradition. Thus, while they took issue with the *kinds* of music funded by arts councils, Canadians of European heritage could not make the same charges as those accusing the councils of racism. In contrast to Canadians of European

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 109.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 117.
descent, most non-European and non-American immigrants came from cultures with significantly different aesthetic practices than the Western classical musical traditions. They therefore had the grounds to demand substantial changes from arts councils.

Although the arts councils in this study exist at arms-length to the government, they were not immune to the antiracist equity initiatives that became de rigueur for all government institutions. Between 1989 and 1992, the Canada Council, the Ontario Arts Council and the Toronto Arts Council all submitted themselves to Equity Reviews and began the process of implementing equity initiatives.

Layers of complexity
Musically speaking, issues of race can influence: the kind of music ethnocultural groups choose to learn; the kinds of music one assumes an ethnically identifiable musician will (or should) play; and the kinds of music and musicians Canadian politicians and music programmers choose as representative of the country and representative of multiculturalism. All of these can subtly affect an artist’s choice—or whether they even feel they have a choice—between performing ethnic authenticity or expressing with creative license.

The encouragement of formerly nonprofessional musics towards professionalism has also disrupted the boundaries between professional and amateur. The shift of many non-Western musicians who did not know professional status in Canada before the 1990s has been accompanied by uneven loyalties to the professional trade organization—the American Federation of Musician (the AFM)—that has traditionally set minimum fee payment structures and regulated the working conditions for musicians in the United States and Canada. As a regulatory body, the AFM created particular parameters of

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28 This is not to say that Western classical music and Western aesthetic values were foreign to people from postcolonial countries. As I discuss in Chapter 6, members of elite segments of colonial society and indigenous civil servants (as well as many converts to Christianity) received European schooling; as a result, many regard Western classical music as part of their own cultural heritage.

29 In 2010, the Canadian branch of the AFM began to use the name “Canadian Federation of Musicians” (CFM) rather than “AFM Canada”. According to Charlie Gray (Secretary of the
professionalism and professional behaviour that ensure a member’s time should be valued, financially compensated and contractually bound similar to that of any other professional person. Thus, AFM services are characterized by punctual start and end times for rehearsals and concerts, a limited number of sequential rehearsal hours and prescribed breaks within those hours, and expectations that musicians will be prepared and committed to working during the hours outlined in the contract. Today, though, growing numbers of non-Western classical performing musicians do not become part of the AFM, a situation the organization attributes partially to the growing diversity of professional musicians. Musicians unfamiliar with the established structure—or uninterested in becoming part of it—sometimes manifest professionalism in contradictory and conflicting ways to those of AFM musicians. This may include not wanting to file contracts with the AFM or not wanting to pay AFM rates, paying only for performances and not for rehearsals, or having nebulous start and end times for rehearsals (and sometimes performances). Along with not valuing musicians according to AFM guidelines for professionalism, non-AFM members often disagree with members of other unions (particularly the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees—or IATSE) who work in rehearsal and performance venues. IATSE members will not work without a contract nor negotiate beyond their contracts, but—out of mutual labour union respect—they will adjust their schedules to work around AFM contract schedules. The result of this uneven sense of professionalism can reinforce musical hierarchies that place Western musics at the top of the professional pyramid.

Toronto chapter of the AFM), the change was akin to “the enharmonic naming of a note” and the reason for the change “was so that when one is lobbying government, etc., the first word out of mouth wouldn't be ‘American’.” (personal communication, July 2012). The CFM describes itself on its webpage (accessed via the AFM homepage) as “a complementary, yet independent, office of the American Federation of Musicians”. [http://www.afm.org/departments/canadian-office-bureau-canadienne](http://www.afm.org/departments/canadian-office-bureau-canadienne) accessed January 10, 2013.

In an August 2000 International Musician magazine focused on diversity, the AFM’s Diversity Council notes that “to be fully representative of the full range of musicians in our society we must reach out to musicians from the many ethnic and cultural backgrounds who have not yet found a place in our membership.” [http://www.afm.org/about/diversity/past-articles#d9](http://www.afm.org/about/diversity/past-articles#d9) accessed June 15, 2012.
On Cultural Equity

In a 1992 report on Cultural and Racial Equity prepared for Ontario’s Minister of Culture and Communications, Cultural Strategist Lillian Allen (also a dub poet and reggae artist) offers a thoughtful analysis of the predicament of culture and cultural policy in a contemporary era of ethnocultural diversity that is nevertheless situated in a historical context of Eurocentric culture. Allen suggests that the prospect of opening culture in Ontario to types of culture practiced by those previously denied access raises more than just bureaucratic complexities: it threatens the markers that have been used to determine cultural value:

There is a wide spectrum of ideas and approaches within any given community with respect to the arts and culture, there is diversity within diversity, and there is also the individual, singular vision which drives the artist …

In recent years, we have been witnessing an evolution in cultural thinking in North America from the assimilationist (“melting pot”) philosophy to cultural self-definition. The idea of the “universal man” whose art and culture would serve and reflect all people was shown to be a Eurocentric creation. While such art was defined as cultured, artists outside of this milieu were considered “folk” artists. This undermines one of the central elements of culture itself, which is self-determination.

… The systemic barriers of racism, culture, language, domination, sexism, elitism and the authority of “high culture” have rendered many valuable aspects of Ontario’s culture barely valid or insignificant. Historically, this has not only translated into a lack of responsive programs and lack of funding support, but also into a lack of acknowledgement of the numerous barriers that exist.

… Pressure from [the broader-based community] should have been seen as a challenge and an opportunity to make structures more fully literate with respect to the population and all the people of Ontario. Instead, the demands from these communities and the issues raised have precipitated an intellectual crisis in cultural development policy, resulting in the clash of ideas and assumptions …

… The systemic approach to ‘celebration’ in the past produced an unbalanced emphasis on superficiality and nostalgia. Systemic bias towards “song and dance, show and taste,” served as the official definition of “ethnic” / “multicultural” cultures, thus making invisible the work of contemporary Canadian artists and cultural workers in the “ethnic” and “multicultural” communities. This invisibility and lack of support for contemporary cultural developments and lack of support for the artists in these communities, also, tended to invalidate the very existence of such artists and their work. As an approach, the “celebration” emphasis failed to facilitate a creative engaged connection with contemporary realities.

… Cultural support and development under the rubric of current inherited multicultural practice have failed to invigorate culture in all communities, failing to create a dynamic interaction between past, present and future. This worked mostly to keep people “in their place,” and did not facilitate an engagement with a “mainstream,” nor create intercultural development and cross-cultural dialogue. …
stigmatized culture and art from non-European traditions as being without artistic standard and merit … and justified a split into two classes of funding: between “standard” forms and “multicultural” forms of expression, as if European “cultured” art were not part of the “multi” in “multicultural”.31

From the early 1990s onwards, the Canada Council, the Ontario Arts Council and the Toronto Arts Council made conscious gestures towards equity. Today, access to arts council funding exists for all musicians and for all genres of music, but the intersections between artistic merit, ethnocultural representation, legacy advantage and aesthetic diversity continue to be contentious.

Chapter 4
Arts Councils and Institutional Change: Democratizing and Diversifying Music

Extract from the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism 1987 Report

All too many professional artists of minority ethnocultural origins have complained that their applications are rejected by the major agencies on the basis that they should go to the Multiculturalism Sector. The Sector in turn points to its meager budget and concentrates on developmental work for amateur artists. [emphasis mine]

Historian Richard Gwyn’s picture of a changed Canada (mid-1992)

I had come home to live in Toronto from London, England, where I’d been posted for nearly seven years ... No sooner were we back than we went through a culture shock as severe as the one we’d experienced as new arrivals in Britain ...

A good deal of the Canada we’d left behind in 1985 had evaporated. In its place a quite different kind of society was emerging, far more diverse... above all, far more fractured. ... [The] old foundation Canada was becoming almost meaningless to the emerging, polyglot, urban Canada. ...

This impeding revolt against the élite would constitute a break with our entire tradition of deference to authority. ... a new resistance, stubborn and sullen, had developed to paying taxes. ... 

Stephen Lewis ... would produce a report to the Ontario government describing Canada as a “systemically racist” society. ... 

... As the race issue went, so multiculturalism seemed to be going. Terms like Italian-Canadian and Sikh-Canadian and the rest weren’t new in themselves. But these now seemed to carry an emphatic, exclusionary quality, as if those who belonged to ethnic groups had acquired the right to define the terms of their citizenship.

... [Yet] I began to notice that a strikingly high number of the couples walking together were made up of one white person and another who was black or brown or Asian. ... They weren’t making a statement; they were simply unaware of each other’s colour.

A fundamental disconnection existed ... between Canada’s supposed character as “systemically racist” and the reality that more people of the rainbow were more at ease in each other’s company here than in any other society I’ve ever been in.

In its 1987 report, the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism made explicit notes and recommendations regarding arts funding, indicating that gate-keeping institutions such as

1 Canada, House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, Report, 23.
the Canada Council limited access to funding by maintaining artistic and aesthetic ideals arguably based upon Massey-era norms of artistic worth. Although the Canada Council had funded music festivals devoted to non-classical and non-Western musics (i.e. world music festivals, jazz festivals, folk festivals), the festivals and artists who participated in them received funding through the council’s Touring Office and Festivals office. Meanwhile, the council’s Music Section – until the 1990s – concerned itself only with funding Western classical music and musicians.3

Following the passing of Canada’s Multiculturalism Act in 1988, the Canada Council had little choice but to find ways to open its arts granting programs to all Canadian artists. Artists of colour, in particular, pressured arts councils to open their programs to non-Western and non-classical art forms. At the same time, the Multicultural Act’s unequivocal directive to all federal institutions demanded that arts officers, employees and board members of the Canada Council endeavour to represent and become representative of Canadian diversity. This change required reconfiguring the limits of artistic worth. In particular, it forced institutional repositioning of the federal arts council on the most fundamental levels: its goals; its priorities; its mandate; its “client” base; and its need for strategies to attract ethnoculturally diverse artists and juries.

Before supporting multiculturalism became part of arts councils’ mandates, arts council music juries made decisions based upon Western classical criteria for determining artistic merit and officers had to defend their jury’s decisions. From the mid-1990s onwards, officers have had to defend decisions made according to different criteria: ultimately pitting the entitlement and accompanying prejudices of the arts establishment against federal policy and public accountability. Over the past twenty years, all levels of arts councils have had to engage with multiculturalism and the layers of challenges it has

3 Some arts council documents capitalize the “c” in “classical” when referring to specific programs (i.e. OAC’s Classical Recording Program) yet use a lower case “c” when referring to classical (art) musics generally. I shall follow the same protocol, capitalizing only to reflect proper names of programs or of officer positions. Therefore, non-Western classical musics refers to all genres of “art” music that are not part of the Western classical tradition, whereas non-classical refers to musics of any geographical or ethnocultural affiliation (including Western) that are not part of an art music tradition.
posed to “art” in the contemporary Canadian context: to art as creative expression; to art as a vehicle for identity politics; to art as manifestation of cultural and social identity.

The rules of encountering and accepting that which had previously been “other” – forms of expressive culture previously relegated to folk and ethnic festivals and therefore outside the mandate of arts councils – have been continually challenged, reconceived and repositioned by the councils. Meanwhile, Canadian artists situated on an ever-expanding, multi-shaded fringe claim disadvantage while their constitutional rights support their moves towards the Canadian artistic centre.

The Expanding “Field”

Encounters of the subconscious kind

When my father announced to his Indian-born friends (mostly medical professionals and academics) that I had been accepted into a prestigious American music school, some of the friends asked why I was studying “their” music and not “ours”. One gentleman went as far as to say, “ours is so much better!” It had never occurred to me that I should represent my ethnoculture in any way. What I did not realize at the time, and uncovered during my research, was that some of these family friends had been working at the local level—presenting their concerns to the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism—to democratize Canada by multiculturalizing it. The notes and recommendations of the committee’s report proved to be a guide for strategic actions taken by federal institutions to promote multiculturalism following the passing of the Multiculturalism Act.

The word “multiculturalize” figures prominently in the Standing Committee’s report, including in sections concerned with academia and the arts. Under the heading “Multiculturalize the granting councils,” the report states in bold:
The Standing Committee recommends that the granting councils become more sensitive to Canada’s multicultural diversity and that the government ensure that the memberships of the councils be more representative.4

A few pages later, one finds the heading “Multiculturalize Canada’s Cultural Policies” under which the report notes:

The Standing Committee on Multiculturalism emphasizes that all cultural policies must reflect the multicultural makeup of Canada.

The Standing Committee on Multiculturalism notes as well that … the jury system of the Canada Council should be revamped to better reflect the needs of constituents other than the current establishment of the arts community. …

The Standing Committee recommends that internal evaluation procedures and appointments to cultural boards, including the Canada Council, reflect Canada’s diversity.5

The heading “Multiculturalize the Performing and Visual Arts” follows the above critique with the recommendation “that government departments and cultural agencies be directed to be more sensitive to the needs and aspirations of ethnocultural groups in the performing and visual arts.”6

Forced to Consciousness

Returning to Canada around the same time as historian Richard Gwyn, I too found the country markedly different not only in terms of ethnocultural acceptance, but also in the emphasis people placed on their ethnocultural backgrounds and the pride they took in locating themselves ethnoculturally. Influenced by the socio-cultural climate of the early 1990s, my Canadian mentors strongly suggested I position myself musically according to my own ethnoculture. This presented a dilemma. My extra-Canadian ethnocultural heritage was intimately linked with religion and its “traditional” music was purely religious in function and performance, thus (because arts councils do not support the performance or creation of religious art) putting any ethnocultural claims I could make with confidence completely outside the purview of arts granting agencies. I solved my musical “identity crisis” by creating nontraditional ways to work with other South Asian

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4 The Standing Committee for Multiculturalism, “Report”, 35.
5 Ibid., 39-40.
6 Ibid., 40.
art forms and artists: a solution which led to my applying for grants to support these projects.

My route into the structural web of arts councils then followed a standard trajectory. By submitting grant applications, I became part of the pool of professional musicians known to the three arts councils to which I was eligible to apply: the Canada Council, the Ontario Arts Council (the OAC) and the Toronto Arts Council (the TAC). Council officers helped me understand what made applications successful and what made them contentious. My (eventually) successful applications led to my becoming part of the peer assessor pools and receiving invitations to serve on assessment committees for the arts councils. Serving on the committees augmented my appreciation of the socio-cultural complexities of arts grant assessment. I came to understand, for example, the context by which the Canada Council denied funding to the first of my ethnoculturally conceived applications in 1994. According to the program officer, the Hindustani music specialist sitting on the jury had stated that my intended project disrespected the Hindustani musical tradition and was therefore unworthy of funding, and ultimately, this assessor’s opinion outweighed that of the other assessors.

As I participated on more assessment committees, I became aware of pronounced differences in the modes of decision-making employed by my co-assessors when assessing social representation and when assessing artistic excellence. For example, when a group of jurists trained in Western classical music debated the merits of other Western classically trained musicians, they could confidently evaluate the minutiae of the application’s musical element and then balance this critique with their perception of

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7 “Peer assessment committee” is the technically correct phrase used to describe the assessment process. Nevertheless, officers and musicians often refer to the assessment committees as “juries”; the TAC and the OAC also using the word “jury” in their printed (and online) material. At the Canada Council, I have served (with one exception) on juries for programs to which I have made successful applications. The OAC, however, has invited me to participate on juries for programs to which I have not applied. Meanwhile, the TAC only has one program—the Composer/Creator program—which uses a rotating jury, and my invitation to become part of the TAC’s Standing Committee for Music came after my successful application to the Composer/Creator program and participation on its jury.
relative artistic merit. Yet, when official multiculturalism pressured arts councils to include ethnocultural artists in their programs and become more inclusive of not only non-Western music but also non-classical music, juries could no longer be limited to the Western classical specialists and debates could not function in the same way as they had previously. To adhere to federal, provincial and municipal diversity policies juries also had to become diverse in terms of gender, ethnoculture, artistic background and geography, a situation that can result in a lack of common artistic ground amongst specialists. Without enough shared fundamentals by which to assess artistry, the politics mandating the arts councils and the policies influencing Canadian social behaviour sometimes become the jury members’ primary determinant for assessing merit.

The field
To begin unraveling some of the mysteries of official multiculturalism’s affect on Canadian music-making, I chose to begin by speaking with the music officers on the Canada Council, the OAC and the TAC: witnesses to peer assessment deliberations and the assessment process that determines merit. Although I had been associated with the Canada Council longer than the other two councils, receiving official access to interview Canada Council music officers proved more difficult than I had anticipated. Whereas the OAC welcomed me immediately and offered me unlimited access to its officers, it took many months before I could officially speak with Canada Council officers. Finally, the secretary to the Music Section head organized a one and a half hour session with all eight officers. She did so believing that a group session involving both senior and newer officers would be more productive. For the most part, the senior officers dominated the discussion. Nevertheless, all but one of the officers made time to speak with me privately after the group meeting. Some of the longest-serving officers had much to say, but asked that their controversial remarks remain confidential and off the record. The most candid and lengthy responses came, not surprisingly, from former officers no longer working at the council. I also heard contradictory and adversarial comments, but I have chosen—as much as possible—to refrain from including remarks that identify specific individuals or circumstances negatively.
My first experience serving on an arts peer assessment committee took place in 1998, a year after I had received a Canada Council Touring Grant. To safeguard against biases, the Canada Council limits one’s participation on a peer assessment committee to no more than once every twenty-four months, irrespective of the program. I have duly served every two to three years since 1998. Often, during my jury visits to Ottawa, music officers stopped me to ask my opinion on a certain artist or ensemble with whom I was familiar: to either confirm or alleviate concerns they (or a jury) had about an application. By comparison, I found the officers’ openness to exchanging information in casual situations to be—in a few cases—in distinct contrast to the reticence of some to offer opinions when I was present as an academic rather than as a musician. Nevertheless, the focus of my questions and my professional history also allowed for some very candid exchanges particularly where the intersection between myself and the officer was strong either musically, academically or personally.

Privacy

One of the most critical aspects of the peer assessment process is maintaining the confidentiality of the information contained in all grant applications to arts councils as well as the discussion that takes place around the assessment table. This adds a layer of complication to research in the field of arts councils. It inhibits a level of ethnographic detail by voiding the researcher’s ability to document applicants’ particulars as they are received by—or known to—the councils. In interviews, concerns about confidentiality resulted in a tendency among arts council employees to either discuss specifics in general terms or to discuss specific examples with the caveat that they remain “off the record”.

I knew from experience that assessment was often fraught and contentious, and perhaps for that reason, I found myself wary while talking to arts officers: worried that my research questions might cause my interviewees to be unusually anxious about breaching privacy boundaries. As a still-practising musician with a public profile, I worried too that I might jeopardize my professional relationship with the council (and by extension, with my colleagues who apply to the councils).
The confidentiality clauses of all three councils have slight variations in their wording, but serve the same effect. The Canada Council’s confidentiality clause for peer assessors states that:

Peer assessment committee members are required to keep confidential both the contents of applications that they review and the deliberations of the committee members. …

If a peer committee asks to have comments about a specific application conveyed to an applicant, the comments are included in the grant notification letter. In keeping with the confidentiality of information requirements, the comments are not attributed to individual committee members. …

The names of peer assessment committee members are confidential until the evaluation process has been completed and the Canada Council has announced the competition results.⁸

The OAC’s confidentiality clause is similar. “The application information is confidential, as are discussions relating to applications. Any comments passed on by staff either to the OAC board or to the applicants are not attributed to specific individuals. …”⁹ Similarly, peer assessors names remain confidential until the OAC informs applicants of the results of the grant competition.

At the TAC, I served on the Music Creators and Composers assessment committee, which has similar restrictions on the frequency with which one can sit on its peer assessment committee as those juries on which I participated at the other two councils, and it has a similar confidentiality clause. Following an initial one-week session serving on the Music Creators and Composers jury, the TAC invited me to join their Standing Committee for Music (Music Committee). Members on the Music Committee serve a three-year term, generally meeting biannually for anywhere from two to four days at a time.¹⁰ The rules for the standing committee differ in two fundamental ways: committee members’ names are public for as long as the member serves; conflicts of interest are deemed inevitable and do not restrict a member’s ability to serve the committee or to sacrifice their professional careers in the music community. Rather, if a member has a

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⁸ Guidelines for Peer Assessment Committee Members (Ottawa: Canada Council for the Arts, 2003), 3.
¹⁰ Shortly after my term at the TAC ended, the council hired a new music officer who attenuated the meetings to one or two days twice per year.
conflict with a specific application—if they were a participant, employee or related to someone connected with the application—then the member does not receive a copy of the application nor can they witness or participate in the deliberations pertaining to it. The TAC standing committee memberships also differ from other types of peer assessment in that members do not receive payment for their services. Nevertheless, they do have access to complimentary tickets offered by organizations supported by TAC funds. The TAC encourages committee members to attend such concerts to report back to the committee about the performance: about its “quality”; the audience’s reception; and whether the organization appears to be fulfilling its mandate (whether that mandate relates to serving a specific community or performing a specific kind of music).

Language
Former OAC music officer, Arlene Loney, noted lack of linguistic fluency as a tendency amongst performing musicians. “Compared to artists from other disciplines, only dancers are worse than musicians at explaining and expressing themselves.” Is this important? Besides sometimes making grant applications difficult to assess, the lack of extra-musical linguistic fluency amongst many professional performing musicians may lead to their interests being underrepresented or misunderstood in pan-artistic and equity debates.

During my interviews with arts officers, I noticed distinct and different modes of speaking about music. Some, particularly senior staff, incorporated politically correct terminology into their language with ease, fluency and no apparent self-consciousness. They were able to speak in generalities and abstained from supporting their arguments with references to specific examples. Meanwhile, all of my interviewees who had served as coordinators of the Canada Council’s Equity Office (one current—at the time of my field interviews—and three past coordinators) were extremely articulate and were also well-versed in the vocabulary of cultural and race theory. Perhaps not surprisingly, three

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11 Generally, councils pay assessors a reading fee; hotel and travel expenses (if applicable); per diem; and for time spent in deliberations.
13 Perusing the names on some of the Canada Council’s cross-disciplinary advisory committees, one finds musicians consistently under-represented with respect to the percentage of funding the Music Section receives in proportion to other disciplines.
had backgrounds in literary arts and one in visual arts: fields in which the ability to express oneself is part of the artistic pedagogy and performance. According to former coordinator Anthony Bansfield, having a background in activism—something he and two of the other coordinators had—is also useful for the equity position.14

Amongst the music officers at both the Canada Council and the OAC, only one former officer—Richard Davis, trained as a historian—employed the vocabulary of cultural and social theory in our discussions. Otherwise, the few non-musicians tended to be quite formal in their approach, while the musicians who had temporarily (or permanently) suspended their performing careers to work at the councils used less formal language peppered—and sometimes tempered—with politically correct terminology. They also tended to use specific examples to emphasize their opinions.

The questions and concerns
I prefaced my interviews to arts council employees with a letter in which I briefly described my musical background (to those who did not know me) and the circumstances that prompted my return to academia. Specifically, I mentioned institutional concerns about the diversity of the student population in music departments, my personal concern as a pedagogue, and my sense of a disjuncture between the funding priorities of arts councils and pedagogical priorities in many Canadian university music departments. Thus, I began my interviews with two simple questions: how had funding changed since the passing of the Multicultural Act; how have issues around identity (particularly ethnocultural identity and stereotyping) played out in applications and assessment? The nature of each discussion progressed in a multitude of directions from that point, and often, I heard contradictory viewpoints.

Due to a personal sense of unease that my research might adversely affect my work on the TAC Music Committee, I chose to begin interviewing past and present members of the committee only after I had completed my own term on it. The interviews took place more than a year after I conducted my Canada Council and OAC interviews. Having had

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14 Anthony Bansfield, interview by author, Ottawa, ON, January 8, 2009.
time to ruminate upon earlier interviews and upon my experiences at the TAC, I chose the sequence of my later interviewees and my questions to them carefully. More than one Canada Council officer mentioned that other arts councils see the TAC as the “ideal” arts council, in part because it is “closer to the ground”.15 Shannon Pete—now a Canada Council officer, but formerly a working bassoonist and artistic director of a new music ensemble in Toronto—said:

When I said the TAC was quite progressive, I’m speaking back ten years to before I came here. Because of the heightened awareness within the city demographic, the municipal tends to be the first response. Social services, too, [respond] first at the municipal level because it’s on the street. We’re more removed. So, our struggles are not quite in our backyard because the whole country is our backyard.16

While I do not believe the TAC is without flaws, some stemming from the range of musical backgrounds shared (and unshared) by the committee members, I believe part of its strength stems from committee members coming from the overlapping circles of the city’s music scene. The TAC has also managed to maintain a peer-assessment process and an arm’s length relationship from the municipal government, which does not hold true for all other municipal and provincial arts funders.17 Nevertheless, the TAC’s board comprises chairs (or co-chairs in the case of the music section) representing each of the standing committees, prominent artists, business people and city councilors.18 With this cross-section, there is a direct link between the concerns of artists and the sociopolitical concerns of the municipal government, invariably resulting in artists’ ongoing awareness about mutual responsibility to a macroscopic view of municipal culture.

The TAC is also a much smaller arts council than the provincial and federal councils, which means that peer assessors and jury members see the complete range of music applications made to the council: this applies to both the Composer/Creator program and the programs assessed by the Music Committee. The bigger councils have no choice but

15 Sharon Fernandez, interview by author, Ottawa, ON January 9, 2009.
16 Shannon Pete, interview by author, Ottawa, ON January 8, 2009.
17 Some smaller municipalities, for practical reasons, do not have arts funders at arm’s-length from the political councils.
18 The disciplines represented by standing committees at the TAC are: community arts, dance, literary, music, theatre, visual and media arts.
to divide their grant applications according to a number of criteria. The divisions have created their own tensions by delineating how musicians should classify themselves. My experiences as a performing musician, as a teacher and as a peer assessor leave me unconvinced that the divisions serve musicians well. Nevertheless, the criteria have changed over the years, and the process of naming and renaming granting programs—particularly at the Canada Council—continues to evolve as musicians and officers endeavour to seek fair representation for Canadian music-making.

A few critical differences distinguish the TAC committees from the larger arts councils’ juries. First, the possibility exists for dialogue to take place between politicians and working artists at the board level. Second, the TAC committees see applications from both professional and amateur artists and arts organizations, enhancing the view committee members have of arts practices and the community. Lastly, the mandates of the TAC’s committees are set by the members of the committees, and as a result, are more fluid and less formal than those of the OAC and the Canada Council. Nevertheless, many (if not all) professional musicians who apply to the TAC—as well as committee members—are familiar with the mandates of the larger councils and thus tend to assume that the TAC’s mandate and expectations are similar, including concerns with diversity.

Nevertheless, as former Music Committee co-chair Andrew Craig pointed out, artist co-chairs tend not to raise contentious opinions out of fear that doing so in front of senior artists who also sit on the board could damage their careers. Discussions, then, are not as open as they could be, resulting in acquiescence on the part of co-chairs to senior artists, city councilors and members of the public who round out the board. Andrew Craig, interview by author, Toronto, ON, July 25, 2012.
Towards Institutional Change

Question posed to Sharon Fernandez, (Equity Coordinator to the Canada Council for the Arts, 1996-2003): “Did the passing of Canada’s Multiculturalism Act in 1988 have any direct effects on the opening up of Canada Council granting programs to non-Western artists and arts practices?”

Fernandez: “It finally gave non-Western artists both the space and the legal right to agitate for artistic recognition at the doors of Canada’s arts agencies.”

Changes to music granting programs with the goal of multiculturalizing and democratizing access to funding occurred at different rates and different times at the three councils that are part of this study. At every level of funding, the established artistic community resented and fought against the changes. Federal multicultural consultant Lupul describes the “‘outright antagonism’ (in the 1970s and 80s) … in such agencies as the Canada Council and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation” towards recognition of any non-European arts practices.21 Yet, the most fundamental concern of the musical establishment to the councils’ broadening of application criteria was the financial threat it posed to the establishment. In reality, any decrease has been minimal; while the arts practices of the historically disadvantaged have gained a foothold in arts council funding, the established arts organizations continue to dominate the financial allocations at each of the arts councils. Nevertheless, few artists or arts organizations—regardless of whether they come from a historically advantaged or disadvantaged group—receive enough public funding to undertake their activities without needing either to compromise their fiscal projections and artistic goals, or to find other (private, corporate, foundation or in-kind) sources of funding.

Although the Canada Council never overtly restricted music applications based on genre alone, before the early 1990s they only minimally recognized the work of non-Eurocentric artistic practices. Until that time, the Canada Council offered two primary kinds of grants for music: Grants to Individuals and Grants to Organizations, the latter geared primarily towards operas, choirs and orchestras. Non-Western classical musicians

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20 Fernandez, interview. Sharon Fernandez, now an independent arts and equity consultant, served as Equity Coordinator for the Canada Council from 1996-2003.

21 Lupul, The Politics of Multiculturalism, 262.
could apply for and receive funding through a Canada Council program called Explorations, but the program did not provide adequate funds to see an idea through to production; hence, projects could only be “explored”. Furthermore, successful applicants to the program could not apply a second time to continue work on the original project.

Apart from Explorations, non-Western classical musicians tended to apply to the Canada Council’s Touring Office. The Touring Office—which funded all arts disciplines—granted funds that allowed musicians of various genres to participate in Canadian folk, jazz and world music festivals. Both former Canada Council Equity Coordinator Fernandez and former Music Section head Gary Cristall tagged the council’s Touring Office as the most progressive and innovative section at the council.\footnote{Fernandez, interview. Gary Cristall, interview by author, Vancouver, BC, November 2007. The OAC’s recently retired director, John Brotman, also worked in the Touring Office before joining the OAC, as did Cristall and former music officer Shannon Pete (now working in the Canada Council’s Research Section).} According to Cristall, the officers in touring were closer to the action than were officers in other departments: they knew the performers, they knew the festivals and they knew the scene.\footnote{Cristall, interview.} Furthermore, Fernandez suggests that when equity became an issue at the council in the 1990s, the Touring Office forced the Music Section to open its programs to non-Western musics because the two departments were competing for funds within the council.

The structure of the Canada Council in the early 1990s was quite different to that which exists now. Today, Council divides its programs according to discipline (i.e. Music, Theatre, Dance, Visual Arts, etc.), whereas twenty years ago, the discipline-specific sections served only established forms: the Music and Opera Section, for example, funded orchestras, choirs and opera. Meanwhile, most other granting programs served multiple disciplines, and within each program office—Touring Office, Grants to Individuals, Explorations—different officers represented specific disciplines.
REAC—Advisory Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts

It is a history of what we may call systemic equity, countering systemic racism. (Anthony Bansfield, former Equity Coordinator at the Canada Council 2004-2006).24

A 2004 document produced by the Canada Council’s Equity Office cogently articulates the situation facing the council after it recognized, in 1989, that one of its foremost challenges in the coming decade would be dealing with cultural diversity. The document notes that the council had to answer to “the challenge to the Council by artists of colour on its systemic exclusion of visible minority arts and its Eurocentric bias in defining aesthetics.”25 The current Equity Coordinator, Sheila James says, “There were receptive ears at council [in the late 80s]. They engaged with the artists, initiated a series of actions that took the matters further …” Although the Multicultural Act’s wording suggests otherwise, James insists, “it was a council initiated thing [and that] there is no legal requirement from multiculturalism or the federal government.”26 Ultimately, the Canada Council created the Advisory Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts (REAC), described as “the first of its kind in Canada … to discuss racial and cultural minority issues in the arts.”27 The committee emphasized the specifically racial nature of exclusion at the Canada Council:

The policies of multiculturalism have failed to address the issues of racial equity in the arts. Therefore, … [the committee proposes] the Canada Council take a pro-active leadership role in meeting the various concerns and needs of Aboriginal, African, Asian and immigrant artists.28

The committee made twelve recommendations, the most significant resulting in the Canada Council’s establishing an Equity Office the following year. Although REAC had proposed the arts council maintain an equity office for two-years, the Canada Council has

25 Ibid.
26 Sheila James, interview by author, Ottawa, ON, January 9, 2009. James was the Equity Office Coordinator at the time of my field interviews. As of January 2013 she is on sabbatical.
28 Ibid.
continued to reaffirm the importance and necessity of an internal Equity Office along with an evolving advisory committee composed of established artists who represent contemporary notions of diversity. Besides establishing an equity position, the first REAC also recommended that council change the way it communicated: with artists and communities of colour; and internally, by eliminating the racially and aesthetically biased language it used in its own documents. REAC also noted:

- the face of the Canada Council is not representative of Canada’s diversity …
- the existing composition of juries and advisory committees has to date largely excluded artists of colour.
- in its 33-year history the Canada Council has had no Aboriginal or visible minority member on its board.
- systemic racism is a result of the everyday functioning of all Canadian institutions.
- Aboriginal, African, Asian and immigrant artists … [have not been] adequately served.
- there is controversy surrounding the term “professional” …
- statistical information is lacking regarding Aboriginal, African, Asian and immigrant artists who apply to Council
- historically the Canada Council has not been accountable to minority artists and this trust has to be built.  

As is evident from the recommendations, visible minority artists were of particular concern to the Canada Council in the early 1990s. Twenty years later, the Equity Office continues to focus on visible minorities, currently identified as “African, Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American or mixed racial heritage”; but it has also expanded its mandate to include artists with disabilities and “official language minority communities.”

Meanwhile, the council created a separate office for Aboriginal artists in 1994.

In January 1994, an internal Subcommittee on Cultural Diversity at the Canada Council issued an interim report—interim because it fell between the end of the first equity co-ordinator’s term (May 1993) and beginning of the second co-ordinator’s term (1994). In the introduction to the report, the subcommittee noted that fundamental structural and ideological issues at the Canada Council impeded the ability of visible minority artists to

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29 Ibid., 2-10.
access council and thereby discouraged diversity. Yet, the subcommittee also stressed the creative possibilities multiculturalism might infuse into Canadian art:

Basic to this discussion is the on-going dilemma of whether Council’s priority is to encourage development in the arts or to sustain the organizations, institutions and artists that it has already helped to develop over the past 37 years. Increasingly with the current economic reality, these two needs have come into conflict. … On this committee, as in the larger community, there are those who believe that there is little of substance that can be done without new money … while there are others who firmly believe that real access must occur now even if it means a re-division of the current funding dollars.

It is important to remember that while recent major immigration from African, Asian, Caribbean and Middle Eastern countries has forced the issue, there are artists from communities (Black, Asian, and First Peoples) that have been a part of Canada for many generations who have only very recently started to have access to arts funding. The Canadian philosophy of multiculturalism … is a unique experiment that is leading to forms of contemporary artistic expression that could only be created in this environment. The Canada Council still has the opportunity to be a leader in the encouragement and development of the many possible visions that are Canadian …

Additionally, the subcommittee noted that internal obstacles indicative of bureaucratic power struggles complicated the council’s ability to hire new staff and change its funding programs. “Job descriptions may be so narrow as to contribute the feeling that he/she must protect a program budget for a particular artistic community against others who are seeking access.” They also described—critically yet sympathetically—“Professional Staff Fears”:

There are [those] … who feel personally threatened by the issue of ‘opening the door’. They feel that they are suddenly being expected to be expert in areas in which they are not trained, do not come from, have no personal experience in, and may not be interested in. They have reservations about funding new clients while their self-interest lays in protecting the clients … they feel they were hired to serve. In some cases, it is the particular community itself which exerts pressure on the professional staff sometimes through the juries and advisory panels.

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31 Canada Council Arts Division Sub-Committee on Cultural Diversity, “The Next Stage: Report” (meeting, Canada Council, Ottawa, ON, Jan 24, 1994), 2.
32 Ibid., 4.
33 Ibid., 11.
Defining Professionalism

The subcommittee’s report raises two other critical issues: the problematic overtones of “designated funding”; and the definition of “professionalism” in artistic practice. One of the original recommendations made by REAC was that council find “designated funding” for minority artists, an idea ultimately rejected by council. The subcommittee describes this kind of funding as “an honourable attempt to equalize access …[but one that] can be seen as exclusionary and lead to claims of reverse discrimination.” Furthermore, the subcommittee suggested that the phrase “development funding” would have fewer negative overtones than “designated funding.”

To alleviate barriers based upon determining an artist’s professional status outside of the then-traditional modes of determining professional merit, the Canada Council adopted—in 1991—REAC’s four-point definition of professionalism. Thereafter, council staff (including jury members) should assess an artist’s professionalism by:

1. specialized training in the field (not necessarily in academic institutions);
2. recognition by one’s peers (artists who work in the same artistic traditions);
3. a history of public presentation (not necessarily in Council-sanctioned venues);
4. a commitment to devote more time to one’s artistic activity if this could be financially feasible.

To these four points, the First Peoples Advisory Committee asked council to include two further points:

5. models of excellence are culture specific
6. models of excellence should be determined by practicing artists and arts professionals recognized as such by those cultures from which the arts practices under consideration arises

Structured upon the original REAC definition, the enhanced definition of professionalism found on the Canada Council’s website in 2012 reads as follows:

34 Ibid., 15.
35 The Reform Party (1987-2000) became a significant force in federal politics following the 1993 elections. The Reform Party’s platform included opposition to bilingualism, multiculturalism and anything that contributed to hyphenated Canadianism as opposed to a singular sense of Canadian identity. They also opposed equity programs on the basis that equity manoeuvres were not merit-based and contributed to reverse discrimination.
The Canada Council defines a professional musician as someone who:

• has specialized training in the field
This training will be consistent with the standards of their practice. Training may include post-secondary academic study, mentorship, private instruction, workshops, periods of self-directed study, community-acquired knowledge or any combination of the above.

• is recognized as a professional artist by his or her peers
Other music artists working in the same tradition identify the applicant as an artist of superior achievement and (or) potential. Peer acknowledgement may include a history of support or recognition at a local, regional, or provincial or territorial level.

• is committed to devoting more time to artistic activity, if he or she can afford to
The applicant pursues their own artistic vision, retains creative control, and is committed to the creation and (or) promotion of original work. The applicant exhibits high professional standards and is dedicated to the ongoing development of their artistic practice.

• has a history of public presentation.
The applicant receives compensation for the public presentation of their work, and actively seeks to maximize the audience for their work, regardless of market appeal.37

Institutionalizing Equity and the Equity Office

The Equity Office’s 2004 document summarizes key moments in the first thirteen years of REAC and the Equity Office. From the document, one can extract crucial changes that affected Canada Council operational policy during that time, including some that affected the Music Section specifically.

1991
• Council hires the first Equity Coordinator with the mandate of facilitating the access of Canadian artists of all racial and cultural backgrounds to Council programs …

1992
• Council implements an Internship Program, in which five artists selected from various culturally diverse and Aboriginal communities across Canada are engaged for a two-year period to train in arts administration, sensitize the Council about issues and concerns of their communities, and facilitate Council’s outreach to artists from these communities. …

1993
• The Council adopts a definition of classical music which includes classical music from all world cultures.

1994
• Council hires a First Peoples Equity Coordinator and establishes the First Peoples Secretariat …

1996
• New language was adopted in all job descriptions and postings to communicate the Canada Council’s commitment to employment equity with regard to culturally diverse and Aboriginal communities. Proactive outreach was conducted to solicit applications from communities of colour for each program officer or management position posted. … Despite these efforts, the Canada Council was unable to shift staff representation radically. This was primarily due to the constraints of hiring in a downsized context.

1997
• Development of a new Peer Assessment Policy, representation of culturally diverse artists on peer assessment committees was institutionalized. …

1998
• The new Director of the Canada Council, Dr. Shirley Thomson, adjusted the positions of Equity Coordinator and First Peoples Coordinator to have a direct reporting relationship with the Director. Thus, the Canada Council’s most senior level of authority became directly responsible for the implementation of equity.

1999
• The Canada Council for the Arts hires six culturally diverse officers in Media Arts, Communications, Theatre, Writing and Publishing, Visual Arts and Quest.

2001
• New equity program—Intersectional Capacity Building Program, to support the artistic administration of organizations promoting culturally diverse art forms.38

Russell Kelley, a multi-generation Canadian of African ancestry, was one of the interns hired in 1992. Before embarking upon the internship, Kelley had been a singer-songwriter and producer based in Montréal. He became the first person of colour to work in the Music Section, and became its first “diverse” officer. In 2001, Kelley became Section Head, which meant that his became the public face of the council’s Music Section.39

I asked Kelley how diversity had affected personnel in the Music Section. He began by telling me that when he first joined the council as an intern, there was only one person of colour on staff at the council apart from him and his fellow interns. Kelley admitted that

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39 Kelley retired from his position in November 2011. At that time, officer Aimé Dontigny took over as Acting Head, and Council confirmed his appointment as official Section Head in May 2012.
while the Music Section now has a number of women and visible minorities working as office staff, he and Music Officer Gerri Trimble (of Aboriginal ancestry) have been the only “diverse” employees to work as officers in the Music Section.40 Trimble elaborated:

We’ve started to improve on cultural diversity in terms of employment. To be present is one thing, but what do you do with those voices, those opinions. How do you get stuff out of these folks?

*Do you feel the voices are not coming out?*

No, not really, no. I think the organization should look like the country. That’d be nice, but it doesn’t necessarily mean we’re going to get a lot of opinion on how to improve inclusivity. And if that is why people are brought on, then there has to be a way to get their ideas.

*Do you think there are enough officers representing diverse backgrounds? Or have the diverse hires been more internal positions?*

It’s been more secretarial. They’ve made improvements on the officer front, but … In the music section, we seem to have a lot of white men—they’re great colleagues and no disrespect to them in that way!—but if we were trying to broaden beyond people who’ve had a very middle-class experience or a very “born-in-Canada” experience, then we’re not doing it.41

Thus, with hiring at the senior (and public) level of officer, the Music Section has had only minimal success recruiting qualified visible minority applicants sixteen years after the Equity Office earmarked the importance of hiring diverse employees.

The 2004 document also notes the critical adjustment to the Music Section’s definition of “classical” music in 1993, a move that formally allowed practitioners of non-Western and

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40 Russell Kelley, follow-up interview with author, Toronto, ON, September 20, 2010. Trimble’s primary responsibilities are for the Sound Recording program and Aboriginal music. She has also worked in Inter-Arts, a section dealing with “hybrid” artistic forms combining two or more disciplines. Meanwhile, the Equity Office notes that the Canada Council’s representation of groups the Employment Equity Act requires them to monitor “matches or exceeds Canadian workforce levels. 11 per cent of the Council’s workforce are visible minorities (compared to 8 per cent of the workforce), 6 per cent are Aboriginal people (compared to 1 percent of the workforce), 73 per cent are women (compared to 60 per cent of the workforce) and 5 per cent are persons with disabilities (compared to 5 per cent of the workforce).” Canada Council Equity Office, “Cultural diversity – the cornerstone of Canadian society” [http://www.canadacouncil.ca/aboutus/Promotion/dk127306715935781250.htm](http://www.canadacouncil.ca/aboutus/Promotion/dk127306715935781250.htm) (accessed May 30, 2012).

41 Gerri Trimble, interview by author, Ottawa, ON, January 8, 2009. Trimble feels that the next step towards inclusivity is confronting the barriers to access facing the poor and recent immigrants.
non-classical musical forms to apply to council. In 2008 when I first interviewed Kelley, the Music Section divided its applications into two streams: “classical” and “non-classical”. Knowing that many performers of non-Western *classical* musics tended to apply to the “non-classical” category and that an increasing number of musicians—particularly those who were both performers and creators—performed across classical, non-classical and non-Western lines, I asked him about the logic of the division. He reversed the question asking me what terminology I would prefer, implying that the council had been unable to come up with anything more appropriate, and saying also that council had moved beyond the racist overtones associated with describing music as “highbrow” and “lowbrow”. In feeling compelled to divide musics, the council seemed unable to escape the need for binary comparisons, whether they admitted to its being an inherited hierarchical binary.

Two years after my initial interview with Kelley, we met again in Halifax at the 2010 CNMN Forum. There, he made a surprising and welcome announcement to the forum attendees: the Canada Council had created a new “small ensembles” program, one that—most pivotally—would not classify applications according to genre. Another two years later, one finds that in its public materials, the Canada Council’s Music Section no longer classifies *any* of its programs by genre. Aimé Dontigny, who succeeded Kelley as section head in 2012, clarified to me in an e-mail, “We have removed the ‘classical’ / ‘non-classical’ dichotomy from our programs but still regroup applications in pods of similar-aesthetics for easy assessment by peers.”

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42 Aimé Dontigny, e-mail to author (April 26, 2012).
Shaking up the Arts Councils: Gary Cristall

What I was trying to do was push the boundaries of what was considered acceptable music in Canada. And I wanted to crack the door open, so that people could play that.43 (Gary Cristall)

Richard Davis—successor to Gary Cristall as non-classical Music Officer at the Canada Council—offered the following description of the place an officer holds at an arts council and the change they can foster:

[As an officer] I have a sense of what the organization’s mandate is. I’m committed to that mandate, but that doesn’t mean that there is a direct alignment between what I see the institution doing practically and what I aspire to have the institution doing. … [Officers] will talk about the importance of what they do, they’ll talk about their investments in peer assessments and all the rest of it, but each of us is going to have quite a distinct view because we tend to be passionate about why we do it and why we’re there and invested in the institution. We’re invested in change in a lot of cases. … We also come to that institution with all our own cultural baggage about what we think is important, what we hope to see validated through the programs that we run and the work we do. … What the officers struggle with is they want the arts council to be so much more than it is. They want it to be uncompromising, they want it to be progressive, they want it to be visionary. And then they have to reconcile themselves to the practical realities of the many functions that an arts council has to serve in the broader cultural context.44

In the late 1990s, Gary Cristall—averse to defining things by what they are “not”45—temporarily managed to eradicate the classical and non-classical nomenclature dividing music applications to the Canada Council, categorizing them instead as “classical” and “popular” musics. Although this terminology did not last, one would be remiss to disregard—or understate—the role played by the Vancouver-based folklorist in altering the priorities of music funding at the Canada Council during his tenure there from 1994 to 2000. Cristall’s candour in relating his experiences at council also provide a compelling example of the kind of footprint an arts officer (particularly a section head) can leave on an arts council, and on the arts community as a whole.46 Cristall brought to the Canada

43 Cristall, interview.
45 Cristall, interview.
46 I am indebted to Cristall for providing me not only a lengthy and candid interview, but also for sharing with me arts council-related documents he felt would be important to my research.
Council his experiences as a folk festival director, record producer and artist agent, along with anti-elitist convictions and a resistance to bureaucratic intimidation. He challenged—and helped change—the council’s sense of musical hierarchy based upon the Western classical establishment’s belief in its own entitlement. He also began to dismantle the intellectual and funding imbalances between the establishment and “the rest”; and he increased focus on financial justification of support, both for the Canada Council justifying their support of particular artists (and musical forms), and in demanding that artists become more fiscally accountable and entrepreneurial.

Whether Gary Cristall exerted the influence he did because of his own determination or whether his convictions happened to accord with the political needs of the council, he was at the Canada Council during a pivotal time in its history. As he said to me, “I felt the Canada Council was spending too much money on the wrong things. I went there with four or five items on my agenda. I accomplished all of them, and then I left.”

As artistic director of the Winnipeg and Vancouver Folk Festivals, Cristall had spent years antagonizing the Canada Council (particularly the Touring Office) and did not think they would seriously consider his application to work there. Nevertheless, when the Touring Office hired him in 1994 to fill the newly created position of Music Officer for jazz, folk and world music, his immediate superior instructed him to “shake up this joint!” By the time he left Ottawa in 2000, Cristall had participated in the radical restructuring of the Music Section, eventually becoming its Section Head towards the end of his time at council. While he stepped into the position of Section Head unexpectedly, Cristall became the first in a line of officers from a non-Western classical background to take on the role.

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47 Cristall, interview.
48 Ibid. Cristall recalls his superior, Anne Valois – then head of the Touring Office – as having “an inordinate amount of courage” in hiring him.
49 Cristall’s Music Section Head predecessor stepped down for health reasons. Although she returned briefly (following Cristall’s departure from the Canada Council), singer-songwriter Russell Kelley became Section Head in October of 2001.
The Ontario Art’s Council’s Feasibility Study for a Folk Arts Program (1987)

Years before joining the Canada Council, Cristall had already influenced significant change at the country’s second largest public arts funder, the Ontario Arts Council (OAC). In 1987, the OAC’s director, inspired by the funding of folk arts in the United States, “wanted to expand what the OAC was funding, … [partly because] there was a lot of money floating around those days.”\(^{50}\) He hired Cristall to undertake research on the feasibility of funding folk music in Ontario. Cristall describes the resulting report as “the most unpopular document I ever presented. They hated it! They hated it, they hated me. … And then as I watched from my perch, many of the things I had recommended were implemented.”\(^{51}\)

As he recalled the study, Cristall expounded upon his anti-elitist (and antiestablishment) stance and why he felt arts councils needed to appreciate the critical intersection of public funding and democratic social representation. Furthermore, he firmly believed that the only way public funding for arts could survive in a climate of fiscally and socially conservative politics would be through the incorporation of socialist principles:

I was not a genius. I could just see what was happening in the country. I used to tell these people: get out of this office and take a walk down Bloor St, but that way!—towards Dovercourt, towards Dufferin. Take a look at what your city looks like and look at what you’re funding! Do you see any resemblance? The only way you can defend the arts is to get people to buy into public funding of the arts. The right wing loves the fact—and I used to get into this argument with the Canada Council (which is why I thought they’d never hire me). I’d say, “One day, when they come for you with an ax, nobody will defend you because you have no profile. Nobody thinks what you do is important! They’ll say, ‘Oh, it’s that effete crap Canada Council does.’”

… In terms of social justice, this is public money! You can’t just deny huge sections of the population. Ultimately, if you don’t fund [them], somebody else will and they’ll basically say, ‘Get rid of the Ontario Arts Council. Who cares? It butters no parsnips for us.’ So, they finally figured out that they had to do this.

I suspect that nobody—including the Canada Council—have ever done it the way it should be done. … They’ve always limited the amount of money … And I think

\(^{50}\) Cristall, interview. The OAC’s director, Christopher Wooten, had previously worked on the Expo ’86 Folklife Pavilion in Vancouver. Wooten had hired Cristall to work on the pavilion with him, but then left for the OAC before the pavilion’s opening.

\(^{51}\) Ibid.
deep in the heart of hearts of many of them, they’re only doing it to be politically correct.\(^{52}\)

Within Cristall’s report, one finds a distillation of the author’s beliefs about folk music and its role in a multicultural Canada. Much of his argument for supporting folk musics was translated by the OAC into a defence for supporting non-classical and non-Western musics generally, and those officers who stand behind the funding of all musics continue to base their arguments with the substance of Cristall’s report. Nevertheless, some of the issues Cristall raised in 1987 continue to be contentious around jury tables today, perhaps because they remain unexamined in any critical way by the greater music community—the performers, creators, agents, artistic directors and organizational support staff—populating the jury tables. One Canada Council officer, speaking on the condition of anonymity, felt that two documents from the early 1990s—Cristall’s report and a Canada Council document by Paul Reynolds (discussed below)—ought to be reintroduced to officers at the federal council in the hopes that officers might appreciate and (re-) embrace the rationale for funding non-Western and non-classical musics.

The following sections extracted from Cristall’s original thirty-three-page document highlight some of the issues which continue to provoke debate around peer assessment tables, including: the confluence of ethnicity, identity and culture; commercialism; professionalism; art versus culture \textit{vis a vis} classical versus folk; and the importance of cultural legitimization through peer review.

\textbf{What Are the Folk Arts? (pp. 3-7)}

Folklife is the traditional culture shared within the various groups in Ontario: familial, ethnic, occupational, religious, and regional. This culture includes a wide range of creative and symbolic forms … [including] music. …

\(^{52}\) Ibid. The OAC office in Toronto is located on Bloor Street in the upscale Yorkville district. Walking east along Bloor, one arrives at Rosedale, which has historically been one of the neighbourhoods where many of Toronto’s wealthy arts philanthropists and donors have lived. On the other hand, walking west along Bloor St., one encounters within a kilometer a series of neighbourhoods into which immigrants have settled over the past half decade, each area often referred to by the nationality of its immigrants (or predominant businesses): Koreatown, Little Italy, Little Portugal, Somaliatown, Little Poland and so on.

I also asked Cristall to clarify his reference to “political correctness” and whether he was referring to arts councils or to politicians doing things out of a duty to political correctness. He said, “Either.”
The Folk Arts are a component of folklife, and include music, dance, song, story, sculpture, theatre, painting, carving, poetry, and handicrafts. Often these are performed for the group of which they are the expression. At other times they are performed before other communities and the population at large. In that setting, they have been called the ‘public presentation of private performance’. …

Within some art disciplines, the closer that Folk Art imitates classical art, the more ‘valuable’ it has been seen. In fact, it is the training of the dancer, painter or musician that adds value in every sense to their work as well as, to some degree, their mastery of certain repertoire …

This bias has led in some cases, to the ‘higher’ classical arts of non-Western traditions being thrown in with Folk Art. True, for example, of classical East Indian dance. This has also been applied to Native culture, where religious and ceremonial traditions have been viewed as ‘ethnic events’, in a way which would be totally unacceptable to the dominant Western European Christian religious celebrations. …

As a result of these attitudes … [folk art] has often been seen by definition as amateur or second-rate, the property of ‘multi-cultural’ programs at best, and as having no place in the arts community at all, at worst. …

Who Are the Folk Artists? - The Immigrant Community (p. 11)

… There has been a tendency to identify the art and culture of those who arrived earlier as ‘Canadian’ and that of those who arrived later as ‘ethnic’. This is a false and often damaging distinction. …

Multi-culturalism [sic] is more than folk in that it contains all the varied cultural expressions of many countries … not just their ‘Folk Arts’. …

Not only do we propose that the Folk Arts be seen as the equal of any other arts, but also that the Folk Arts of immigrant communities, whether those communities arrived early or late, be seen as equals among themselves. With this approach, a true multi-cultural [sic] philosophy can begin to operate. …

The Folk Arts, like anything else, have gradations of quality. The finest … represent mastery of a tradition for which there are acknowledged standards within a culture.

The Needs of the Folk Arts Community (pp. 17-19)

There is a desperate need for acceptance of folk artists as artists. …

The isolation of Folk Arts, the fact that a group whose culture is preserved and presented by the folk artists … cuts people off from their own history and culture. The pride that infuses a community when one of its own is legitimated by the society as a whole is of fundamental importance. Given that commercial culture homogenizes regional, ethnic and other differences, the Folk Arts return identity to both the members of the community from which they emerge and to society as a whole. …

The ‘validating’ we are proposing … is more than funding. It is first and foremost a recognition by the OAC that the Folk Arts are part of the spectrum of the arts, with their own definitions and standards. …

A Folk Arts Program at the Ontario Arts Council (p. 26-27)
... One question that has been raised is that of ‘professionalism’. ... there are a number of different criteria used to determine what is professional within the various offices of the OAC. ... It is our view that the vast majority of the artists and organizations that would receive funding through a Folk Arts Program would fit the criteria of professionalism as it is understood in the Folk Arts.\textsuperscript{53}

While the report purposely focused upon a homogeneous conception of Folk Arts (and artists), the notion of conceiving of folk and ethnic artists as equal in standing to Western classical artists and being equally deserving of funding was provocative at the time.\textsuperscript{54} Furthermore, Cristall carefully integrated the notion of multiculturalism—and the importance of validating ethnocultural groups by legitimizing their artists and arts practices—into the report. Ironically, Cristall told me that he hates the idea of multiculturalism, in part because it obscures the concept of what it means to be Canadian, as a person or as an artform.

\textit{Ontario Arts Council’s World and Popular Music Program}

Gary Cristall knew the OAC had implemented some of the ideas from his feasibility study on funding folk arts, but he did not know that ultimately, the report had directly influenced the council’s creating a Popular Music program in 1989.\textsuperscript{55} The program—designed by John Brotman and Arlene Loney, then OAC music officer and assistant music officer respectively—was the first in Canada dedicated to non-classical (and non-Western) musics. The funding for the program came from a one-time $3-million Government of Ontario disbursement specifically earmarked for multiculturalism. While

\textsuperscript{53} Gary Cristall with Valdine Ciwko, “Report of a Feasibility Study for a Folk Arts Program to the Ontario Arts Council” (Toronto: Ontario Arts Council, 1987), pp. 3-26. Cristall dedicates part of the “Who Are the Folk Artists” section to Aboriginal peoples. I have excluded this section because Aboriginal offices at the Canada Council and the OAC deal exclusively with Aboriginal artists and arts issues. Nevertheless, in his section on Aboriginal arts and artists, Cristall highlights two important issues. First, he notes the internal disagreements Aboriginal peoples have regarding treating their culture as “art”. He also underlines the incongruous logic that sees Aboriginal religious rituals and ceremonies treated as publicly displayable “art” (or “culture”), while the artistic representations (music, dance, poetry, visual displays) of all other religious practices cannot receive public funding through arts councils.

\textsuperscript{54} Cristall clarified that “world music” in 1980s Canada referred to experimental, hybrid musical crossings, whereas today, it has come to refer to ethno-specific musics. Cristall, interview.

\textsuperscript{55} Between the OAC’s literature and my interviews, the date of origin for the Popular Music Program appear to disagree. Nevertheless, we can assume that the OAC received designated provincial funding in 1989 and activated the new program in the following 1990-91 season.
the council was happy to receive the funds, Loney also recalls the OAC’s concern over its earmarking:

The Ontario Arts Council is an arm’s-length agency of the Government of Ontario, so we get an allocation from the provincial government. And it’s always been that we govern ourselves. We have a board of directors and the money that we receive is not tagged. It’s, “Here’s your allocation, Ontario Arts Council, here’s your money, you go forth and do what you say you do.”

So, the fact that $3 million came from the provincial government with—in a sense—a name on it, and a tag. There were no guidelines or anything, but it said, “this is a multicultural fund.” There was discussion. I remember discussion at the time, “We’re being directed on how to allocate!”

We wanted to take advantage of a sum of money. But there was a little bit of, “Does that open up the door to more tags?” [We had] concerns about the future: is money going to come again for something else? But again, we were very excited that we had $3 million to spend.  

Ultimately, Loney and Brotman created a program of which they were proud and protective. They told me how they carefully sheltered the Popular Music program and maintained its funding level when the province imposed deep cuts across ‘low-priority’ government departments (including the OAC) in the mid 1990s. According to Brotman—who later became Executive Director of the OAC—when organizations have their budgets cut they tend sacrifice their newest programs first. Instead, the OAC reduced funding to all other music programs and cut their community choral program completely.  

When the OAC publicly announced the creation of the Popular Music Program, reaction from Ontario’s musical establishment was vocal and antagonistic. “They came banging the doors; threatening to tear down the walls of the OAC!” recalled Brotman. “Well, not quite,” he recanted, but then stopped himself, “but actually, yes!” Brotman accompanied his statement with a thumb gesture indicating that “they” did not have far to come: both the Royal Conservatory of Music and the University of Toronto’s Faculty of Music—two

56 OAC Music Officers (John Brotman, Arlene Loney, David Parsons, Michael Murray), interview by author, Toronto, ON, September 20, 2007.

57 Brotman also told me that the provincial government – giving the council only a few hours’ notice – destroyed the OAC’s library and archives. As a result, no official pre-1995 OAC documents exist save for those hurriedly pulled from shelves by OAC staff. OAC Music Officers interview.

58 John Brotman, OAC Music Officers interview.
of Canada’s primary training institutions for Western classical music—are less than two blocks west of the OAC’s Toronto offices. From the perspective of the until-then protected and privileged establishment, the addition of “popular” musics threatened the aesthetic and artistic integrity of the Western classical music tradition.

I asked why the OAC used the name “Popular” for its new program.

Many people felt that it needed to be described in ethnic terms. In the Dance Section, they created an Ethno-Specific Dance stream, but we felt strongly about being open: open to providing opportunity without race-loaded terms. And so, we chose “Popular Music”. My work in the Touring Office of the Canada Council – where we supported the touring of folk and popular music – also influenced me.

At the time, any other programs [open to non-Western classical musics] were called “non-classical”. We wanted to make clear, though, that we remained committed to our classical programs. Terminology is very important, but also very difficult.59

Loney admitted that with the passing of time, the sequence of events and debates had become hazy. Nevertheless, she recalled discussion about one particular idea that influenced the program name: the notion that song form was important in non-Western classical musics.60 Loney and Brotman also identified former OAC director Christopher Wooten and Gary Cristall as having directly influenced the new program.61

Today, while the OAC continues to offer a “Popular Music Program”, the official title of the officer representing the program is “Popular and World Music Officer”. The OAC officially created the position in 2004, “in response to the extraordinary growth and diversity in Ontario’s music communities” appointing Loney as its first officer. 62

OAC’s long-time Associate Music Officer, Arlene Loney, has been promoted to the position of Popular and World Music Officer.

“Over the years, Arlene has worked diligently to expand the reach of our popular music program to a broader range of Ontario’s cultural communities,” said John

59 Ibid.
60 Arlene Loney, OAC Music Officers interview.
61 During Cristall’s tenure, the Canada Council also used the name “Popular Music” instead of “Non-Classical Music”.
Brotman, OAC’s Executive Director. “Her promotion to this position will allow her to focus on the development needs in this area and reflects OAC’s commitment to supporting diversity in the arts. This principle is central to our new strategic plan.”

… Loney has been a member of OAC’s Music Office for the past 15 years. Thirteen years ago, she was instrumental in establishing OAC’s Popular Music program – the first program of its kind across Canada to support songwriters/composers in the creation and production of their work in all popular music genres.63

Aside from the strategic motivation for creating the new position, the new official position had a critical side effect of dividing the OAC’s Music Section—like the Canada Council’s section—into two. As a result, the two music officers have less knowledge of each other’s portfolios than previously, and a less wholistic perspective on music-making in Ontario. When I first met Loney in the late 1990s, she was still Assistant Music Officer and as such, knew all the music files and attended all the music juries. In comparison, the current Popular and World Music Officer, Michael Murray (Loney resigned from the OAC in 2007 after serving for twenty years), has never attended a classical music jury.64 Thus, when I asked him about differences between classical and popular music juries at the OAC he could not offer any insight.

The OAC announcement specifies “supporting diversity” as part of its reason for creating the World and Popular Music Officer position even while using the original 1989 program’s descriptors that seem to emphasize “popular music” and “songwriting”. Nevertheless, the OAC’s description of its Popular Music program acknowledges a much broader spectrum of musical genres than that implied by “popular music and songwriting”. The program description states:

The Popular Music program offers grants to music originators to assist them in the creation and production of their original work in popular music genres.

63 Ibid.
64 I happened to conduct my group interview at the OAC on Loney’s last day of work. As a result, the atmosphere was both nostalgic and festive, and Brotman—wanting to indulge in reminiscences with Loney, particularly because the two were instrumental in the OAC’s embracing the challenges of multiculturalism and music funding—joined us for part of the conversation. The meeting also allowed Michael Murray, Loney’s replacement, to sit in and learn about the history of his position.
The Popular Music program aims to reflect a range of music practices and to support excellence in all its diversity, inclusive of many different regional, linguistic, cultural, Aboriginal and Franco-Ontarian music practices and/or identities.

For the purposes of the Popular Music program, the term “popular music” includes, but is not limited to the following styles:

- African / Caribbean / South American World Music*
- Asian / South Asian / Middle Eastern World Music*
- Electronic / Dance
- Folk / Roots / Country / Traditional European Folk*
- Jazz / Blues
- Rock / Indie / Pop
- Traditional and Contemporary Aboriginal*
- Urban / Hip Hop / R&B / Soul

*Included are originators practicing in traditional/classical music forms that are not considered Western European classical music.  

In contrast, the OAC states that David Parsons is the Classical Music Officer, but the council does not define “classical music” nor does it offer one specific granting program for classical music. Nevertheless, notes accompanying the OAC’s non-Popular music funding programs—Choirs and Vocal Groups, Classical Music Recording, Music Commissioning, Opera—state that they are open to non-European and non-Western forms. The Orchestras Program does not include this caveat, stating only that “the Orchestras program aims to support a range of orchestral activity in the province, including repertoire and programming across the entire classical tradition (Baroque to contemporary). … In addition, a higher priority is generally given to orchestras that demonstrate a consistent commitment to Canadian composers and performers.”  

Only the Presenter/Producer program guidelines do not have any notes about genre limitations or exclusions.

Charges of racism, the realities of changing demographics and the legal nature of official multiculturalism forced the Canada Council, the OAC and the TAC to confront the exclusionary nature of their granting programs during the late 1980s and through the 1990s. By concentrating on access and equity, all three arts councils began the process of

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65 Ontario Arts Council, “What is the Popular Music Program”  

66 Ontario Arts Council, “Orchestras”  
http://www.arts.on.ca/AssetFactory.aspx?did=7577  
(accessed May 28, 2012), p. 3
opening their music sections to all Canadians. Yet, in order to create these opportunities, the councils had to radically—and controversially—alter the criteria by which they accepted and assessed applications.
Chapter 5
Assessment Process and Decision-Making

The Trouble with Genre

“Identity and music? It’s all about genre!” (Kathleen Kajioka, TAC Standing Committee for Music, Member 2008-2011)

Nomenclature and defining the criteria to determine eligibility has been an ongoing site of debate at the Canada Council since the early 1990s. In 1991, the Music Section introduced its first “small ensembles” funding program into the section. Not unlike the 2010 small ensembles program, the Canada Council designed the 1991 program in order to allow previously unfunded musics – particularly non-classical and non-Western—into its funding streams.² Touring Office documents from the time refer specifically to the Small Ensembles program as a vehicle for “jazz” and “folk” musics. Yet, the council found itself overwhelmed and under-informed as they attempted to expand the musical territory they funded. According to introductory notes from a Jazz/Folk advisory committee meeting, genre had become an increasingly problematic issue:

[The jazz community] has expressed a desire to be dealt with separately from other genres of music. … [Meanwhile], there are great pressures on the Council to abolish any categories or genres and work simply with musicians and artists no matter the vehicle they adopt to express their artistic discourse.³

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1 Kathleen Kajioka, interview by author, Toronto, ON, October, 2011.
2 Cristall pointed out that while these musics were “never ineligible”, their forms did not fit into the Canada Council’s existing program infrastructure. Cristall, interview.
3 Canada Council Touring Office, “notes from the Jazz/Folk Music Advisory Committee 1994-95” (Ottawa: Canada Council), no page number.

One year before, the Touring Office released a report entitled “Many Songs: A Survey of Non-Classical Music in Canada.” In his summary to the Jazz/Folk Advisory Committee, the survey’s author Paul Reynolds wrote:

The wider range of artistic expression being practiced in Canada has created the need for wider knowledge of many disciplines by cultural agencies, including the Canada Council. Many Songs aimed to describe music’s “other forms” … [and] to identify and explore the issues related to support of a broad range of musical expression.

… The Touring Office … finds itself without a definition of these forms and facing applications from a growing range of musical communities. The Music section last year launched a Small Ensembles program that … carried a proviso that “commercial forms” of any music will be ineligible—sparking discussion both within and without Council as to the parameters of commerciality and “popularity”.

Reynolds lists five objectives he intended to accomplish through his survey:

• To inform Council as to the diversity of musical expression in Canada …;
• To document the range of musical expression currently funded by Council and provide information on programs of support from other funding agencies in Canada;
• To present information that could assist different sections of Council in creating shared definitions of musical genres, so as to promote fair and consistent access to Council programs aimed at the same genres;
• To present information, and facilitate discussion, towards the clarification of the meaning, when applied to music, of the terms “commercial”, “non-commercial”, “popular” and “non-popular” and the weight these attributes should carry in funding decisions;
• To identify, within the non-classical music community, a number of organizations and individuals who could be useful resources to Council …

Reynolds’ survey is vast and his manner of categorizing musics (describing them as “genres and subcommunities”) performed in Canada indicative of a global—arguably a democratized and multicultural—way of seeing music. Originally supported by recorded examples from established Canadian musicians and ensembles, Reynolds lists musical genres (in italics) and subcommunities as:

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4 Paul Reynolds, “Many Songs: A Summary for the Jazz/Folk Advisory Committee” (Ottawa: Canada Council Touring Office, February 1993). The copy I received of this document was incomplete and did not have page numbers. It was included in a larger paginated collection of files from the Jazz/Folk Advisory Committee.
5 Ibid., Introduction.
6 Ibid.
North American Music
• Auteurs/compositeurs
• Bluegrass
• Blues
• Contemporary Instrumental (New Age)
• Country
• Dance
• First Nations
  Traditional ~ Celtic/First Nations ~ Contemporary styles (including: Rock/blues; Country; Folk singer-songwriters)
• Folk-Rock
• Folk Singer/Songwriters
• Gospel
• Jazz
  Traditional ~ Mainstream/Modern ~ Fusion ~ Avant-garde
• Rap
• Rhythm and blues/soul
• Rock
  Roots ~ Hard Rock/Metal ~ Punk (Hardcore, Grunge, Industrial) ~ Mainstream
  (Easy Listening/Pop)

World
• Celtic
  Old-Time ~ Celtic Revival
• Greek
• Klezmer
• Nueva Cançion
• Taiko

Other World Traditional Musics
• Latin
  Andean ~ Tango ~ Mariachi ~ Merengue
• Eastern European
  Ukrainian ~ Croatian
• Middle Eastern
• Far Eastern, Southern Asian
  Bhangra

Worldbeat Musics
• African
  Highlife ~ Township ~ Bikutsi, Makossa ~ Soukous ~ Zemenawi
• Calypso
• Reggae/Ska
• Salsa/Afro-Latin

For each genre, Reynolds summarizes: its artistic attributes; the Canadian community in which it exists; its repertoire and defining characteristics; its level of (or possibility for) professionalism; its aspirations and needs (potential role for the Canada Council in
supporting the community); and eligibility issues, in particular, the commercial or non-commercial nature of the genre (noncommercialism being a prerequisite for funding).\footnote{Ibid.}

In his objectives, Reynolds alludes to the need for clarification regarding commercialism and professionalism in music. As a rule, the Canada Council only allows funding to professional artists and professional arts organizations (as opposed to amateurs) and does not fund overtly commercial music. Yet, to accept applications from a wider artistic demographic than the traditionally funded Western classical applicants, the council needed to be generous with its definition of “professionalism”. Historically funded artists enjoyed the possibility of becoming professional in part because their art forms received substantial financial support from arts councils, whereas artists from previously \textit{un}funded genres did not have the same luxury. As a result, musicians practicing non-classical forms of music exhibited varied levels of professionalism. Thus, Reynolds notes in his survey that one can find musicians in some genres able to support themselves solely through music (giving, as an example, Greek bouzouki players). In other genres, though, he points out that while a musician might aspire to attaining full-time professional status, they need to sustain themselves through other means. Finally, Reynolds notes that members of some genre communities—such as those performing Celtic music—appeared to have no (or minimal) aspirations to attaining a level of professionalism that would be equivalent to a full-time performing career:

Relatively few musicians … would characterize music as their primary calling, and most would never be paid for performance. [Yet] a handful have attained professional status … [such as] The Rankin Family and old-time fiddlers including Graham and Eleanor Townsend, and Natalie MacMaster.\footnote{Ibid., under “Celtic Music”}

Reynolds’ section on rock music provides a clear commentary on the importance of considering a musician’s professional aspirations, and the fine distinction between commercial support and artistic innovation. Yet, although he comments upon the rock community’s potential for “need” from an arts council, Reynolds also points out that commercialism is an “eligibility issue” for rock artists interested in applying for Canada Council funding.
As in many other non-classical fields, a significant proportion of rock artists practice their art while holding down non-musical ‘day jobs’ to which they very often have little commitment. But it is relatively easy to discern a commitment to ‘devoting more time to one’s art,’ as well as the Council’s other criteria for professionalism, among many rock artists.

… FACTOR, the joint federal-industry program to support commercially viable music, lends a significant degree of support to rock, presumably because of the potential of the music to score commercially.

… [Yet] Rock’s once-unassailable dominance of popular music is now threatened, say many observers. An aging population has little interest in new rock acts, especially innovative styles, and is turning to older warhorse rock stars …

In 2012, the council no longer makes presumptuous associations between certain genres and assumed ineligibility, and while each of the Canada Council’s programs have slightly different criteria that can alter eligibility, genre alone no longer affects eligibility as it once did. Furthermore, in the interim years since Reynolds presented his paper, “genre”—from the external perspective of an applicant looking at the council’s programs and eligibility requirements—appears to have become increasingly weaker as a primary component defining the structure of the Canada Council’s Music Section.

**Boundary Lines of Presumption: Genre, Commercialism, Equity, Fair Assessment**

While the Canada Council no longer denies musicians access to its funding streams solely due to genre, former Equity Coordinator Bansfield recalls his personal concerns with ineligible genres and equity during his tenure at the council (2004-2006). While there, he worked to change the council’s presuppositions, particularly regarding “urban musics”.

Although the council saw the ineligible genres as being commercial in nature, Bansfield knew that many of the underrepresented ethnocultural and social groups targeted by his office practiced in these genres. Thus, as the former Equity Coordinator notes, the problems with genre exclusion highlighted intrinsic conflicts between elements of the Music Section’s mandate, in particular, its emphases on “artistic merit” and “equity”:

There were some genres that were excluded by name in the program guidelines and I was interested in the impact on artists, on accessibility for culturally diverse artists. With the fifth REAC, I wanted to get some folks there who had a good background in other forms like hip hop and reggae and urban forms. They were also well-versed musically, but aware of these in a legitimate way; understood the artistry of [the

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9 Ibid.
forms]. ... My feeling was that we needed to have the right information. So, whatever the decision to exclude certain forms – the rationality of that—we should have some good information on why. Is this excluding “real” artists? The rationale at Council really has to do with commercial viability, industry support. But I know the reality when I work with artists: the industry support for a lot of these forms was virtually nonexistent. The best example is FACTOR (The Foundation for Assisting Canadian Talent on Recordings). I felt if you were excluding people based on commercial viability – that this genre already has support—what about the other genres you support? What are their levels of industry support? And in the genres you are excluding, what percentage of folks can make their living at what they do? And are there artists doing work of distinct merit that aren’t able to support themselves through their art, [who do not] get industry support based on the fact that they’re doing cutting edge stuff and challenging material? I’ve always given this as one of the raisons d’être of the council: that [we should support] artists who may not be able to support themselves through their work because they are breaking boundaries. They have merit, but their work might not have economic impact.  

As Reynolds’ paper points out, determining the boundary between commercialism and innovative potential can be tricky. In Canada, FACTOR (a not-for-profit organization representing the music industry in Canada) has provided support for commercial music and music that industry professionals representing private stakeholders (broadcasters and major record labels) see as having commercial potential.  

It might seem, therefore, that the line between whether an artist (or band) has something creative to say musically—and whether that creativity might be commercially lucrative – can be problematic for peer assessors on an arts council jury. Yet as Bansfield points out, organizations like FACTOR are not always willing to take a risk on a creative artist who might or might not have commercial potential, resulting in artists from some genres unable to receive support from either the commercial or the public “arts” funders.

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11 Ibid.
12 Factor Canada, “About Us” http://www.factor.ca/AboutUs.aspx (accessed May 18, 2012). Both FACTOR and the Canada Council have administered sound recording grants on behalf of the Department of Heritage. In a highly controversial move, the Department of Heritage cancelled the Canada Council’s Sound Recording program in the fall of 2009 suggesting that artists interested in recording should apply for financial assistance through FACTOR. While FACTOR has since opened its program to include the genres of music previously funded through the Canada Council, critics note that FACTOR’s assessment committees, composed of industry professionals will not fund recording projects that do not exhibit the potential for mainstream commercial viability. Following a series of consultations with artists across the country in the summer of 2010, the Canada Council created its own sound recording stream as part of the Music Section’s Production Grants program.
Referring to one of the “urban” forms championed by Bansfield—hip hop—Richard Davis contextualizes a specific example from his time at the Canada Council that exposes the kind of internal bureaucratic conflicts over genre that have been problematic at the council:

There’s a really excellent hip hop group called Warpath from Hobbema in Alberta and we had this raging debate because we made a decision to support their going to an awards show. While I wholeheartedly believed that it was the right thing to do—to support them to go—I think it was important for them, not just as a career opportunity, but because they were performing in the broadcast and because of what they represented and because of what they were talking about. And yet concurrent with that, we were excluding other forms of hip hop because we were calling hip hop, categorically as a genre, ineligible because it was considered a commercial form of music. So, we got tied. We made an exception for these artists because of the way we described the Aboriginal Peoples Program: we listed that it could be any form of music as long as it was exhibiting an Aboriginal perspective, whatever that means. We were stuck with this inherent contradiction. If you were aboriginal, it didn’t matter what form of expression—whether it was blues, or rock, or whatever. It was the aboriginalness of it that made it valid in that context. And yet, other communities that might choose to express themselves in hip hop—whether it was the African Canadians who arguably have a stronger connection to the origins of hip hop than anybody else, if you want to describe it in cultural terms (Davis leaves phrase unfinished). And to me, that’s an appalling state of affairs, it’s a contradiction that you can’t reconcile. For me, that was a wedge I used to drive: to further the whole argument that we had to move away from genre-based definitions of eligibility.13

Ineligibility due to commercialism was not the only difficulty arts council officers had with genre. I happened to raise the issue of genre during a 2006 professional (but nonacademic) phone conversation with Canada Council Music Officer Karen Barber-Ing, shortly after Bansfield’s tenure as Equity Coordinator ended. She told me that determining genre and categorizing applications along genre lines was becoming increasingly difficult for the officers, particularly as more musicians crossed genre lines in their output and proposals:

“The whole scene has changed. We now have musicians from other countries such as India, China, Japan. The spectrum is quite broad, and we are trying to be more

13 Davis, follow-up telephone interview (February, 2008). Soraya Peerbaye and Gerri Trimble also referred to aboriginal groups involved in hip hop in order to highlight the internal controversies with regards to genre, diverse representation and ethnocultural stereotyping.
inclusive and give more people opportunities. But if it’s hard to separate and categorize now, what is it going to be like in twenty years?"  

During my official interviews, many officers (at both the Canada Council and the OAC) told me that in cases where an application’s genre did not fit easily into a category, the officers consulted with each other to determine where best to put an application. Ultimately, they based their decisions not upon genre or the nature of the applicant’s formal training, but upon which jury the officers felt would assess the application’s project and support material most fairly. In many cases, classical applications moved to the non-classical juries. The precedent for this may have been set years earlier by Gary Cristall, who recalled his own moving of applications from classical to non-classical, admitting that in doing so, he misrepresented the phrase “world music”. He also defines “world music” in a way that suggests its contemporary usage is a fundamental misnomer in genre labeling:

I did it for opportunistic reasons. I thought they stood a better chance at getting funded if we called it “world” music, than if they had to compete with these lily white classical juries that weren’t going to give them the money. So, George Sawa, who’s a classical musician: in some ways I feel like I did him an injustice by including him in the notion of “folk” music, because that isn’t really what he does. I think the whole notion of “world music” is a bit seedy. There’s nothing wrong or shameful about performing “ethnic” music from a specific ethnic tradition, or call it “traditional music,” which is a better word than ethnic music, in some ways. I think these things get complicated, but I think they’re worth thinking about because they often have implications that are ultimately important.

World music is about music that transcends any specific ethnocultural tradition and blends them. Maryem Tollar [for example] plays world music. She does some music that is straight ahead Arabic music, but most of her own music incorporates Latin American traditions, Arabic traditions, North American—there’s R’nB, there’s this and that—all mushed up together.”

Cristall nevertheless admits that describing music as “ethnic” tends to have “pejorative” connotations.

As of 2012, Canada Council program documents no longer employ the term “genre” in overviews of Music Section granting programs. The council now refers to “forms” or

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14 Karen Barber-Ing, personal conversation with author (June, 2006).
15 Cristall, interview.
“general fields of music”. The Grants to Individuals program, for example, lists “eligible general fields of music” as: classical, jazz, world, songwriting, Aboriginal, experimental, electroacoustic, improvised, traditional, functional, folk and electronic. The New Music Program states its eligibility more broadly:

Eligible forms of new music are not defined by specific aesthetic categories, but all applicants should be aware that the nature of the program is to support groundbreaking musical creation in a diversity of innovative approaches, as well as risk-taking in the overall development of the art form. Some of the common forms of new music include (but are not limited to) the following:

- contemporary classical
- musique actuelle
- free improvisation
- electroacoustic / acousmatic
- audio art / sound art
- sound installation
- turntable art

Within the application form of the Grants to Individuals, the council provides a definition of “general fields of music”, but then follows the definition with a reference to “genre”:

“The Canada Council recognizes that there are well over 100 genres of music in Canada but it uses the term ‘general fields of music’ for its categorization needs. Applicants will be asked to identify their specific genre of music.” Interestingly, two officers oversee the program, and their designations hint to the former classical / non-classical division. One officer’s area is “Classical and electroacoustic fields of music”, and the other’s is “All other fields of music”.

At some level, then, the distinction between “classical” and everything else is either seen as bureaucratically necessary or represents a fundamental difference (in attitude).

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16 Canada Council for the Arts, “Grants to Professional Musicians—Individuals”
17 Canada Council for the Arts, “The New Music Program Application Guidelines”
18 Canada Council for the Arts, “Guidelines and Application Form”
19 Ibid.
Perhaps, as Dontigny alluded to in his e-mail (grouping applications by “similar-aesthetics for easy assessment by peers”), the Canada Council needs to group applications for the benefit of peer assessors. The unanswered question is whether the division has to do with ease of assessment or fairness in the assessment process, and if the latter, whether some juries might be prone to making unfair assessments about musics, particularly towards those with aesthetics that are either unfamiliar or run counter to their own.

Shannon Pete, the longest serving music officer at the Canada Council insists that

barriers are inherent in the fusions, practices and genres themselves. … They all have their own personalities and those personalities come from the practise. What folk musicians accept as folk, what jazz will reject as not jazz—like “there’s no improv.” Well, excuse me! Where is that written down? “Well, it’s not, everyone just knows that.” And I challenged a jury on that. Most of the time, when you deal with mature artists, you’re dealing with a very generous group of people. But they’re not without their own prejudices; very specific prejudices. … You encounter these prejudices all the time from very intelligent artists because they’re just people. But they are informed by their own practices. … The classical community is rigidly attached to its own classical norms, which is why I brought up Pinchas (Zukerman) the other day.

During the group meeting, Pete had paraphrased a comment made publicly by Zukerman (principal conductor of Ottawa’s National Arts Centre Orchestra) shortly before my visit to Ottawa to make her point about barriers Western classical music continues to place between it and the aesthetics of other musics:

When you have Maestro So ‘n So saying that if classical music doesn’t remain for the next four or five years, we’ll all be in the jungle. [Classical music] has to bear some of the responsibility for the purists, and they are very recalcitrant. They are just as close-minded about audio art and minimalism as they are about musics of any cultural difference.

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Classical and Non-Classical: The Deeper Issues of Representation and Hierarchy

In 1994, the imbalance between classical and popular music traditions was—according to Cristall—unreasonably stark. Discussing the success rate of applications made to the

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20 Aimé Dontigny, e-mail to author (April 26, 2012).
21 Pete, interview.
22 Shannon Pete, Canada Council Officers, group interview.
Touring Office he said, “the success rate on classical music was 90% and the success rate on popular traditions was 25%! And I said, ‘How the f--- can you justify this?’ As Cristall discovered, the classical side had the bulk of the money assigned to the music section of the Touring Office.

They had assigned a certain amount of money to classical and a certain amount of money to “non-classical” as they called it. … They couldn’t spend it! They had so much money in the classical touring! … Western European classical music has absorbed an inordinate amount of the tiny amount of funds that are made available. So, I would much rather see those funds democratized, and more people playing more kinds of music.23

Former Equity Coordinator Sharon Fernandez puts figures on Cristall’s recollection, expressing a similar sense of unfairness and injustice. “In the mid-90s, the head of the music section turned over $300,000 for the promotion of non-Western classical musical forms and felt that that was an adequate step. Yet, in the same year, one opera company received over $2 million!”24

Richard Davis, who was director of the Winnipeg Folk Festival before joining the Canada Council in 2001—and who espouses a holistic multicultural philosophy about Canadian culture—had similar criticisms of funding distribution at the Canada Council.

If I’m invested in a particular philosophy, in a particular project, it’s about resisting the institutional entrenchment of cultural privilege and privileging particular traditions over others. Because it’s a small step from splitting the files between classical and non-classical to shifting the weight of the money.

And to the credit of the Canada Council, it’s a big part of what’s been happening in recent years—and this is work that was started with Gary, and perhaps with those before him. When I arrived, in a lot of programs, the money was still split 50 - 50, despite the fact that the files—the weight of the files proportionally—was 70% non-classical and 30% classical. What happens as a result of that weighting? What happens in terms of the success rate? What kind of message is that sending [to the] the community, and what is it saying institutionally about the most critical resource? Because at the end of the day, it’s really all about the money and how the money is being apportioned. What is it saying if you are allowing that kind of disparity to exist?25

23 Cristall, interview.
24 Fernandez, interview.
25 Davis arrived at the council in June 2001, shortly after Cristall’s departure. His portfolio included: non-classical Music Touring Grants; Career Development Program; International
I suggested to Davis that surely traditional Western classical organizations (like orchestras, choirs and operas) involve a greater number of people than most other musical forms that apply to arts councils. He qualified his remark and elaborated on the place of organizations and their applications to the arts councils, as well as the concerns he has for the proportion of the Music Section’s total purse organizations consume relative to all other musical endeavours.

I’m thinking more at the level of project grants: ensembles, recording projects. The issue of organizational grants becomes more complicated. Because at this point at the Canada Council, it is only orchestras, opera companies, contemporary new music ensembles and organizations that are recipients of ongoing operating funds. So yes, I’ve heard the case again and again and again, and it’s very well rehearsed. And I have no problem with it on a certain level. I know the role orchestras play in the broader community beyond the life of the season. … But to me, that’s not an argument for not exploring ways in which to appropriately support other genres of music in comparable ways. And it doesn’t address what I think is a profound challenge the councils collectively face: we are talking about constituencies that are mandated. As a result, they are this entrenched community and they have legitimate expectations. But when you’ve got upwards of 60% of the available resources of the Music Section tied up in operating grants to orchestras and opera companies! I’m not saying that that doesn’t reflect an appropriate response to a need. What it does do is it shapes the way you approach the work you do [as an officer]. It shapes the focus of the organization; it limits the capacity to be responsive.  

Meanwhile, at the OAC, which—according to one former Canada Council Equity Officer—has dealt better with issues of equity than the federal arts council has, the Music Section’s budget breakdown suggests a greater discrepancy between classical and the rest. The 2010/2011 Annual Report notes that the Music Section as a whole received $9,938,000 of the council’s $52.3 million budget. The report’s format only lists individual artists and organizations that received grants and the amount they received. It does not divide the section’s expenditures either by program or by whether the artists belonged to the classical or Popular Music streams. Therefore, attempting to assess the internal disbursement of funds is difficult. Nevertheless, employing round, general

Performance Assistance; Music Festival Travel; and Music Festival Programming Project Grants.

Davis left the council in March 2007 to take a position at the Department of Heritage, the federal body that oversees funding for a number of Canadian cultural institutions, including the Canada Council.

Ibid.
numbers, Popular Music Officer Michael Murray hinted at budget disparities during a 2010 conversation:

We give away about $8 million in the classical section, including to the “big guys” like the TSO. Within classical, there are three organizations—the Nathaniel Dett Chorale, a Chinese opera company and a Chinese orchestra—that can be distinctly acknowledged as having a diverse or a non-Western focus. Without the “big guys” though, the budget for music is only $6 million.

Meanwhile, the non-classical side gets $1 million … [Of that] I’d say we’re giving $100,000 to diverse artists.27

Perusing the 2009-10 Annual Report, which would be the most appropriate report for my interview with Murray, one finds four distinctly “culturally diverse” groups receiving Annual Operating Funding: Bharati Kala Manram ($15,000); Chinese Artists Society of Toronto ($10,000); Raag-Mala Classical Indian Music Society of Toronto ($12,000); and Nathaniel Dett Chorale ($38,000). Feasibly, the Chinese opera to which Murray referred might be recipients of the coveted, multi-year Operational funding, a program to which organizations submit grant applications only every three years. Yet, one finds no listing for such a group in Operational funding recipient section of either the 2009-10 or 2010-11 Annual Reports (and the 2008-09 Annual Report does not specify which organizations received operational funding). Upon further analysis, the Chinese Opera Group of Toronto—the probable “Chinese opera company” to which Murray referred—has received sizable Project grants.28

In October, 2011, the OAC released a Performance Measures Report aimed to assess the council’s performance regarding its Vision Statements from its 2008-2013 Strategic Plan. The report states the OAC’s vision as:

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28 Operating grants require that an organization has previously received a certain consecutive number of successful project grant applications (the TAC requires three consecutive years of previous success), as well as demonstrating a dedication to organizational development that involves core (paid) staff and dedicated office space. Additionally, the assessment weighting at the Operation Grant level shifts towards an even weighting between financial and organizational effectiveness, and the group’s artistic quality.
We envision an Ontario where:
• The lives, careers and work of individual artists flourish.
• Arts organizations are creative, viable and healthy.
• People of all ages and in all regions actively engage and participate in the arts.
• Aboriginal, Francophone, culturally diverse, new generation and regional artists and arts organizations are recognized for the value they provide to all of Ontario’s people, cultures and creative sectors.
• The creativity, innovation and excellence of Ontario’s artists and arts organizations in all their diversity are seen and acclaimed locally, nationally and internationally.\textsuperscript{29}

In the section of the report devoted to the fourth vision statement, the OAC notes that according to 2006 Census figures fourteen percent of Ontario artists are Culturally Diverse / People of Colour. Therefore, the OAC’s funding target for this population group should reflect a similar percentage. According to its 2010-11 figures, though, the OAC granted only four percent of its funding to Operating Grants for organizations run by (or dedicated to) culturally diverse people, and eight percent in all of its funding streams to the same target group. The report acknowledges the OAC is making some progress on the culturally diverse and new generation priority groups, however, we believe that there’s still work to be done. … Also, it’s important to note the distribution of our grants by priority group generally reflects the relative proportion of applications we receive from each group, making OAC’s outreach efforts a continuing priority …\textsuperscript{30}

In other words, the OAC does not receive enough applications from culturally diverse artists; hence, the continued need for outreach into the target communities.

A significant degree of outreach has helped to increase funding to historically disadvantaged artists, but the degree to which funding has been democratized continues to lag behind Canada’s demography. After more than twenty years of formal democratizing measures, why does money not move in the way that Cristall, Davis, Murray and all the Canada Council’s Equity Coordinators might wish? Is there truth to Cristall’s comment, “I suspect that nobody—including the Canada Council—have ever done it the way it should be done. … They’ve always limited the amount of money …

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 21.
And I think deep in the heart of hearts of many of them, they’re only doing it to be politically correct”? Murray suggests this might be partly true, and that long-standing social connections between politicians, the moneyed elite and the historically established musical institutions hinder significant shifting of assets.

We are in a business: a funding business. First, we need to get funding, and in order to do that, we need our MPPs (Members of Provincial Parliament) to think that we’re great and that we have value. There are a number of ways we can do that, and multiculturalism is one of them. Another way to get money is to support organizations that MPPs know and love. Who has the board that can call them? It’s unlikely to be the culturally diverse people who can call their MPPs and say, “We’re having lunch on Friday, can you come?”

We can get new money in and spend it all on multiculturalism. Or we can take it away from established organizations, but they’re the ones with the political connections. … And yet, the growth rate of multicultural artists in Ontario is faster and higher than any other segment of artists.

Thus, there is a link between politics and arts funding at two levels: at the level of influence from the individual politician; and at the level of policy, as multiculturalism. Three other interviewees, all wary of detailing specifics on record, mentioned councils receiving direct pressure from organizations that had “friends” in government.

Funding and Maintaining Legacies
The Canada Council, the OAC and the TAC all provide three foundational kinds of grants for music: organizational grants (as annual or multiyear funding); project grants; and composition/creation grants. Beyond that, the larger arts councils also offer touring, recording, festival and other kinds of production grants. Project grants—available to organizations, individuals or small ensembles—focus on singular activities: specific performances or kinds of performances that might make up a part of the applicant’s overall activities.

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31 Cristall, interview.
32 Murray, 2010 interview.
33 Within the Project Grants for Music Organizations category, the Canada Council defines Project grants as “a portion of a season’s activities with a delineated budget.” http://www.canadacouncil.ca/grants/music/tm129701841563779959.htm (accessed June 7, 2012).
One of the ways the Canada Council attempts to work towards equity is through programs geared towards organizations, associations and networks dedicated to culturally diverse artists, and deaf and disabled artists. Equity Officer Sheila James explained the importance of organizations in the overall scheme of arts council funding and for the country’s socio-cultural ecology. Critically, she notes that when society “values” something it will “create an infrastructure to house that value”:

Organizations are the means by which the greatest number of artists are supported. Organizations provide a continuity, an artistic memory. They create opportunities for social, collaborative interaction, public space, public forums. And the Canada Council puts a greater amount of its investment into organizations than individuals. So, it’s important [for two reasons]. The effectiveness of having a huge public impact could be community-specific, but there’s a legacy. People can move in and out of that: the identity the organization creates. So, you could start an organization today, and twenty years from now, that organization still exists, its history in the community is still viable.

Then, it creates a continuity and we invest in this. There’s a history that organizations create for themselves, an impact on the community. So, once you invest in that, you don’t want to pull the investment out. [On the other hand], an individual could get an individual grant for a project, but then can’t get another one for two years. There isn’t the commitment in individuals from council.

So, there are a lot of strategic reasons. It’s healthy, like schools. When we want to show there’s value in something, we create an infrastructure to house that value and then you create mechanisms for passing that value on.

We have anchor organizations at the Canada Council—these huge organizations funded from the corporate sector and the government sector—and they become fundamental to the fabric of our country. Aboriginal artists don’t have that. Culturally diverse artists don’t have that to the same degree. We [diverse artists] contribute to those larger organizations, sometimes in profound ways. Some people feel we should be building up our own organizations and others feel that [already existing] organizations should be becoming more reflective, more diverse.34

During our 2009 conversation, James—who was relatively new to the Equity Coordinator position—wondered aloud whether Canadian orchestras concerned themselves with issues of equity. Shannon Pete had asked the same question during our group meeting to which conductor Rolf Bertsch, who was responsible for the “orchestras” file, responded negatively. While American orchestras have had affirmative action strategies in place

34 Sheila James, interview by author, Ottawa, ON January 9, 2009. The frequency with which one can apply to granting programs is different for each program and at each council. The TAC, for example, allows individuals or organizations to apply annually for project grants, whereas the Canada Council allows only biannual applications for project grants.
since the late 1980s, Canadian orchestras have never adopted similar strategies; nor have funders pressured them to do so, as American orchestras’ government funders did.\textsuperscript{35}

When I asked James whether she had any concerns with the Music Section specifically, she said she had not yet had the time to meet with and analyze equity issues with her colleagues in the Music Section. Nevertheless, she sensed fundamental problems with the traditional council-funded organizational model and the musical structures in which culturally diverse musicians organized themselves. Like Murray at the OAC, James mentioned Toronto’s Nathaniel Dett Chorale (a dedicated Afro-Centric choir) as the only musical organization in her Capacity Building program, a program dedicated to help develop and stabilize organizations with a culturally diverse focus. Meanwhile, Pierre-Louis Pinel, who dealt with non-classical organizations, noted that the only traditional-model organization on his roster in 2009 was the Vancouver Inter-Cultural Orchestra. James commented upon the situation as well as her responsibility at the Canada Council to optimize opportunities for culturally diverse artists and to make council own its responsibility for limiting those opportunities.

There aren’t organizations—the way we define organizations—in music. Right now there is only the Nathaniel Dett Chorale. But most of the other groups are ensembles: groups of musicians doing ethno-specific music, culturally diverse artistic practice;

\textsuperscript{35} In 1989, the Michigan State Government threatened to withhold its funding to the Detroit Symphony Orchestra if the orchestra did not consciously adjust its hiring practices and hire a black musician. At the time, the orchestra had only one tenured black musician in the orchestra. According to Isabel Wilkerson’s March 28, 1989 New York Times article, “Legislators said the 98-member orchestra, now with two black members, should better reflect the population of the city, which is more than 60 percent black” (“Discordant Notes in Detroit: Music and Affirmative Action”). The article addressed the social, professional and political overtones associated with such a move. Since then, most large American orchestras have implemented affirmative action hiring practices and coupled them with the creation of youth orchestral music programs dedicated to training black, Latino and other groups described by the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) as “groups traditionally underrepresented in symphony orchestras” in order to create a pool of highly trained musicians from those backgrounds.

Would audience demographics change in Canada if an organization’s performing personnel change? Should anchor organizations look beyond technical and artistic merit towards the socio-economic possibilities that equitable representation might mean to the long-term sustainability of the organizations? During a casual conversation in 2006, a marketing consultant mentioned to me that he had recommended to the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO) years before that they consider undertaking strategies to entice a more culturally diverse audience. He said the orchestra dismissed his recommendations.
groups that would be 50-100% visible minorities. But they are not necessarily seen as organizations. So how do we respond to that?

That’s the issue. How do we at the Equity Office encourage? Because it’s a very vital kind of activity and it’s also the model that’s used, but it’s outside of an organization model.

And the other thing is that the majority of the artists are often working in semi-professional, or for-profit streams. Of course, these are very important, very valid, very effective art forms. But they’re not necessarily the organizations that are finding a home at council.

… There is a lot of activity in music, but not [similar to] the organizational models that we support at a high level of investment.

Historically, program structures are inherited and the budgets don’t reflect the demand. They reflect certain values: you can call them traditional, mainstream. If you want to do equity work, you have to look at how all of it has been constructed. Why does it continue? So, it could be about different ways of assessing applicants, changing budgets, changing criteria.

The Canada Council does make certain judgments on art genres. We have to own that. When you perpetuate the way things are going, you are owning it.36

In 2012, three years following my interview with James, the Equity Office’s Capacity Building Program now offers Project and Travel grants, and accepts music applications from:

A professional music ensemble, band or group [bold in original] of 2 to 22 musicians that:
- has been working together long enough to create a unique and cohesive musical voice, usually a minimum of one year, or
- has a structure that involves a variable-numbered pool of musicians working together on a regular basis, as stated in their artistic mandate.37

Critically, the Capacity Building program offers up to $50,000 per project while the Music Section’s Project Grants for Organizations offers a maximum of $20,000. The program change suggests an attempt to open the field to forms other than the legacy model. One wonders whether the first kind of ensemble—that which has created “a unique and cohesive musical voice”—might engender the kind of fluid personnel changes typical of legacy musical ensembles, or whether the Equity Office has accepted that not creating legacy organizations may not be important to all musical communities.

36 James, interview.
To highlight James’ argument, we can analyze the kind of funding available to orchestras, choirs and opera companies at the Canada Council. Unlike any of the other granting programs in the Music Section, organizational grants for orchestras, choirs and opera companies do not list a maximum grant figure. One finds, for example, that the Canada Council awarded a total of $2,016,900 in 2009-10 (through two separate grants) to one of its legacy organizations, the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO)—the recipient of the largest grant to a professional orchestra. On its website, the TSO’s Annual Report from 2009-2010 notes that the organization received $5,249,924 from government grants—twenty-three per cent of its total revenue ($22,693,585) for that season. Along with the Canada Council funds, the TSO received $2,065,700 in 2010 from the OAC’s Anchor Organizations program. Municipally, the TSO received $1,134,036 in 2010 from the City of Toronto’s Cultural Affairs department.

Another legacy organization, the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra (VSO), received $1,332,500—the third highest figure for orchestras—from the Canada Council in the same 2009-10 fiscal year. By comparison, the Vancouver Intercultural Orchestra (VICO) received $7500. The latter is a twelve-year old orchestra with twenty-eight professional musicians (plus conductor) that presented five performances in its 2011-12 season. Meanwhile, the VSO, founded in 1919, presents 150 concerts annually and has 103 fulltime employees (73 musicians and 30 staff). Such a comparison is perhaps an unfair “apples to oranges” comparison. Yet, if one’s concern is equity and reflecting the country’s demography we might consider the description given to the VICO by The

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39 Ontario Arts Council, 2009-2010 Annual Report and Grants Listings, 34-35, http://www.arts.on.ca/Asset6353.aspx?method=1 (accessed July 29, 2012). The OAC describes its Anchor Organizations program as one that “provides operating support to institutions that perform consistently at an international level of excellence and provide a standard of leadership in their artistic discipline for both the province and the country.” Six other organizations (of ten) with a musical component received funding from the Anchor Organizations program: the Canadian Opera Company ($2,278,900); the National Ballet ($2,271,100); the Stratford Shakespeare Festival ($1,219,400); the Shaw Festival ($1,219,400); the Royal Conservatory of Music ($281,000); Harbourfront Centre ($625,704). Ibid.
41 The Orchestra Symphonique de Montréal (OSM) received the second largest sum.
Georgia Straight Magazine columnist Alex Varty, who suggests that the VICO presents “Music that sounds like Vancouver looks.”42 The VSO—like other Canadian symphony orchestras—makes no similar claim and their position as a “legacy” organization protects them from the need to do so.

Nevertheless, a 2001 report commissioned by the Canada Council that analyzed the health of Canada’s twenty-nine largest performing arts organizations—also called “anchor” organizations (which includes the country’s major orchestras)—notes that they “have been particularly hard-hit by declines in arts audiences … [with] total attendance for the entire performing arts sector falling by almost 4 per cent.”43 The report suggests that “demographic changes, changes in consumer habits and new technologies” have contributed to the declining audiences, and as a result, the arts anchor organizations “will require a major infusion of public funding on a long-term basis [along with] incentives to encourage business to support the arts …”.44 A Statistics Canada report goes further, suggesting that demographic changes due to immigration may also be a factor in the decline of audience attendance to performances by Canadian anchor organizations. In particular, the report’s author Marie Lavallée-Farah says the “increased number of immigrants coming from a non-European background may be having an impact on the interest in performing arts of European origin.”45

Former TAC co-chair Andrew Craig goes a step beyond Lavallée-Farah by choosing to see Western classical anchor organizations as legacies of Canada’s colonial past. “Classical music is a colonial form and it’s the best funded. As a population, most of us moved on fifty or sixty years ago.”46

44 Ibid.
46 Craig, interview. Craig served on the TAC Music Committee from 2003-2008, serving as its co-chair for three years before stepping down. By equating Western classical organizations with colonialism, does Craig’s perspective overlook the simple elitism the legacy organizations
Furthermore, Craig believes that the TSO, which—as mentioned above—receives funding directly from the City of Toronto, ought to be assessed and funded instead through the arts council. His suggestion implies that the TAC should regulate the orchestra’s municipal funding and—by requiring the orchestra to meet the same assessment criteria as other organizations—force the orchestra to examine its place in the municipal-social context rather than being guaranteed funding through its status as a legacy organization where merit rests in a pre-democratized (“colonial”) sensibility.

Craig also echoes James’ sentiments: acknowledging that when the TAC opened its doors to non-European forms of music, it did not alter its privileging of the organizational model as an ideal. He points out that organizations leave effective paper trails, which are useful markers by which to track public funding. To illustrate his argument, Craig describes the success of Toronto tabla player Ritesh Das.

Ritesh shows up in town. He’s a talented, knowledgeable guy; had a particular niche that no one else did. But Ritesh alone wouldn’t get a grant. So, Ritesh creates a structure, the Toronto Table Ensemble. He packaged himself the way they wanted. He figured it out.

That way, he provides the TAC with a paper trail: this organization can prove it represents the funds responsibly.47

Nevertheless, the TAC’s continued desire to maintain obligations to legacy organizations, in conjunction with very different contemporary economic circumstances compared to the early days of the TAC, mean that no organization trying to establish itself today can ever hope to achieve the stability of the older legacy organizations.

The problem is one of historical inequity. Let’s say Andrew Craig Productions has decided to expand. Even if they have the artistic merit, are financially solid, they have multiple sources of funding – they’ve done everything to warrant substantial support—Andrew Craig Productions will never be able to reach the level of funding of Tafelmusik. It can’t come close.

When the TAC was founded, Tafelmusik was at the table. They received an incremental increase of small to large grants over two decades. The economy today

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47 Ibid.
does not support that kind of growth. We maintain Tafelmusik’s funding today, but we haven’t been able to increase it over the past few years.  

How, then, will anchor organizations fare in the long-term? To aid their funding argument, arts advocates continue to find different perspectives by which to document their claims that participation in the arts is beneficial to individuals’ physical, mental and emotional health, and to communities’ social and economic health. But advocates can no longer presume that “the arts” consists only of the established Western classical institutions and their artforms.

Guided by its Equity Office, the Canada Council appears to have taken steps to alter the disparity between entrenched forms (for both genre and organization) and forms that pave the way for a more accurate reflection of the country’s diversity. The OAC’s 2008-2013 Strategic Plan suggests a willingness to tackle the discrepancy between funding and demographic representation. Meanwhile, Craig and Sundar-Singh feel the TAC—weighed down by an unwieldy board and artists afraid of jeopardizing their careers—has neither the “will” (Sundar-Singh) nor the “balls” (Craig) to make similar, fundamental changes.

Contrasting the kind of support organizations receive from arts councils, Greg Oh (co-chair of the TAC Music Committee since 2008) describes the fiscal allotment given to Project Grants as mere “chump change”. One can easily see the substance behind this characterization by looking at the TAC Music Section’s budget. In 2009-10, for example, the TAC awarded fifty project grants for music, totaling $146,750. Meanwhile, seventy-five organizations received operating grants, totaling $1,581,097. Projects, thus, make up 8.49% of the total Music Section budget.

Capturing figures at the OAC and the Canada Council is more complicated as there are more programs, and some—such as the Presenter/Producer programs—also include

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48 Ibid.
49 Sundar-Singh, interview; Craig, interview.
50 Greg Oh, interview by author, Toronto, ON, June 23, 2010.
51 Personal TAC committee notes.
festivals (Blues, Celtic, Electronica, Folk, Jazz, World, and ethno-specific). Nevertheless, in 2009, the OAC’s Popular Music program (which includes both songwriting and recording grants) awarded one hundred fifteen project grants totaling $651,000; while the Presenter/Producer program (to which small and large groups can apply) awarded $370,393 in project grants to forty-six groups. The balance of the Presenter/Producer grants--$1,457,038—went to organizations for operating grants. Meanwhile, other OAC grants included:

- orchestras ($2,084,443)
- choirs ($538,161)
- commissioning ($170,000), which included three non-Western classical commissions
- classical music recording ($50,000)
- anchor organizations including: the Canadian Opera Company ($2,278,900); the Toronto Symphony Orchestra ($2,065,700); the National Ballet ($2,271,100); the Royal Conservatory of Music ($281,000)

Organizations generally have an administrative infrastructure including: an office; a regular performance venue (including unionized stagehands); a manager (and/or artistic director); paid staff; and paid performers. They can therefore apply for “Operational” funding. Many applicants to councils’ Project Grants, meanwhile, are individual musicians, bands or ensembles who do everything themselves (or rely upon friends and family). For individuals or groups working independently, then, project grant funding relieves some of the burden of venue rentals, equipment rentals, side musicians’ and technicians’ payment, and publicity costs. Nevertheless, somewhere along the chain of undertaking a music project (be it a performance, a recording or a showcase) someone will be donating their time or expertise for no monetary compensation. Most often, the artist(s) who has conceived the project makes the financial sacrifice, regardless of whether they earn enough to sustain a fulltime musical career by working for others in a musical capacity. Thus, at the project level, it becomes difficult to argue between the professional and the amateur, if one defines a professional as someone who others pay for their services. For this reason, project grant funding can allow a not-yet full-time musician to make the leap towards professionalism; and it can allow an already-professional artist to take a creative risk outside of their normal source of income.
On the other hand, Craig believes the current infrastructure for the performing arts is fundamentally flawed and diminishes the ability of creative artists—arguably those who cannot easily join the ranks of the legacy organizations—to make the transition from amateur to professional. He raises the issue of the prohibitive costs involved in putting on concerts, costs that keep performing musicians at a fiscal disadvantage while feeding the traditional infrastructure of the performing arts. Further, Craig believes this perpetuates an organizationally driven funding system and may harbour elements of structural racism.

One thing the TAC has been unwilling to deal with is the fact that in the performing arts—which eats up a huge amount of council funding—most of the money goes to venues and to unions other than the performers’ unions. A lot of the money goes to the halls and to IATSE, but not to the artists. We should be getting preferential rates, but the TAC doesn’t have the balls to take on IATSE. It’s not right that they are getting more money than the artists.

One could say there are no race issues, but it’s more difficult for ethnocultural communities to forge relationships with the venues. How do they make sure they get treated fairly?

These are foundational issues. How will you make the next Tafelmusik? That’s the TAC’s job!52

Craig feels the TAC is “stuck in the present,” and suffers from a myopic view of the future and of Toronto’s place on a global cultural map. Believing things could be otherwise he asks, “If the TAC considered itself in comparison with other arts councils of the world, how would it behave differently?”

Unconcerned with the structural optics of fundamentally changing the TAC’s funding practices, Craig uses a gardening metaphor to describe his vision for the future of municipal funding. He believes the TAC ought to be cultivating and nourishing new growth rather than continuing to sustain the old. But he also realizes this view is dangerous:

I’m of the opinion that [the established organizations] need to recognize they’ve had their twenty-five years. We need to seed the future. It’s the difference between a redwood and a seedling. The seedlings are vulnerable and need to be protected, whereas the old growth is strong and has developed resiliency.

52 Craig, interview.
But that’s an unpopular opinion. If you are on the board, invariably, colleagues who might employ you one day also sit on the board. To challenge them is tantamount to artistic suicide.

… The board needs to decide: do we support established excellence, or do we promote new excellence? You can’t have both… Either a handful of legacy organizations continue to receive money because they’re proven, or [you nurture the new] and once an organization reaches a certain level, they get cut off. There’s no other way. $53

Meanwhile, Oh knows that organizations take most of TAC’s music dollars, but rather than suggesting fundamental changes to the council’s disbursement of organizational grants, he feels project grants need more funds. “I’ve been trying to get more money into projects. I think projects are very important.” When I ask him to specify whether he means that projects are important to non-Western classical music he says,

Yes! For example, there is no improv in Operating. Yet, there are two improv groups in Projects. $10,000 to Operating doesn’t mean much, but $10,000 to Projects is a lot. And if we’re talking community outreach, it’s going to happen in Projects.

You can’t hold Projects to the same standard, you gotta take a risk. Look at hip hop and talk about lack of organizational capacity. They’re kids! They don’t know. But that may be where the strongest outreach and community impact is. Maybe hip hop artists are the best stewards.

I’ve seen so many crappy groups of all shapes and sizes. And Western classical is the most wasteful! … Bigger organizations don’t need [the money] as much because they can call Joe and ask him for $10,000. $5000 means so much more to the little guys. $54

Brenda House, who was the TAC’s Music Officer from 1995 to 2010, shares similar sentiments about project funding. During a 2011 interview with her, I asked what she would do for the TAC’s Music Section if she had a magic wand. Her response was immediate,

Increase Project funding. At one point, we could give more money to projects. [Now], I just don’t see how anyone can get anything done. I would also give more to

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$53$ Ibid. Currently, incubation of artists and organizations occurs at the project and composer/creator level. But project grants provide short-term funding for single projects only, leaving junior artists (and new organizations) without the means to nurture stability over the long term. Artists can only gain stability by annually applying to and consistently receiving project grants from a range of funders over a number of years. Only after an organization has proven its stability by means of successful project funding can they apply for stability or incubating-type programs (from public funders and private foundations).

$54$ Oh, interview.
Music Creators and Composers. The most diversity is in the Creator/Composer program and then in Projects.

Not that Operating shouldn’t get—or doesn’t deserve—funding: they’re not-for-profit organizations. But the model for any operating organization is that you have your series and you produce your concerts. For African, Cuban, popular and other forms, they don’t have the same kind of venue that allows them to have their four-concert series. So, they need to continue to apply on a per project basis. And funding a band on an annual (organizational) basis hasn’t been seen as something to be supported.\(^{55}\)

One of the problems with funding organizations on an operational basis (particularly once they become “multiyear” clients) is that it thereafter becomes almost impossible to diminish or withdraw funding to them. The only way an arts council can decline funding to an already-funded organization is if they demonstrate consistent financial problems, at which point the council can issue them a “phase out” warning. Otherwise, organizations tend to receive consistent funding increases commensurate, at very least, with inflation. Thus, if councils receive unchanged—or diminished—funds from the government, councils are beholden to the relationships with their operational funding clients.

During each of my three years on the TAC Music Committee, the group debated the relative merit and drawbacks of funding one particular organization, and five of my TAC interviewees raised the group as an example of the problematic nature of funding. The Western classical ensemble (ensemble “A”) in question has been extraordinarily successful and has developed an international presence. Ensemble “A” is—as Sundar-Singh, co-chair from 2003 to 2008 described them—“ten out of ten.”

It’s amazing, from the music, to the people, to the structure, to the organizational structure. They do it and they do it really well. At the time I left the TAC, [our funding to this group] made up 2% of their overall budget.

So, we have them and we have a smaller organization. For the smaller group, we’re probably funding them at 80%. But the 2% we give to the ensemble “A” could fund four to five smaller organizations at 50-80%.

One of the potential ideas we had was looking at a model where an organization would get funded for “x” amount of years. We get them up and running, get them successful and then at a certain point, we’ll say, “You’re great!” And then we’ll cut the cord and they’ll go off. I believe that if we cut funding to ensemble “A”, they’d be fine. They wouldn’t even have a hiccup. They’d find the 2%.

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\(^{55}\) Brenda House, interview by author, Toronto, ON, March 4, 2011. The maximum allowable for Project Grants at the TAC is 35% of the project budget up to a maximum of $10,000.
But there are two sides to it, and there’s an ethical dilemma. If we cut funding, we’re punishing them for being successful. We’ve been with this ensemble from the beginning. We’re a part of their success, locally and internationally. But they don’t need us anymore. So, let’s shake hands with them, wish them well and pass on the legacy. The problem is: we lose the optics of supporting this group. The TAC loses the optics of being tied to an organization as successful as ensemble “A”.56

Perhaps the most critical factor in this situation is that the TAC’s grant to this particular organization is just shy of 10% of the TAC’s total allocation for music funding. As Sundar-Singh notes, the TAC has no good reason to withdraw their funding from the group, and because of their consistently high assessment level, the arts council raises their grant minimally for inflation. Yet, the minute figure representing inflation could provide substantial funds for numerous projects. Thus, funding to organizations—particular those with established funding histories to the council, which tend to be Western classical ensembles—inhibits the TAC’s abilities to significantly expand their pool of funded musicians and to properly represent the diversity of musicians creating music in the City of Toronto. The result, argues Sundar-Singh, is a continued perception that the arts council “supports a narrow vision of music.”57

Outreach

Outreach has become a crucial factor in the democratization process of arts funding. It occurs primarily on two levels: arts councils searching out communities (musical, ethnocultural and geographical) that have not been part of the funding process; and grant applicants from the (almost exclusively) classical “establishment” pursuing new audiences through collaborations with non-Western classical artists and through outreach programs to communities outside of their usual purview.58 The Canada Council’s equity moves and program changes in the early 1990s represented the council’s first attempts at

56 Cyrus Sundar-Singh., interview by author, Toronto, ON, February 2011.
57 Ibid.
58 Many organizations undertake educational outreach – inviting students to rehearsals or performances, or taking projects into schools – while others perform in seniors’ residences, hospitals and hospices, and community centres. I have also seen a few examples of groups working in prisons and women’s shelters.
outreach; and today, the Equity Office acts as an internal monitor to watch over and ensure that the council’s sections continue to reach out to new “clients” and perspectives.

**Outreach at the Municipal Level**

Around 2003, the TAC’s Music Committee co-chairs, Dáirine Ní Mheadhra (who served as Music Committee Co-chair from 2000 to 2005) and Andrew Craig (2003 to 2007) felt the municipal council needed to undertake concerted outreach to the city’s underserved music communities. They—along with officer Brenda House—began with a visit to Loney at the OAC.

When Andrew and I were there, we figured that with waves of immigration, there were groups that didn’t even know about the TAC. Who didn’t know and how do we tell them?

I thought at the time that we should talk to Arlene at OAC because she had a good take on what was going on. My concern was that the Toronto Arts Council should be open, should be available to people of Toronto. Andrew and I felt it was important that people know. And then we left it to Brenda [House].

As I discovered during my interviews, House met the challenge and became well-respected amongst arts council officers for her outreach, particularly into the city’s non-Western musical communities.

House (who is Aboriginal) told me that when she applied for the position at the TAC in 1995, the council had actively sought to hire an officer from an Aboriginal or visible minority background, and the job description included a mandate to increase the pool of culturally diverse applicants to the TAC. I asked House whether she did outreach because it was part of her job description or because she felt it was important. She said she did it for both reasons, but also because it was geographically feasible to do so (in comparison to the provincial and federal arts councils).

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59 Dáirine Ní Mheadhra, interview by author, Toronto, ON, November 30, 2010.
60 House, interview. House’s original portfolio included both Music and Dance, but as the number of applications to music increased – due in part to the amalgamation of the City of Toronto with six surrounding neighbourhoods in 1998 – the TAC hired a second officer to take over the much smaller Dance portfolio on a part-time basis.
One of the first changes House made as Music Officer was changing the title of the funding program for composition.

Music Creators and Composers was called the Composer’s program. We decided to change the name to better reflect the applications we were receiving. The name “Composer’s” implied classical composers. It didn’t say songwriters. It gave the impression it was for classical composers. And over fifty per cent of the applications were classical.  

By comparison, results from the TAC’s 2010 Music Creators and Composers grant category indicate that only four of fifty grant recipients belong to the city’s “classical” new music community.

**The banner, the door and the table**

The banner is about outreach to the communities who don’t necessarily know about the TAC, as opposed to the kids coming out of UofT who know about us and are combing arts councils for grants.


During application assessments at the TAC, the notion of “paying for a banner” often came up in discussion. The phrase represented both a metaphor and a desired physical banner emblazoned with the TAC’s logo and name. Unbeknownst to me, co-chairs Sundar-Singh and Craig came up with the idea as a way to increase the visibility of the TAC in the hopes that doing so would open the door to a greater pool of applicants: to let people know that the door could be accessed by anyone. Sundar-Singh told me that as visible minority co-chairs, he and Craig—without ever discussing it—shared the goal of increasing the TAC’s overall visibility so that the city’s full spectrum of musics and musicians would know that the council’s funding was theirs to access. Thus, the co-chairs felt that the large organizations receiving TAC grants (particularly festivals) could

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61 House, interview.
62 Toronto Arts Council, “2010 grant allocations list” [http://torontoartscouncil.org/PAST-GRANT-RECIPIENTS](http://torontoartscouncil.org/PAST-GRANT-RECIPIENTS) (accessed June 22, 2012). I undertook a quick Google search of the names I did not recognize on the list. I found that a significant number of recipients came from jazz backgrounds but an even greater number described themselves as “singer-songwriters”. The grants ranged between $2000-$5000, with the majority falling between $3000-$4000.
display a physical TAC banner as a kind of advertisement for the council. To this date, the TAC administration has not approved the creation of a physical banner.

The music committee, nevertheless, often discusses “the banner” symbolically. The banner represents the committee’s way of reaching out to specific musical, ethnocultural and sometimes geographic communities that do not have a history of funding from the TAC. In such a case, the committee might “fund a banner”: award a grant to a new applicant as a symbol of the committee’s reaching out to the new community, or as an affirmation of the officer’s outreach efforts that have brought the new musical community to the funding table. Too often—as House, Sundar-Singh and Director of Grants Beth Reynolds all noted—new applicants who do not receive grants tend to get discouraged and do not reapply, thinking the rejection has to do with the genre of music they play rather than a weakness in the application. Therefore, awarding small grants or funding “banners” sometimes functions to encourage the new musical community and others associated with it. Thus, at the municipal level—unlike the federal and provincial arts councils, which firmly position “artistic merit” as the overriding determinant in grant assessment and funding—symbolic gestures of outreach can trump “artistic merit” as the criterion by which organizations (particularly new applicants to Project funding) receive funding.63

Yet, despite the efforts of the Standing Committee, Sundar-Singh insisted during our conversation that the TAC’s current administration has been unwilling to truly reach out and advertise the TAC’s existence to the greater population of Toronto. He suggests that the real reason they refused to consider creating an actual banner is due to a fear of being overwhelmed by applications and a consequent desire to “stay small” because the City of Toronto’s allocation to the arts council is so small.

My mandate wasn’t only about the people coming to the table – about the coming in – but the people going out. I wanted to ensure that a greater amount of people in the GTA were aware of the TAC so that anybody could access it. … I felt that it was the

63 The larger arts councils sometimes allow extra-musical factors to supercede “artistic merit” in funding decisions. André Jutras mentioned an example whereby assessors felt that funding an applicant from a remote location over a more qualified applicant from a large urban centre would have a greater impact upon the first applicant and upon their community.
responsibility of the TAC to put themselves out so that 95% of the population knows that the TAC exists; so that the door is open for anybody to apply. There was a fear at the table, especially at the board level that this would open the floodgates. “We have limited funds, we already can’t fund everyone that comes to the table.”

But in reality, we’ve never been able to fund everyone. And we’ll never be able to: those are fixed realities. … What I saw in practice at the TAC—because of the fear of floodgates—they actively chose to remain small in the media. So, when they would do pushes in the media, it was restricted to ethnic minority papers. … There’s a notion that brown people only read brown papers and therefore to reach brown people, you advertise in brown papers. That’s not reality. I think the [Toronto] Star alone is sustained by more visible minorities than white people. I’ve never seen the TAC in anything that was bigger than Wholenote or an ethnic paper.

I remember talking about Much Music. I said, “why don’t we do a little PSA on Much Music? It won’t cost us anything: it’s a service. Think of the number of people you’d reach, to let know you exist!”

There’s always been this imaginary wall between the community of the TAC and the outside world. It’s very downtown-centric. It’s very insular to certain established communities of music and very hard to open up to new things. If you lined up ten people across the city, nine would have no idea what a TAC is.

Who is being kept out?

Probably people in the suburbs. A lot of people in those areas are minorities: not just musicians, but music producers.

[As it is] I don’t think the TAC matters to anybody, therefore whatever the TAC does isn’t affecting the population. It isn’t affecting anyone on the ground as to whether they value art or not. There’s a great role for the TAC if they lift the gambit to put art at the centre of people’s eyes, but the model that exists cannot deliver it because it’s caught up in different mandates.

This is the Toronto Arts Council. It has a responsibility to let itself be known to as many Torontonians as possible that it exists and that it offers these services. Their failure to do so means that only the already-converted keep coming back…

Sundar-Singh’s sentiments echo those of his predecessor, Ní Mheadhra. Yet, Sundar-Singh told me that his and Craig’s presence on the TAC board, and their mandate to open the TAC’s reach to all musics and musicians in the amalgamated City of Toronto—threatened the TAC’s status quo leanings. The sequence of his thoughts suggests that, unlike Irish-born Ní Mheadhra, who—though interested in non-Western classical musical

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64 Sundar-Singh, interview. The Wholenote is a free print and online magazine that describes itself as “the most comprehensive monthly concert-goers’ guide covering Toronto and the surrounding area. …The WholeNote is dedicated to the promotion of live music, including Classical, Jazz, World, Music Theatre, and Contemporary.” http://thewholenote.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=6&Itemid=11 (accessed June 22, 2012).
forms—worked in and was a product of the Western classical establishment, Sundar-Singh aggravated TAC board nerves on a racial level and perhaps also, a non-establishment level.

I was actually asked to leave—not directly, but implicitly. A few years later I found out that they were just waiting for me to go: Andrew, me and one person from another discipline. I was thought of as a shit-disturber. That’s the other thing: I wanted to make sure that there were visibility minorities at the board table.65

Organizational Outreach in Toronto

When organizations reach Multi-Year Operating status, they must persuade assessors they continue to successfully exhibit five criteria described in the TAC’s Program Guidelines for its Multi-Year Operating Funding for Music Organizations: Artistic Quality; Contribution to the Art Form; Role and Relevance in the Artistic Community; Public Impact; Financial and Administrative Viability. The fourth criterion, Public Impact, is important in discussions about democratization for it asks the organization to consider the place of its art in a social context. The TAC highlights four possible manifestations of “public impact”.

In assessing the organization’s public impact, consideration is given to:

• The organization’s ability to describe its current audience and its level of commitment to develop an audience that reflects the community it serves.
• The organization’s ability to recognize and cultivate potential new audiences and develop marketing plans to support this.
• The ways in which the organization engages its audience through outreach and audience development activities such as artists’ talks, Q&As, pre- and post-performance talks, lecture-demonstrations, etc.
• The organization’s ability to gain support from the wider community in the form of sponsorships, partnerships, volunteers, etc.66

In TAC organization applications, assessors expect to see the organization respond to the five criteria of the program guidelines, including public impact. As a result, organizations

65 Ibid. Sundar-Singh left his position as co-chair one year before the end of his tenure. Greg Oh replaced him as co-chair in an unusual direct appointment by the TAC’s executive director. Previously, the Music Committee chose their desired co-chairs internally before submitting their recommendations for board approval.
must declare that they are taking steps towards developing their audience, cultivating potential new audiences and engaging in some form of outreach. Often, outreach takes the form of educational platforms—including school workshops and concerts. In other instances, organizations indicate that they will engage in multicultural activities. Yet, not all applicants declare such intentions sincerely, and while assessors look for outreach, they often know when it has been gratuitously included in an application.

During my discussion with Canada Council officers, André Jutras said on two separate occasions, “Jury members have a nice sense of smell.” In a subsequent sentence, though, he suggested that some applicants know how to incorporate outreach effectively into their grant applications.

Tokenism doesn’t work. For example: saying you’re undertaking an Aboriginal project but involving one Aboriginal as a side person. Jury members have a nice sense of smell and they can smell it from a mile. But some artists are really good at playing the system and know what to write to trigger a grant from the jury.67

Gerri Trimble explained why the Canada Council still wants its applicants to be concerned about multiculturalism, and why some applicants are resistant to it.

I have often wondered about multiculturalism. Obviously, we care more than some of the people we deal with. One of the things that came up in last year’s strategic plan is that some people equate our emphasis on multicultural diversity as a diminishment of artistic excellence. In other words, if you must put this focus on it, then there must be something wrong with the music, or that it’s not “art”. I’ve always been interested in how we separate those two issues so that people don’t think it’s about giving some substandard musician an opportunity, when it’s really about reflecting society. Or it’s about the fact that your organization is not in touch with the current time.68

During my term at the TAC, I developed a keen sense of “smell” for applications that indiscriminately hinted at multicultural undertakings, and I occasionally made notes on them. While I was ethically restricted from creating any kind of database, I nevertheless came to recognize tendencies amongst the applications I saw and I found it easy to recognize a group’s sincerity about engagement. Applicants with sincere outreach or collaborative goals had structured plans and included specific names in their applications.

67 André Jutras, Canada Council Officers, group interview.
68 Gerri Trimble, Canada Council Officers, group interview.
whereas other groups were nonspecific or vague about their proposed encounters with diversity, betraying their words as tokenistic. Over the course of my three-year term at the TAC, I made notes on five examples of organizations claiming their intent to encounter, collaborate with or present diverse music and/or musicians: examples that typify how organizations deal with arts councils’ desire that they undertake ethnocultural outreach.

One organization—a children’s organization rooted in the Western classical tradition— noted that their “mission” included “working with multi-cultural [sic] communities.” Further, in a particular concert, the group would “engage with guest artists of Western and non-Western musical practices … thereby increasing our profile in artistic and cultural communities.” Yet, the application gave no names of either specific people or targeted communities, nor did their programming indicate how a guest artist or non-Western practice might be involved.

A second professional “new music” organization—again rooted in a Western classical foundation—described in its artistic vision a goal “to develop collaborative cross-cultural and inter-disciplinary projects.” Additionally, the group declared that they presented “multi-cultural trends in music.” Yet, again, nothing in the group’s programme for the season indicated any “cross-cultural”, “interdisciplinary” or “multi-cultural” music. Furthermore (and as happens on municipal councils), more than one person on the committee knew the group’s history well and knew that in the past decade, the organization had undertaken one interdisciplinary project and one cross-cultural project, neither of which one could be described as a major project.69

A third example is an organization rooted in a non-Western musical tradition. In the organization’s mandate, the group states a desire to “increase interest in [the tradition] on a local, national and internal level”; and to undertake “collaborations with musicians from

69 On municipal councils, like the TAC, there is a good chance that one of the nine committee members will know an applicant well enough to either confirm the contents of the organization’s grant application or report it as a misrepresentation of the group’s activities. This happens much less frequently at the provincial and federal levels of assessment.
diverse cultures with the aim of developing and expanding this musical form in a fresh Canadian context.” The group documented their goals with specific examples—local and national performances and recordings—from the current and past annual seasons.

A fourth kind of organization is that represented by non-visible ethno-cultures that perform works from their ethnocultural tradition, whether the works are in folk form or composed form. The population of these organizations—at the performative, organizational, audience and compositional levels—tend to be unified along ethnocultural lines. One such group describes their purpose in their mandate,

Within the multicultural society of Canada, there is a national interest in maintaining and enhancing the cultures of our heritage. … Without [our group] the tradition of this music would be sorely diminished. … This keeps alive a vital link to the past and fosters understanding in society at large. Our commissioning of new works from composers [of our ethno-culture] enhances the traditional repertoire, helping to keep the language and culture alive for the next generation.

Further, they noted, “our vision also includes the performance of pieces from other folk traditions as well.”

A second example of a non-visible ethnocultural group (“Y”) aligns itself with the Western classical approach to music-making, saying that their goals include, “to develop and maintain the highest musical standards, participate in local, national and international competitions and festivals, and commission new works by Canadian and [‘Y’-ian] composers.” Further, they intend to undertake “outreach to non ‘Y’-ian audiences in the Toronto area and will take part in a multi-cultural spring concert.” The multi-cultural concert, they note, will involve two other ethnocultural groups—one a visible minority ethnocultural group, one a non-visible ethnocultural group.

From an antiracist perspective, the “multi-cultural” [sic] references in the first and second examples and in the two non-visible ethnocultural group examples seem gratuitous inclusions, added tactfully into the mandates to make the groups appear politically correct and in-step with the arts councils’ pro-diversity and outreach priorities. On the other hand, ethnocultural handshakes—whether gratuitous or not, whether musically satisfying
or not—can easily occur in a city like Toronto; like an introduction to a new neighbour, the handshake can be sincere and meaningful, it can be guarded or fearful, or it can be superficial. Yet, one-time encounters can spark an initial curiosity, and by association, established organizations can introduce new artists to the arts councils, thereby subtly strengthening the council’s priorities.  

As TAC music committee members, we wanted to see that privileged groups and insular ethnocultural groups attempted to reach out to communities that were geophysical neighbours, but artistic and cultural foreigners. Our tacit goal was to ensure continued moves to diminish the barriers of musical insularity.

Assessing the Applications

All three arts councils use both standing committees and one-time juries to make decisions upon grant applications. The two larger councils also allow their officers to make some decisions internally (for example, second and third year funding amounts for multiple-year Organizational Grants), but the majority of decisions about who receives grants rest with the peer assessors. The councils set priorities for their programs and those priorities guide assessors in their decision-making. On all three councils, assessors receive the written material associated with each grant application a few weeks before the committee actually meets, and can make preliminary assessments based upon the program’s priorities and the applications’ written material. When the group assembles, they have an opportunity to examine the applications’ support material—audio recordings or DVDs, sample performance programmes and flyers.

Assessment Committee Composition

Each council has its own criteria for jury composition. Both the Canada Council and the OAC also have standing committees that function similar to the TAC’s Standing

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70 Brenda House noted with pride that she often came across project proposals from musicians who had initially met or read about each other around her genre-encompassing assessment tables.
Committee, but whose range of specialty is much narrower than the TAC’s. Like the larger arts councils, the TAC’s Music Officer also puts a one-time, six-member jury together annually to assess applications for the Music Creators and Composers Grant. Soraya Peerbaye, who worked for both the Canada Council and the TAC felt it important to tell me that she received no training or guidelines from either organization on assembling or facilitating a jury. Yet, in my experience, the composition of the Canada Council and OAC’s smaller assessment committees (compared to the TAC’s Standing Committee which assessed the same types of applications as the larger councils) seemed to be more rigidly structured, adhering to certain patterns. The OAC normally has five to six-member committees, while the Canada Council Classical Music committees consist of three people and its non-Classical committees can have up to five assessors. The Canada Council notes that it aims to create “balanced committees” which consider: artistic practice; professional specialization; language; cultural diversity; Aboriginal artists and arts professionals; regions; gender; and age. “Balanced committees,” they suggest, “are an important tool to promote a better understanding of artistic merit and outstanding ability within a multiplicity of contexts.” The Council admits that creating a committee with all the preceding attributes is not possible. Nevertheless, each of the Canada Council juries in which I have participated have always exhibited: geographic diversity such that no two assessors come from the same region of Canada (Quebec, Central, Western, Atlantic, Northern); at least one Francophone (or fluently bilingual) assessor; and at least one female assessor.

71 The Canada Council, for example, notes that it has “Standing Committee[s] of Peers: … [which] convene on a regular basis throughout the year in order to provide continuity in a specialized field, such as administration or research. Peers are appointed for terms of up to three years, and serve on a rotating basis. The Council uses this assessment process for the Flying Squad program, the Killam Prizes and Killam Research Fellowships, for example.” Canada Council, “Peer Assessment: How the Council Makes its Decisions” under “Canada Council Funding Decision Process,” http://www.canadacouncil.ca/aboutus/Governance/PeerAssessment/gq127234205403281250.htm (accessed October 10, 2012).
72 Peerbaye, interview.
73 The OAC and Canada Council also calls upon “specialist assessors” to assess particular applications that officers feel might not otherwise receive a fair assessment.
During my first interview with (former) Music Section head, Russell Kelley, he told me that the most difficult job for his officers was assembling a good jury, and many Canada Council officers who commented on jury construction agreed with Kelley’s assessment. Yet, at the OAC, none of the officers found putting together juries or dealing with assessors problematic. Loney, in particular, said that she always found her assessors to be very “generous in spirit,” a sentiment echoed by her successor, Michael Murray.\(^{75}\) The OAC refers specifically to jury composition on its website:

> To determine who receives grants, OAC solicits the opinions of working artists, arts professionals and community representatives to evaluate funding requests and make decisions and/or recommendations to OAC on who gets grants and in what amounts. Peer assessment ensures that the arts community has a voice in how funds are distributed, and that applications are evaluated by artists and other experts with knowledge and experience of the specific art forms, art practices and communities involved.\(^{76}\)

The TAC Standing Committee for Music assesses all music applications (including amateur organizations) other than the Music Creators and Composers grants, and consists of nine members, described by the TAC as follows:

> TAC’s Music Committee is a volunteer committee of practising music artists and other music professionals. Members are selected on the basis of their familiarity with and specialized expertise in a broad spectrum of music forms, genres, styles and practices and their direct experience in Toronto’s music community. TAC strives to ensure fair representation of gender and diverse cultural communities on its adjudication committees and juries.\(^{77}\)

Each year as members’ terms ended, the remaining members meet to discuss a list of possible replacements. Interested members of the community can ask that their names be put forward for consideration, while committee members and the music officer also suggest specific people who have expertise that the committee needs. For example, during the years I served, the committee always had at least: one choral expert; one

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\(^{75}\) Loney, OAC group interview; Murray, interview.

\(^{76}\) Ontario Arts Council, “How Applications are Selected for Funding” under “Peer Assessment Principles and Procedures,” [http://www.arts.on.ca/Page74.aspx](http://www.arts.on.ca/Page74.aspx) (accessed June 29, 2012).

composer; one person with organizational management skills; and one person involved in a community music organization. The committee also looked for members with multiple areas of expertise and with connections to under-served musical communities. In my case, I replaced the orchestra specialist, but I also brought specialties in improvised and contemporary music, as well as a history of cross-disciplinary performances and self-produced concerts. Towards the end of my tenure, one of the committee’s particular areas of concern was baroque music: the committee felt overwhelmed by the number of baroque music applications it had begun to receive and under-informed about assessing the genre. Thus, Kathleen Kajioka—a baroque and Arabic music specialist, who has also played as a freelance musician with all of Toronto’s major professional orchestras—became my replacement. Interestingly, when Kajioka came to the end of her tenure in 2011, the committee chose a Western classical collaborative pianist to replace her. This meant that for the first time since the TAC has had a committee system, the TAC Music Committee did not have an orchestral specialist. While all the co-chairs I interviewed seemed to feel that the TAC’s system for replacing committee members worked fairly well, Andrew Craig suggested it might be too insular. “It could be more transparent and inclusive; there’s a bit of ‘who you know’.”

Convening all nine members of the Standing Committee happened rarely during my tenure, although the smallest session I attended comprised five members and one co-chair. Gender representation was not at the forefront of committee composition during my term, but it became important to me and to my successor following my last session serving the TAC.

On my last day as a committee member, we reviewed a substandard grant proposal with very poor—and from my perspective—misogynistic support material: not a musical organization I felt befitted support from an arts council. Yet, two factors allowed the

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78 The committee’s decision was overseen by Christy de Felice, who replaced Brenda House as Music Officer. I have wondered whether House— with her fifteen years history at the TAC—might have pointed out that making the decision to replace an orchestral specialist with a non-orchestral musician would set a new precedent for the committee.

79 Craig, interview.
application to receive funding. First, the committee had only two women serving on it (myself and one other) and the men on the committee did not find the support material offensive. Second, our only co-chair serving that day announced that he had received a directive from the administration that the committee needed to support an application from one particular, not-yet-served-by-the-TAC, ethnocultural community. The “city” needed proof of the music committee’s support for the community (and the genre of music associated with them), and the substandard application was the only one from that particular community. While the application had ranked extremely low, it ultimately received funding while a number of applications that ranked higher than it did not. I found the episode disturbing. While this was not the first time during my term at the TAC that we had allowed social concerns to trump merit, it was the first time I experienced the administration interfering in our process. It was also the first time the committee had raised such a low scoring organization up to the ranks of funding; and for the first time I understood that gender representation on an assessment committee was about more than simply trying to erase any remaining vestiges of a male-dominated network. With only two votes, my female colleague and I—for whom the support material was not only of poor quality, but also sexually offensive—could not outvote the men.

Shortly after the meeting adjourned, my colleague posted a cryptic update about “feeling sick to her stomach” on a social networking site. In a private message, I asked her if she cared to elaborate, and she wrote:

Part of my discomfort has to do with the whole notion of the TAC "buying in" to something just so we can have our logo on it. I know there's a little more to it than that, but I'm thinking in particular of the application from ["W"]. I know some on the committee felt we should give them something, just to show that we support this genre as well, but I really thought the application was very weak, and the audio/visual material frankly turned me off. And I'm not sure I'd want our logo on a poster that reads "hot girls" as part of its program offerings (this was in the support material that was passed around). Conversely, I find myself feeling somewhat badly for [another group]. Their application was much better presented, and I think [their genre] is under-represented at the TAC. … I would have liked to have offered them something.80

80 Karen Ages, (TAC Committee Member 2007-2009), e-mail to author, May, 2008.
The experience proved a valuable lesson for me on the critical importance of having a diversity of voices in the decision-making process, as well as the troublesome intersections one meets in the pursuit of diverse representation. No matter how respectful a person might think he or she is of others, we cannot assume each person appreciates what constitutes the extents of disrespect. Thus, when my term on the TAC Music Committee expired, I expressed my concerns about gender representation, and in particular, requested that my successor be female.

**Artistic Merit versus Sociopolitical Considerations**

Technically, each arts council prioritizes artistic merit (sometimes called “artistic quality”, or in speech, referred to as “artistic excellence”) above other parameters for assessment. Other criteria, though, can have a significant—or even greater—influence (usually in a positive way) on an application’s success than artistic merit. I have seen this happen on all councils, particularly when assessors consider the geographic location (or regional diversity) of applications.

Nevertheless, at the Canada Council, each peer jury I have attended has begun with the officer informing us that artistic merit must be our first priority in assessing a candidate. Moreover, within its Governance Policy, the Canada Council states the important relationship between arm’s length political status and “artistic quality”.

Parliament recognized the necessity to provide the new cultural organization with an important level of autonomy from Government which would protect the Council’s ability to make judgments and to base its funding decisions on the evaluation of artistic quality.82

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81 In conversation with Soraya Peerbaye in 2007, she told me that the Canada Council’s Music Section alone seemed fixated on the notion of “artistic excellence”, implying that other art forms held different values on what was important in creating art: values such as social, philosophical and political considerations. I raised the issue with Sheila James, who chose to focus on the semantics of the phrase “artistic excellence”. James said that the council had stopped using the word “excellence” because of its association with Eurocentric definitions of excellence, and had replaced it with “merit”. Nevertheless, she said that while “excellence” does not appear in print, officers now use the word in conversation because it no longer retains any particular ethnocultural association. Furthermore, she did not deny “excellence” as a priority in other art forms.  
Meanwhile, the OAC outlines the priorities for grant assessment in the following:

In the review and assessment of applications, the Ontario Arts Council places high priority on artistic quality. Juries and advisors evaluating organizational applicants also take into account organizational and financial effectiveness, as well as the regional and artistic environments in which the applicant operates.\(^{83}\)

The TAC also lists “artistic quality” as the first of five assessment criteria for Operating Grant applications and “artistic merit” for Project Grant applications, but the actual weighting of assessment criteria at the TAC is less hierarchical than at the larger arts councils and more prone to influence by extra-musical concerns. During our interview, Andrew Craig did not hesitate to emphasize this. “Artistic merit is not the first criteria. It’s not! It can make a difference.”\(^{84}\) Nevertheless, the major assessment criteria for the two committee-assessed TAC applications (as listed on the committee assessment sheets used during my term) are:

**Annual Operating Grant**\(^{85}\)
1. Artistic Quality
2. Contribution of the Art Form
3. Role and Relevance in the Artistic Community
4. Public Impact
5. Financial and Administrative Viability

**Project Grant**
1. The artistic merit of the proposed project and the strength of the applicant’s artistic goals and objectives.
2. The contribution of the project to the development of the art form in Toronto.
3. The contribution of the proposed project to the development of the applicant organization/collective and/or artists involved.
4. The public impact of the project; quality and effectiveness of the applicant’s outreach, marketing and/or audience development.
5. The financial viability of the proposed project and the ability of the applicant to carry it out.

Successful applicants to the granting program write their applications and submit their support material in a way that responds to each of the above criteria. Established

\(^{83}\) Ontario Arts Council, “How Applications are Selected for Funding” under “Criteria for Assessing Grant Applications,” [http://www.arts.on.ca/Page74.aspx](http://www.arts.on.ca/Page74.aspx) (accessed June 29, 2012).

\(^{84}\) Craig, interview.

\(^{85}\) Please see Appendix 1 for the detailed breakdown of the TAC’s Annual Operating Grant Assessment Criteria.
organizations and musics with a history of funding accomplish this more easily. Graduates from the city’s post-secondary music institutions also learn that projects they undertake following graduation are eligible for funding through arts councils, and further—as part of their training—can attend grant writing seminars. This puts musicians trained outside of these institutions at a significant disadvantage. It can also put artists who are new to the funding process, particularly whose first language is not English or French—an important factor in a country that receives approximately 250,000 immigrants per year—at a disadvantage.  

Without an insider’s knowledge of a genre’s history, its musical priorities and the extent of its affect on the local community (and the project or organization’s impact on the larger musical or ethnocultural community to which it belongs), agreeing upon the parameters of “artistry” on a mixed-genre jury can be difficult. When the Standing Committee encountered musical communities about which no one had any expertise, we could not accurately gauge merit, and perhaps more importantly, we could not assess the artist’s position within their musical community. We had to then default to our own musical and social priorities, sometimes supporting artists because of their musical or ethnocultural novelty. I also noticed—and perhaps my hypersensitive “sense of smell” picked up on the tendency—that when an ethnocultural group played outside of their culture’s traditional style, committee members questioned why they did not play traditionally. I asked the TAC co-chairs about this, and with each response, I sensed a personal priority.  

Brian Current began by saying that for him, “The greatest thing that came out of the TAC meetings was to make Toronto the world music capital of the world.”

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86 At the TAC, we often encountered difficult-to-read applications written by musicians whose first language was not English. Invariably, Brenda House worked with such applicants to clarify meaning, often requesting multiple iterations of the application. Interestingly, the Ontario provincial government notes that since 2006, a majority of immigrants claim English as their first language. Ontario Immigration, “Ontario Immigration Statistics” (Toronto: Queen’s Printer for Ontario, 2011) http://www.ontarioimmigration.ca/en/tools/OI_RESEARCH_STATS.html (accessed 1 July, 2012).
A lot of times we pay lip service to diversity. It’s not really diverse music; often it’s the same three chords. But in Toronto we have real Peking opera, we have real gamelan, we have a real Russian Ukelele orchestra. Arts councils are looking for excellence in all traditions. … The idea is to have a jury that knows excellence. … If a group is coming to Toronto and is doing something that is new and interesting to [the city], then that’s a goal: to make Toronto the most interesting city.

*What about our concern about ethnic traditions and our expectations that people should be learning their tradition?*

Ya, I agree [we do] that. I hope we move away from it.

*And the notion of preserving culture?*

I think it depends on the neighbourhood. For example, we are really hard on Western orchestras that don’t do new music, yet we’re not hard on Korean orchestras or Russian orchestras for not playing Denis Gougeon. … If a choir only does that stuff from two hundred years ago, that doesn’t make Toronto a more interesting place. But you’re right, there’s a fuzzy area in between.\(^\text{87}\)

For Greg Oh, “The TAC is like cultural triage.”

Let’s say you’ve got two hundred patients that walk into your ER. The first thing you don’t want to do is judge them by the colour of their skin or what they’re doing. Triage nurses and doctors are trying to be impartial. They see things they recognize and things they don’t know what to do with. So, [they’re] making decisions. There are going to be people with broken legs and in extreme discomfort, but we’ve only got four ORs. There’s going to be human error, there’s going to be bias. Someone walks in: your wife, the mayor, your child. An eighty-year-old? a child?

So you fund some things and some things you don’t. It always happens to be who’s in the emergency room when you walk in.

*Are my questions about ethnicity moot?*

No! They’re never moot: we live in Canada!

*What happens if we are listening to something we don’t know how to assess? What is excellence?*

I try to give the benefit of the doubt. If you’re trying to start a butoh camp and I don’t know anything about butoh (voice trails off) … Your obscurity works to your own advantage. You’re only going to walk away with $5000 anyways.\(^\text{88}\)

When I mentioned to Cyrus Sundar-Singh that I did not get the sense that “artistic excellence” was the prime criterion by which the TAC made decisions, he said, “whether it is or not, I don’t know. I’ve never seen the paper. I never asked to see the paper.”

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\(^{87}\) Current, interview.

\(^{88}\) Oh, interview.
Part of being on the Music Committee of the TAC is the community of people [who make the decisions]. It is far greater than two plus two equals four. It’s not just about the bottom line; it isn’t just about the applications on the table or the budget line adding up. It’s about all the other things we bring to that application, about all the experience that sits around the table. …

If a project came to the table that didn’t really hit a ten out of ten, but if we felt it should be there to equal out the balance of visible and musical diversity, we would push it forward. Toronto is important because we’ve reached a point of tipping the balance. At a certain time, we may have wanted the Koreans to play Korean music, but now it doesn’t matter. What’s important is that the Koreans are playing. … I think we’re almost at an equitable playing field, so that if you’re brown, you don’t have to play brown music any more; if you’re pink you don’t have to stick to playing pink music. We’re past that at the funding level. However, I don’t think we’re beyond the fact that it’s weighted differently whether you play with Tafelmusik or whether it’s Cyrus.

We can no longer say blue people can only play blue music. That day is gone. As long as those blue people are Torontonians and they’re engaging the audience, then it’s relevant. I think we’re ninety percent there.

*I felt like after you and Andrew left, things regressed. I felt I was losing the battle to more historically traditional mindsets.*

I felt the train I was on was heading in a direction I didn’t want to go to, and I didn’t want to fight. … I felt sad leaving without having fully realized the goals I set.89

Meanwhile, Dáirine Ní Mheadhra, who jumpstarted the committee’s turn towards non-Western classical musics, reacted strongly to my suggestion that juries look for ethnocultural representation. “No! You can’t go down that road.”90 Yet, she admitted that her personal interest in “other” musics influenced decisions her chamber opera company (Queen of Puddings Music Theatre) has made. In particular, some of the works produced by Ní Mheadhra’s company have highlighted the unique ethnocultural perspective of their collaborators: George Elliott Clarke writing about slavery of Afro-Canadians in Nova Scotia; Ana Sokolovic composing to Serbian texts and Balkan folksong; FuHong Shi composing to a Mandarin text; Suba Sankaran singing in Solkattu; Inês Santos singing an opera inspired by Fado. Nevertheless, Ní Mheadhra recalls bristling at a comment that what she was doing appeared “very politically correct” and for that reason, she often questions her motives. Ní Mheadhra explained the reason for her interest in other musics; and when I asked her, she suggested elements of music-making she felt

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89 Sundar-Singh, interview.
90 Ní Mheadhra, interview.
were common across genres, but also implied that not all musicians are capable of appropriately discerning the commonalities:

I suppose you do feel happy if you get an application from a new Sulawesi group. They’re interesting.

I had a particular interest because I was an immigrant. [After marriage to a Canadian] I wanted to come here because it was multicultural. I was personally interested in the communities. It was interesting, exciting, hearing what was out there. … It was interesting for someone from a mono-cultural country.

[In terms of council support], you have to be very careful because it’s a fine line. I think encouragement for [an applicant’s] first year, but after that you have to base decisions upon the same criteria as other applications. There are things like intonation and expression that are common. Every great musician sings in tune, but I remember being on a jury where one person couldn’t hear it.91

Finally, I asked Brenda House whether she had noticed committee or jury members looking for ethnocultural representations in music, or being concerned that groups play their tradition. She answered affirmatively, but qualified her answer:

Yes. It could be looked at in a couple of ways. First, it make things more interesting. When the committee is assessing at a higher level, their expectations are higher and they want to hear something more interesting than just classical.

But the second thing is the organization’s mandate, and whether the committee is happy with the mandate. The Koreans [for example] happen to like popular classical music. You want to support the orchestra because you’re supporting the population’s diversity.92

The first part of House’s answer implies that non-Western classical applications can hold a certain degree of novelty for assessors, or perhaps bring a reprieve from the “higher level” of critical assessment by which they analyze applications from Western classical organizations. On the other hand, the committee can be sparing of that level of judgment if an ethnocultural minority uses Western classical music to represent themselves.

Meanwhile, Kathleen Kajioka commented about minority (music and cultural) representation, artistic quality and the affect on Western classical music saying,

If people see an opportunity to present their project as championing an underdog ethnicity, they’ll put that front and centre in their application. Everyone knows that if

91 Ibid.
92 House, interview.
you can find an under-represented slant, you put that to the front and you know you’ll get money. I do that! “Oh, here’s a classical person playing Arabic music.”

Only in (Western) classical music is quality the most important criteria. In other musics it’s: is it interesting; is it new; is it under-represented. Those criteria are weighed more.93

Yet, as a Western classical musician with a foot in other music worlds she encapsulated the essence of the problem currently facing Western classical music (and musicians) in Canada:

… We live by this multicultural paradigm whereby (Western) classical music represents what we are trying not to be: it is un-PC. It is not politically correct to put resources into classical music. It’s sad to me: for those of us who do it, it’s sad. … and we do it so well! The caliber of classical playing in this city is really high.94

Since representing diversity has become part of the funding equation, the plethora of genres and subgenres eligible for funding has multiplied exponentially. Can we assess merit fairly with a multiplicity of genres at the table? Richard Davis believes firmly that the Canada Council needs to completely erase the division between classical and non-classical musics. Not naïve to the shortcomings an open-genred assessment process would create, he described a variety of scenarios he witnessed as an officer, and what he feels is necessary if councils want to achieve fair representation:

If a commitment to representation broadly … is an institutional priority, the real measure of that is the extent to which efforts are made to do that work beyond the most obvious opportunities to do so. … I think some of the most interesting juxtapositions happen, and most interesting conversations—and some of the most unlikely defenders of music, of particular artists—come up when people are working outside of their safety zone, outside of their specific realm of knowledge.

Let’s face it, if there’s a pipa player on a committee, that person is not there to represent and defend pipa players and Chinese music. That’s not what they’re there to do. They’re there to address the broad spectrum.

I remember having this conversation in Toronto with members of the African community, and members were saying “you don’t have an African drummer on this committee to assess my file, therefore these people aren’t qualified.” And they have a point. There’s no one with this expertise, but I also turned around and said that it’s sometimes the practitioner of that form who is the harshest on that form and is not necessarily going to be your ally. And this happens irrespective of whether that person is identifiably part of a culturally specific tradition or not. Jazz musicians are

94 Kajioka, interview (initial interview, October 2011).
terribly harsh on one another. Singer-songwriters: terribly harsh on one another. The easy path is to defer to the individual who is identifiable – identified rightly or wrongly – as the expert.

I would happily exchange openness and open ears and generosity of spirit for expertise every time.\(^95\)

A number of arts council officers made similar comments about witnessing “the expert” being much harsher on the applicant than non-specialists: arguably, evaluating the application to the same degree of nuance that Western classical musicians assess applications from their genre. Unfortunately, a negative assessment from a specialist, which generally influences the non-specialists opinions, works against arts councils’ goal of diverse representation. Therefore, Davis’ proposal suggests that we sacrifice discussions of detail—or traditional minutiae that constitute “artistic merit”—in favour of the generous spirit. This would require looking beyond learned prejudices. Is it possible? Would it feel we were sacrificing depth for superficiality? Can Western classical music and its musicians, for decades the only kind of music legitimated by the arts councils and post-secondary institutions’ performance departments, accept sounds that are fundamentally contradictory to what they learn as legitimate and worthy of merit? Of course, the question goes both ways. Can those who Canada Council officer André Jutras calls “the classical bashers” look beyond the legacy of Western classical music’s privilege and elitism and find an aesthetic—or if not an aesthetic then a cultural history—worthy of funding?

The answers to these questions lie beyond the scope of this research, and need as a prerequisite a clearly articulated long-term vision for the kind of artistic culture Canada’s arts councils wish to nurture considering the radical changes they have undergone over the past two decades. Nevertheless, I offer two examples that hint at a need to cultivate changes in attitude at a pedagogically foundational (supra-council) level before we can abandon the fight against musical righteousness that Shannon Pete calls musical “xenophobia”, and instead learn generosity.\(^96\) One example comes from the TAC’s Creator and Composers Grant Program (Creator/Composer). Unlike the TAC’s Music

\(^95\) Davis, interview.

\(^96\) Pete, interview.
Committee, the Creator/Composer jury does not have links to the TAC board nor are they bound to respond to extra-artistic social priorities. The Creator/Composer Grant is also a multi-genre grant program. Thus, its jury provides a model to test for pan-genre “generosity of spirit”.

During my first experience assessing for the TAC—for the Creator/Composer program—the support material consisted of different kinds of musical scores, lyric sheets and audio recordings. I relied upon the songwriter on the jury to guide me through lyric analysis, and relied upon the hip hop producer to fine-tune my ear to the sonic intricacies of hip hop production. Brenda House had brought the producer onto the jury because of the number of hip hop applications in that year’s competition. It was the producer’s introduction to the TAC, yet like many of the “experts” described by council officers, the producer rejected all the hip hop applications on the assessment table as unworthy of funding. Meanwhile, another juror exhibited an opposite kind of harsh judgment that I found disturbing: the Western classical composer dismissed all musical scores that presented less textual detail than a Western classical score. The composer continually repeated the phrase, “this has no craft” when analyzing jazz lead sheets, songwriters’ chord charts and improvisers’ graphic scores. Meanwhile, the songwriter on the jury recalls the composer completely rejecting lyric sheets saying, “lyrics have nothing to do with music” and being unwilling to fund songwriting. When I mentioned the example to Brenda House and the TAC co-chairs, they shrugged and suggested it was an aberration. House simply said that sometimes strong-minded jurists will try to commandeer the assessment process and the officer’s role is to make sure that each assessor has an opportunity to speak. In this case, the assessor was relatively young and had never had to look beyond the Western classical milieu for work or inspiration. So, perhaps as Shannon Pete noted, the maturity of an assessor is an important factor in their level of generosity.

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97 Adam Faux, casual conversation with author, Toronto, ON, July 10, 2012. Faux and I met serving on the jury and have since collaborated musically, and have spoken at length about genre differences. He reminded me that during the TAC Creator/Composer jury he tried to explain to one of our co-assessors that unlike the division of labour between librettist/poet and composer in the Western classical tradition, the lyrics are usually the most important aspect of a song for singer-songwriters.
Nevertheless, I related my experience on the Creator/Composer jury to Jonathan Bunce, former artistic director of Toronto’s Music Gallery—the city’s best-known performance venue for contemporary music—who was not surprised by the outcome. Bunce, who does not have a music degree and (like an increasing number of Canadian new music composers under the age of forty) hails from a punk rock background, related his own experience serving on a Creator/Composer jury. He said that one of the Western classical jurists “hated everything.” According to Bunce, the person constantly covered their ears and grimaced when the aural support material had any level of electronic distortion or feedback saying, “It’s out of tune; it hurts my ears.”

Gerri Trimble also related an example of an aesthetic genre-based prejudice that stood out on one of her classical music Sound Recording juries. One application in the round of assessment included arrangements of French-Canadian folk songs performed by Western classical musicians. According to Trimble and the peer assessment committee, the applicant and his collaborators executed the music on the support material very well and clearly performed it in a classical manner. One assessor, though, had trouble with the genre juxtaposition and Trimble says, “did not want to go there.” Yet, all the assessors gave the application a high enough ranking that the application showed up on the short list of potential grant awardees. At this point in the assessment process – when assessors have the opportunity to make sure they are comfortable with the names on the list – the assessor in question asked to lower their score (out of 100) for the questionable application by more than fifty points so that the application dropped below the cut off line for funding. As Trimble recalls,

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98 In addition to arts council officers and TAC committee members, I also interviewed Jonathan Bunce and DB Boyko because they represented two of the country’s most important venues for the presentation of avant-garde music and were both important contributors to the CNMN Forum in Halifax. Both have confronted the multiple connotations of “diversity” in music and have in turn promoted the presentation of avant-gardeism in genres other than just Western classical music. Interestingly, neither has a degree in music, but both unabashedly said they were qualified to be artistic directors of a music presenting organization because they had “good taste in music.” Bunce further qualified his claim by saying he had “diverse tastes in music.” Jonathan Bunce, interview by author, Toronto, ON, May 5, 2010; DB Boyko, interview by author, Toronto, ON, May 17, 2010.

99 Bunce, interview.
The assessor said, “Oh, it’s well-done, but I don’t know what it’s doing here.” I thought, you can’t tell me that it’s well done but not want to give it money! That is not okay. The assessor continued, “this is the money for classical music.” And I said, “It’s actually council’s money to give to music.”

I really struggle with the notion of strict lines. They had to do it in the past because the budget for the program was $250,000 and there was pretty serious gate-keeping [along the lines of genre] going on.\textsuperscript{100}

Nevertheless, Trimble feels that it is easy for peer assessors to decide upon artistic excellence for “music that is really well done, or not very well done. It’s the ones in the middle; and it’s then that perhaps other elements of the application come into play.”\textsuperscript{101}

\textbf{There Are Only Two Kinds of Music}

I distinctly remember the day in the first year of my undergraduate music studies that my violin teacher informed me, “there are only two kinds of music: good music and bad music.” Already a fan of progressive rock and cross-genre experimental music, I was heartened by my teacher’s magnanimous attitude towards other genres, and particularly so considering that the lesson took place at the then-Mecca of Western classical violin: Indiana University’s Faculty of Music.

Flash forward twenty-five years. In 2011, a performing musician reacted publicly—and with great affinity—to me following my paper presentation at an academic conference. I began the paper by locating myself in the Canadian arts councils’ peer assessment community. I continued with a discussion of the conundrums that multi-genre music assessment engenders, particularly as this kind of assessment remains unexamined in the context of Canada’s democratization project.

Like me, the commentator was a visible minority. She had also majored in Western classical music performance, had gone to Europe—“the source” of the Western classical tradition—had eventually returned to Canada, and had recently been asked to sit on a music advisory committee for her local arts council. Approaching me after the formal question and answer period of my paper’s session, the woman offered her support for my

\textsuperscript{100} Trimble, interview.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
research. She felt it was important that someone set the record straight. As far as she was concerned, the arts councils were confused and needed to reestablish their priorities. They were funding too much music that was “not good,” and were instead distributing funds according to non-artistic (social and political) concerns. The woman continued by uttering the very same phrase my teacher at Indiana had, about there being only good music and bad music. Furthermore, she suggested that with my musical pedigree, I surely agreed with her.

Today, the ethnocultural mix of Canada’s population and the fundamental belief in the equality of citizenry increasingly results in awarding arts grants according to merit that can no longer be defined by subjective understandings of good or bad, but must be based upon many shades of nuance, determined in part by contemporary social priorities.
Chapter 6

What Is Canadian Music?

What is Canadian music? (Gary Cristall ~ Canada Council, late 1990s)

I was still involved with the Touring Office [when] one of the most memorable things around this whole question came up. [My colleague in Sound Recording] came to me and said, “There’s this guy from Vancouver, but he’s not eligible.”

And I said, “why isn’t he eligible?”

“Well, he wants to make a shakuhachi recording.”

“What’s wrong with that?”

“Well, it’s Japanese.”

And I said, “No, it isn’t,” because I’d already made a record with Takeo Yamashiro. I said, “He writes every tune! He may be Japanese, it may be a Japanese tradition, but he lives here and he writes it! He’s Canadian.” He’s as Canadian as you and me. He came here when he was whatever [age]. But he’s a citizen and his passport looks like my passport.

And that’s where I defined “Canadian music” in the Sound Recording program— I was in the process of taking over the Music Section—as being “music created by people who were living in Canada”: citizens, landed immigrants, no matter what cultural tradition they were working in. It was absolutely ridiculous because we were funding people who were recording all this … music that wasn’t really Canadian. I said, “What is a Canadian tradition?” Aside from Inuit and Aboriginal music (and even then, one could argue about the Bering Strait), what is Canadian music? Everything came from somewhere else! The question is: where do you draw a line? So, that’s part of the debate, part of the shift at the Canada Council.¹

¹ Cristall, interview.
Who leads the way: artists or arts councils?

By the time things get here, we’re dealing with fallout. ~ Shannon Pete

I doubt very much that the Canada Council is an agent of change. We respond to a situation that’s there. Yes, we’ll think about it and a couple of months or a couple of years later, we’ll have new guidelines. The Canada Council reacts. ~ André Jutras

I don’t always agree with [my colleagues] that we don’t lead. I think we lead at arm’s-length, perhaps discretely – at least in terms of talking about championing cultural diversity: creation; bringing things back to the community; strengthening the communities through artistic activity. It seems to me that that is leadership. ... Because we do champion this ideal world where there’s room for everyone to have their voice. ~ Rolf Bertsch

In the Introduction to Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity, Beverley Diamond considers three dimensions by which one can divide (and presumably, analyze) hegemonic power relations:

Logically, hegemony could imply the power relations between (1) large units and the components within them (e.g., governing forces—be they political, economic, aesthetic or whatever—and the governed); (2) between hierarchically equal individuals or groups who regard themselves as distinct; or (3) between an entity and a representor of that entity (e.g., a subject and the artist or writer who paints or writes about that subject).

She continues by locating the arts councils (and recording industry) within the first dimension as one of the “processes of legitimation” that can, because of its “regulations”—such as eligibility criteria—inhibit a relationship between the funder and the artist, thus affecting the creative possibilities open to a Canadian musician. Michael Murray agrees that receiving a grant “is a legitimization [for an artist]: a way of being recognized that gives artists the confidence to ask another artist to collaborate with them.” Yet, the opinions of two Canada Council officers suggest that, from their council’s perspective, the most significant first steps in the legitimization process—

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2 Canada Council Music Officers’, group interview. Bertsch – working on a temporary contract – spoke little during the group interview, but offered his opinions after the senior officers departed.
4 Ibid.
5 Murray, interview.
whether for an artist or a genre of music—come from the street. Perhaps reality indicates a reciprocal relationship between artist and funder, particularly since democratization became part of the Canadian political will and equity became part of the Canada Council’s (and the OAC’s) mandate. In fairness, could Diamond, whose publication (co-edited with Robert Witmer) coincided with the beginning of arts councils’ pro-equity era of change, have foreseen the rapidity with which the Canada Council overhauled the process of legitimization for previously ineligible artists when the council made accessibility and equity strategic priorities?

**Following the Artists (and the Commercialism Conundrum)**

Canadian arts councils follow the lead of artists in part because they prioritize accessibility. They have responded to pressures to do so from within—for example, from the Equity Office and the Aboriginal Arts Secretariat—as well as by responding to external calls for either representation or legitimization from underserved ethnocultural or artistic (including musical) communities. One could also argue that whether they have done so tacitly or directly, the arts councils, by focusing on accessibility, have adopted the social priorities of contemporary Canadian politics:

> Council has moved forward to the point that it deeply owns the sense of cultural diversity—in the sense of access and transparency, equity, fairness—since it was identified as a strategic priority. … I think we’ve come down a long road, to the point that everybody’s really familiar with it. It’s not something we’re trying on, we really do own it.⁶

As the councils have erased barriers to funding based upon genre, they have drawn the line for ineligibility at commercialism. On the topic of commercialism, Canada Council officer Shannon Pete, who has also undertaken research for the Department of Heritage—the institution that includes the cultural industries under its aegis—notes,

> We have [in the Music Section] the entire pop culture music industry backdrop, which is huge. We kinda have that in film. Writing and publishing is getting big, but it’s not as big as the music industry. The music industry is always there as a backdrop, and even when we ignore that backdrop there’s a bit of bleed into the noncommercial side that funders tend to deal with.⁷

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⁶ Pete, interview.
⁷ Ibid.
Equity coordinators Anthony Bansfield and Soraya Peerbaye, in their efforts to dismantle barriers and increase accessibility, pushed the council’s music section to examine the restrictions they put upon urban music forms—reggae, rap, hip hop—that tended to fall into the “commercial” category, but have since become part of “the bleed” into arts council territory. The Equity Office viewed the Music Section’s restrictions on urban music genres as incompatible with the Canada Council’s goals to encourage accessibility amongst historically disadvantaged (specifically visible minority and aboriginal) populations. Yet, for the Music Section, the concerns about genre focused on the boundaries of commercialism: determining the point at which the Council should either support or limit funds to artists and to genres with the potential for commercial success. Additionally, the debate has considered whether the arts council might support an artist with commercial potential during the early stages of his or her creative work. Anthony Bansfield offered the example of (now popular) hip hop artist k-os, whose application he felt the Canada Council should have funded: an example that highlights the “early stage” perspective of support for a musician with commercial potential:

Years ago, I saw an application from k-os (he was going to Carleton [University] at the time). He applied for a grant but didn’t get it. I said—as the Canada Council was heading into their fiftieth anniversary [in 2007]—“Imagine if we could say that a guy like k-os got his start here. But we can’t!”

But maybe ten years from now we could say that about a guy with similar ability and impact, somebody that has internationally represented Canada in a very strong way. You could say you were a part of that; that you fulfilled a part of your mandate in a way that perhaps nobody expected. … How can anybody categorize what k-os does as not having merit? … But because council doesn’t know the form.9

How would k-os’s application have been fundamentally different from those routinely made to arts councils by the not-completely-developed Western classical students who ask for funding to pursue specialized or postgraduate studies in music? Neither kind of artist has attained the level of merit associated with professionalism, nor the

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8 Bansfield, interview; Peerbaye, interview.
9 Bansfield interview.
accompanying economic stability that usually results from steady gigs or commercial success.¹⁰

The problem that arises when we use potential commercial success as a limiting factor is that we use it almost exclusively for non-classical music forms. We do not talk about what former TAC officer Brenda House describes as “popular classical music”.¹¹ Cyrus Sundar-Singh’s example of the Western classical “Ensemble A”—the ensemble whose significant dollar request from the TAC amounted to only two per cent of the ensemble’s budget—calls into question whether some Western classical ensembles and musicians have the potential to reach a parallel kind of commercial success that “popular” musics can. We have nurtured two kinds of infrastructures and with them, binary assumptions. One suggests that the financial stability of classical music forms and their not-for-profit organizational structures is contingent upon sustained public funding from arts councils. This reliance precludes the organizations (and their genres) from becoming commercially viable. Meanwhile, lobby groups representing genres associated with popular music negotiate subsidies and tax breaks with for-profit focused government sectors, because of the commercial viability of the musical forms. Yet, “Ensemble A” has become commercially successful and could easily continue without municipal arts council funding, and k-os struggled many years without industry support before finding commercial success.

Two of my former colleagues from the TAC, who come from very different musical backgrounds but whose training intersects at the point of Western classical music, hold opposing views on the municipal arts council’s role within the context of these two

¹⁰ In a December, 2012 New York Times opinion piece, “Censoring Myself for Success”, K’naan – another Canadian rapper, singer, songwriter – describes how “the pressures of the music industry encourage me to change the walk of my songs”; how record executives told him his “lyrics should change” or he might end up as “Option C, no radio play at all.” He describes his first self-produced album as “a soul with a paintbrush” and his second label-supported album as “a body with no soul”. Ultimately K’naan concludes that “packaging me as an idolized star to the pop market in America cannot work …” (December 8, 2012). Thus, we must ask what artistic sacrifice a musician creating in a genre associated with commercial potential must pay to attain commercial success.

¹¹ House, interview.
infrastructures. As noted previously, Andrew Craig (who trained in Western classical music, gospel singing and jazz, and is currently a host for CBC Radio 2) believes that for social reasons, we cannot continue to nurture the infrastructure that sustains orchestras. Further, he believes that the two musically oriented legacy institutions funded directly by the City of Toronto’s Cultural Affairs Department—the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO) and the Canadian Opera Company (COC)—ought to be assessed and funded instead through the arts council. He singles out the TSO as not as relevant to the city as its privileged direct-funding status warrants:

Take the TSO, for example: how relevant is this symphony to people living in Little India? to Chinatown in Richmond Hill? … I’m not saying it doesn’t deserve to be funded. But without the public funding, these institutions would fail.

If you went to Berlin, though, you’d get a completely different perspective on the symphony. It’s important to people there.13

On the other hand, award-winning composer and conductor Brian Current, who began his musical journey as a rock guitarist, insists that arts councils exist to sustain and nurture the most fragile musical forms, and he considers Western classical music one such form:

Classical music in arts councils is seen as the big guy, but outside the world, it’s the smallest. We’re the smallest, most fragile. Within the councils, it’s seen as the big person that needs to be smacked with a sledgehammer.

But they take most of the money.

You’re right. But it’s only in the councils. These other traditions get so much money from SOCAN and FACTOR. [Those organizations] are set to lobby hard because there’s a lot of money to be made and there’s a lot at stake.

The arts councils are small in the industry. I would argue [they] are there to protect ensembles and music that makes the country interesting, [music] that will just disappear otherwise or get swallowed up by American culture.

There’s no such thing as high or low art, but there is art that should be supported by the state and there’s some that shouldn’t be.

As for the various [historically disadvantaged] communities, the arts councils are their way in.14

12 The City of Toronto Cultural Affairs Department acknowledges that “the majority of the City’s cultural grants program is administered by the arm’s length Toronto Arts Council.” Nevertheless, the department funds six of the city’s anchor organizations. City of Toronto Culture, “Grants” http://www.toronto.ca/culture/grants.htm (accessed January 14, 2013).
13 Craig, interview
14 Current, interview. Current’s reference to “American culture” is intriguing. Is he suggesting that Canadian musical culture is distinguishable from American (or any other country). Is he
There are significant disconnects between what the two former co-chairs feel the TAC should be supporting. Craig believes that the TAC Music Committee, with its range of musicians should debate the social and artistic value of the TSO and the COC and decide their financial apportioning relative to the whole city’s populace and its musical communities. As Craig suggests, debating funding from a demographically representational perspective would likely not sustain municipal public funding to the legacy organizations at their present levels. Current, on the other hand, views public funding through a different kind of holistic lens: believing that the public purse ought to fund the musical forms that are not economically feasible without support, irrespective of whether they represent the population in any kind of democratic or demographic way. Yet, because he suggests that arts councils can help—and thus legitimize—previously disadvantaged ethnocultural communities, we might assume that he sees ethnocultural musical representation as part of the fragile musical ecosystem. In discussion, Current does not consider the possibility that the genre(s) the ethnocultural minority communities choose to perform might fall into the “potentially commercial” realm and thus be ineligible according to his philosophy for public funding.

**Influencing artists**

With arts councils influencing Canadian musicians, how should we interpret Rolf Bertsch’s claim that arts councils “lead” artists? Bertsch’s perspective is worth considering for he knows the arts councils from multiple viewpoints. At the time of our conversation, Bertsch was filling in for the year as the Canada Council’s officer for orchestras and choirs. Primarily, though, Bertsch is a conductor (and pianist) who has had long-standing relationships with Canadian orchestras and ensembles. As a result, his predominant relationship with arts councils—before taking a position as an officer—would have been as a peer assessor and applicant (the latter in conjunction with orchestra staff and boards who prepare grant applications). From that perspective, Bertsch appreciates the subtle ways council priorities can influence established organization

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referring to the contemporary composed genre of music that he composes? Or is he using “American culture” to refer to commercial popular culture?
applicants, particularly by heightening their awareness of the importance of cultural diversity, outreach and community.

In 2012, the OAC chose to be more direct about the importance orchestras need to attach to their place in the broader social community. The revised OAC application guidelines stipulate that: five per cent of music organizations’ artistic merit would be assessed according to the organization’s “contribution to the OAC’s Strategic Priorities … as reflected in programming and artist selection”; and a further five per cent of an organization’s effectiveness such that “the OAC’s strategic priorities are reflected in audiences, administrative staff and board composition.”

When I prodded, officers admitted that the non-Western and non-classical influences they encountered in recent Western classical applications were probably affected by the Canada Council’s strategic priorities. Shannon Pete—while discussing the increased musical fusions and hybridity she has seen—mentioned Toronto-based baroque orchestra Tafelmusik’s The Four Seasons Mosaic, a project involving sarangi, throat singing and pipa in an arrangement of Vivaldi’s Four Seasons:

Who would have thought that Tafelmusik would have done a project like The Four Seasons Mosaic? To be open to something like that is huge.

Do you think a group like Tafelmusik would have come up with the project had there not been the change [in arts council priorities] and the dialogue about access?

No. I think it’s all part of the same … It doesn’t come out of a vacuum. It has to have been really pushed to a certain degree—like anything—to the point where it’s familiar enough that people aren’t frightened by it.

In the midst of a discussion about Canadian orchestras’ not discussing diversity amongst their performers, Aimé Dontigny noted that in the Music Commissioning program, he nevertheless encountered orchestras commissioning works involving non-classical and non-Western genres. Meanwhile, at the TAC, the peer assessment committee routinely

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15 Ontario Arts Council Music Section “Operating Grants to Orchestras – Guidelines” http://www.arts.on.ca/AssetFactory.aspx?did=7577 (accessed July 20, 2012). One wonders whether this new strategy will also affect the provincial funder’s anchor organizations.
16 Pete, interview.
17 Aimé Dontigny, Canada Council Music Officers group interview.
lauded applications that tried hard to cross ethnocultural or genre barriers. As Gerri Trimble suggests, the effort made by applicants located in the middle of the assessment ranking to reach out across musical or ethnocultural communities can make the difference between their receiving a grant or not receiving one. We should also consider the impact a group of Tafelmusik’s stature makes on the greater musical community when undertaking a creative outreach project like The Four Seasons Mosaic: it can serve as an example to ensembles otherwise hesitant to attempt collaborations across genres and ethnocultures.

Keeping Track of Diversity

Each of the arts councils I have studied has a different way of tracking their success with equity. The OAC has undertaken the most overt initiative by including a “Voluntary Statistical Information” page with each grant application. The page is not included in the application package sent to peer assessors and—as the title indicates—as an applicant’s choice to complete it is voluntary. The page reads as follows,

The OAC is committed to supporting and enhancing Ontario’s thriving, evolving and diverse arts communities. As a public agency we recognize:
• our responsibility to help correct systemic barriers and historical challenges faced by Aboriginal peoples and people of colour;
• our role in supporting the arts as a critical link between language and culture for Francophone people;
• the need to support new generations of artists (18 to 30 years old) in order to seed growth in all our arts communities.

We are gathering information to find out how well OAC grants serve Aboriginal artists, artists of colour, Francophone artists and new generation artists, and organizations that support the work of artists from these communities.

This information will not be used to assess your application, will not be passed on to the assessors and will not be attached to your file. After we prepare a summary report using these statistics, this form will be destroyed.

Your response to the questions in this section is voluntary.

Is the primary purpose of your ad hoc group, collective or organization to support the work of:

Aboriginal artists? yes  no
Francophone artists? yes  no
Artists of colour? yes  no
Artists aged 18 to 30? yes no
Describe the cultural and/or ethnic background(s) of the artists whose work you support.  

Soraya Peerbaye felt the Canada Council should have undertaken a similar initiative, but they turned down her request that the council do so when she was Equity Coordinator. 

In an attempt to clarify the council’s position, John Ruston, a senior analyst in the council’s Research Section (who has been at the Canada Council since 1980) told me that privacy concerns interfered with the council’s ability to overtly ask about applicants’ ethnocultural background:

Because of the [federal] Privacy Act, we cannot collect information [about applicants] without self-declaration. The council made an initial attempt about twenty-five years ago, including a questionnaire with the Explorations program application. The response was very low and there seemed to be a reticence on the part of applicants to respond.

The issue came up again [in 2008]. We’ve designed [questionnaires], but then grappled with privacy issues. When we set up the [2008-2011] Strategic Plan, we needed to track diversity and [we found ways] to code applicants internally. It’s done on knowledge of the staff.

The bind we’re caught in is having to show statistics, but not having a good way of collecting them. [We collect voluntary statistics from assessors] but the assessor questionnaire is not sufficient.

With organizations, there is a working definition that the staff use to determine cultural diversity. We’re under pressure from government to track diversity in organizations and are working on coding them so that they can be tracked. It is very much an estimate, although if you look at organizations …[especially] if they have gone from project to operating, you can track that way. To get success rate data, you’d have to know all the applicants.

Thus, at the Canada Council, knowing whether an applicant belongs to a historically disadvantaged community can become a guessing game. One officer I interviewed went

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19 Peerbaye, interview.
20 John Ruston, interview with author. (Ottawa, January 9, 2009). Section 4 of the Government of Canada’s Privacy Act—collection, Retention and Disposal of Personal Information—states that “no personal information shall be collected by a government institution unless it relates directly to an operating program or activity of the institution.” While this phrase does not seem to restrict a federal institution like the Canada Council from collecting information about applicants, without a specific reference it is impossible to know where the conflict between the Act and the Canada Council’s organizational needs occurs. Canada Privacy Act, Revised Statutes of Canada 1985, c. P-21 s.4. http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/P-21/page-2.html#h-5 (accessed July 21, 2012).
through a 2008 list of grant recipients from a classical music file and showed me how—if he did not know an applicant personally—he sometimes guessed their ethnicity by their name.

As Ruston mentions, the Canada Council—while restricted from collecting ethnocultural data of grant applicants—nevertheless presents peer assessors with a Voluntary Self-Identification Form. In the form’s preamble, the council states that it “also welcomes any individual connected with the submission of a grant application to complete this form.” Yet, while one can find the form on the Canada Council’s webpage dedicated to Peer Assessment, the council has not attached the form to grant applications nor to any of the web pages containing information about specific grants.

The TAC, meanwhile, does not collect any kind of data on diversity—neither for the ethnocultural background of applicants or assessors, nor according to the diversity of artistic forms (genres) they support. According to Soraya Peerbaye,

> cultural diversity is a value at TAC—inasmuch as it is part of discussions at all levels within the organization—but it is not framed as a priority supported by specific policies or strategies. This is why there is no formal mechanism to collect data on diversity and equity.

Could this contribute to why the municipal council, unlike the OAC and the Canada Council, does not showcase cultural diversity in their publicity materials or on their website? In my conversation with former Music Committee co-chair Cyrus Sundar-Singh, I sensed that the TAC left concerns about diversity to the committees. Sundar-Singh concurred. “We were affirmative action,” he said of himself and fellow co-chair

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22 Ibid. Internally, the Canada Council discusses equity and access in terms of “historical disadvantage” or “cultural diversity”, but the Voluntary Self-Identification Form uses terminology from Canada’s Employment Equity Act, specifically, referring to “Ethno-Cultural Origin” and listing “visible minority” categories. The form also asks questions about gender, citizenship and language.

23 Soraya Peerbaye, e-mail to author (July 23, 2012). In addition to serving as Equity Co-ordinator at the Canada Council, Peerbaye served as the TAC’s Dance Officer from 2004-2012.
Andrew Craig. Yet, because the committees constantly change, their mandates consequently mutate. Without concerted reminders of the social value equity, assessment committees run the risk of ignoring equity as an assessment criterion if their committee happens to be unpopulated by members concerned about equity. We can assume, though, that municipal assessors are aware of equity concerns in music assessment because there is a fair degree of overlap between TAC committee members also serving on OAC and Canada Council juries where officers iterate diversity policies. Nevertheless, by not articulating an overall equity policy at the structural level, the TAC allows individual committees to have shifting degrees of awareness and responsibility towards issues of cultural and social equity in the organizations and projects they fund.

**Self-Identifying**
One of the ways applicants assert their identity (and help arts councils track diversity internally) is by embedding information about their ethnoculture into their grant applications. When an artist does so, they also locate themselves in the Canadian multicultural history. As Sheila James notes, locating oneself ethnoculturally is as much about being aware of Canada’s history of disadvantage as it is about incorporating ethnocultural perspectives and art forms into the funding system:

> The whole issue of self-identifying comes from a place of being self-aware in a country where there’s a history of antiracist resistance and the adopting of a set of values which have been adopted legally. There’s an intellectual understanding of what that means in our country. So, in order to ask someone to self-identify as being racially diverse, they first have to understand “what does that mean in this context.”

> … Most people identify through their proposals. You might have a South Asian person who’s saying, “I’m South Asian but am going to university to study Shakespeare.” They’re identifying, but they haven’t said how their practice is connected. They could have proposed the same kind of thing but said, “I’m going to study Shakespeare to see how these stories are universal and have resonances with the classical canon of Indian plays or literature.” So, that connects [identity]. Then you could have another person who says, “I’m South Asian and I’m studying a classical Indian narrative.” Or what happens when you have a South Asian who says,

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24 Sundar-Singh, interview. Echoing Sundar-Singh’s claim, a former TAC employee affirmed that the council’s board tried to push both men out of their positions short of their co-chair terms (although Craig told me that he left because he was no longer living full time in Toronto). According to the former employee, the board considered the two men “too vocal” about equity and about wanting to maintain artists voices on the board.
“I want to study Chinese opera.” … It’s up to the artist how they want to play that. They could be a person of colour but not want to identify, but they don’t see how their race, colour impacts on the art they’re doing. … Statistically, we are supporting a person of colour whether they make that connection or not.25

Often, when artists identify themselves ethnoculturally in an application, they do so as a way of providing assessors with context for their proposed project or their organization. Yet, the process of self-identifying can provoke assumptions from the assessor: assumptions about the kind of music the artist might perform; or assumptions about ethno-specific musical influences on the artist’s practice. Is it fair to the artist(s) that we make these kind of assumptions? Richard Davis offered the example of Hillside Festival assistant artistic director, Sam Bagil:

The best example I can think of is having Sam Bagil, who’s the assistant director of the Hillside Festival. I had him as a juror in a Program Project grant jury. And Sam Bagil has been in Canada for – probably going on 30-35 years. I remember him saying to me, “just because I’m Indian doesn’t mean I have a particular affinity for Indian music: my two greatest passions are the Grateful Dead and the Rolling Stones.” And the guy – to the point that the guy looks a little bit like Keith Richards – the guy’s obsessed! … He’s a child of western pop culture and of rock culture. He offered that in the context of a jury to remind the jurors not to be shooting a glance in his direction just because [ghazal singer] Kiran Ahluwalia was the artist under consideration. Because he felt no more – in terms of engaging with the aesthetic – he felt no more qualified than anybody else in the room; maybe in some ways even less so than somebody from another cultural background. So, it’s funny how the dynamic does play itself out in a jury context.

… The reason why I like the story about Sam Bagil is that in a weird kind of way, there’s something slightly subversive about somebody who is Indian in terms of his cultural origins sitting up and saying, “I don’t really think about Indian music.” I think that’s an important reminder to the other jury members and to the institution as well. There is never, nor should there be a direct correlation between a particular cultural tradition and the colour of the person who’s talking about it necessarily.

But that also means that the assumptions are there.

I think, yes. Very much so

At the council? Or the population in general?

I think in the population in general. I think that they’re entrenched: I think that’s why. I think that this is something that over time will dissipate, but … there’s something important about it that needs to be acknowledged and needs to be discussed.

25 James, interview.
I had a young Inuit singer: a throat singer and poet who wanted to do a jury. I loved—and I have to confess I was even mildly impressed—when she referenced the 4AD label and the Cocteau twins in conversation. And I thought, “This is great!” Of course, why shouldn’t she? I mean, she’s grown up in Montreal, she’s grown up with English-language popular culture. Why should I be surprised that we might share, as a common bond, this particular piece of musical history? I think they’re important checks against assumptions that are culturally driven.

Cyrus Sundar-Singh, though, offered a contradictory view of ethnocultural assumptions, albeit one based upon the localized and ethnoculturally dense music scene of Toronto, a city that (according to the 2001 Canadian census) is home to 40% of Canada’s visible minority population. Sundar-Singh believes the TAC has reached a “tipping point” such that a player’s ethnocultural background and the kind of music they play no longer matters in assessment. Most important for Sundar-Singh is that the blue, brown and pink people are at the funding table.

Yet, when applicants identify themselves in the project description of a grant application as blue people, assessors often assume the identification to signify a link between the applicants and blue music or a music that distinguishes them as blue people. Sometimes, the audio support material affirms the ethnocultural expectations. On the other hand, an applicant might state a connection between their ethnocultural background and their art, but assessors cannot hear or recognize a clear relationship in the accompanying support material. As Shannon Pete notes, “Sometimes you can read all this stuff in their narrative but you can’t hear anything in the music.”

Does Pete’s statement not indicate the expectation of an aural assumption? Mentioning identity in a grant application, particularly when it is accompanied by an artist’s described intention to represent their ethnocultural background, triggers assumptions in some—if not all but the most consciously open-minded—assessors. Yet, from an equity perspective, if artists from historically disadvantaged communities choose not to identify themselves

27 Shannon Pete, Canada Council Music Officers group interview. Pete continued by saying that sometimes, “you get the opposite: things that are fusion in the worst possible way.”
ethnoculturally—irrespective of the kind of art they make—they are choosing not to acknowledge their place in the movement against inequity.

**The Koreans**

When I raised the issue of ethnocultural assumptions with my colleagues from the TAC, each one mentioned the Korean community.\(^{28}\) The Korean ethnocultural music community, who self-identify in their organizational applications to the TAC, provides a good example of the problematic intersection between identity and arts funding in contemporary Toronto.

In *Musicians from a Different Shore: Asians and Asian Americans in Classical Music*, Mari Yoshihara explores Asians’ involvement in Western classical music in the United States. She specifies “Asian” as referring to East Asians: people of Japanese, Chinese and Korean ethnicity. Yoshihara notes that these ethnocultural groups first encountered Western classical music in the nineteenth century. They “welcomed” it “as a signifier of Western modernity, and governments and intellectuals eagerly sought ways to adopt it into their cultural systems.”\(^{29}\) As a result, Yoshihara says Asians ultimately “appropriated” Western classical music insofar as it has become for them “a marker of middle class status.”\(^{30}\)

During my years serving at the TAC (and subsequent years, according to my successors on the music committee), the Korean community only submitted applications to fund organizations (or organizationally based projects) dedicated to the performance of Western classical music – or “popular” classical music, as Brenda House labeled it.\(^{31}\) The groups always self-identified ethnoculturally, and usually included “Korean” in the names of their organizations.

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\(^{28}\) The only person to whom I did not pose this question was Andrew Craig, and over the course of our conversation, he made no comment about the Korean music community and their applications to the TAC.


\(^{30}\) Ibid., 34.

\(^{31}\) House, interview.
Given—as Davis suggests—Canadians’ tendency to assume and expect visible minority ethnocultures to perform music based upon unique, indigenous ethnocultural characteristics, grant applications from the Korean music community regularly unsettled the TAC’s assessment process and generated debate amongst the committee members. Thus, when I asked Sundar-Singh about instances of equating ethnocultures with ethnoculturally specific music, he recalled an assessment debate involving a Korean group:

There was an instance of a Korean company applying for a series of concerts. The performers were all Korean but all the music was Western classical. Someone at the table said, “There’s no Korean music.” This person wasn’t aware of the cultural significance of Western music to Koreans, especially piano music. And that is an instance where being politically correct and being culturally sensitive came to a head and landed on the table. And you’d have to figure it out. 32

Sundar-Singh’s example highlights an assessor making [an often-heard type of] an ethnocultural assumption [comment]. Sundar-Singh characterizes the assumption as an assessor’s attempt to be “politically correct.” He therefore implies that contemporary Canadian political correctness may include assumptions linking a person’s ethnocultural background with an indigenous art practice from that culture. Yet, because nothing is more important to Sundar-Singh than minority ethnocultures having access to arts council, he ended his comment on Koreans saying, “it doesn’t matter that Koreans are playing Korean music or Western music. What’s important is that the Koreans are playing music.” 33

Part of the difficulty in assessing the Korean ensembles, though, is deciding how to assess them. Brian Current asks of the Korean musical community and their TAC applications,

Should we compare them to other orchestras? What do we do? We are really hard on Western orchestras that don’t play new music. Yet, we’re not hard on Korean orchestras or Russian orchestras for not playing [Canadian composer] Denis Gougeon in the same way that we demand that of [other classical] or contemporary music ensembles. 34

32 Sundar-Singh, interview.
33 Ibid.
34 Current, interview.
By comparison, the OAC’s Orchestras Project guidelines include eight criteria for eligibility, one of which is “be(ing) actively involved in the support of Canadian music by hiring professional performers and by performing the music of professional Canadian composers.”35 Similarly, the Canada Council’s Professional Orchestra Project Funding Program eligibility requirements include that orchestras “demonstrate a significant and strong commitment to Canadian creation/reertoire as part of its ongoing annual programming.”36 Although, one might argue that the Korean ensembles ought not to be in the same category as “professional” organizations and should be considered as “community” groups, they tend to hire and pay professional musicians (both Korean and non-Korean) and pay them in accordance with local Toronto Musicians’ Association rates. Their Korean-ness comes from the ensembles’ featuring Korean soloists, conductors and leaders.

Towards the end of my tenure at the TAC, at least one of the Korean organizations—possibly following a consultation with the TAC music officer (who would have discussed the committee’s concerns over the application with the organization)—attempted to address the ambiguity their self-identifying contributed to assessment by including arrangements of Korean folk songs in their repertoire. In response, the committee lauded the group’s efforts to both reflect their Korean-ness and to contribute to contemporary Canadian repertoire. But is this fair? Should the arts council be subtly dictating how an ethnocultural ensemble needs to represent themselves musically if they choose to self-identify (and especially if they choose to identify performing the repertoire traditional to legacy organizations)?

TAC co-chair Greg Oh, who is ethnically Korean, provided an alternate, “insider” perspective on the Korean community. When we discussed ethnocultural groups and their varied success with the TAC, Oh said,

Certain groups do better than others. Indian music does better than Persian. Chinese groups—Chinese, Japanese, Koreans (Oh hesitate) actually no, not Koreans—do better than Vietnamese or Tibetan or Malaysian in terms of having a presence, receiving support from the TAC and also having their stuff played.”

But then Oh said, “a lot of groups work independently from the TAC.”38 I asked Oh why he did not want to include Korean ensembles:

Because there’s not a lot of Korean music happening. There’s the Korean Philharmonic, which is not really Korean and it’s not playing Korean music. There are one or two organizations that do play Korean classical music, but they’re not funded by the TAC.

*Are they funded within the community?*

Ya. They’re semi-professional. They all have [day] jobs. They’re more along the model of the Toronto Tabla Ensemble, where they have a school and classes.

*But the Toronto Table Ensemble is well-known in the greater musical community and receives TAC funding ...*

I’m not sure it’s worth it for these organizations to come out of their zone or to talk to the TAC. But you’re right, we do fund four music schools—like Regent’s Park [School of Music], Toronto Tabla Ensemble and M-Do, and University Settlement House—and that’s partly legacy funding.39

In contrast to Sundar-Singh who sees Western classical music as an integral part of Korean heritage, Oh does not see Western classical music as representative of Korean culture or as part of Korean heritage that needs to be enhanced or preserved in the official multicultural sense. During our conversation, he offered no comment regarding the assessment conundrums created by Korean ensembles playing Western classical music and whether standing committee members should assess them as orchestras or as ethnocultural ensembles. Rather, Oh seemed to imply that the true bearers of Korean musical culture existed within the non-public sphere of the ethnocultural community. One could argue, then, that practicing indigenous classical Korean music within the social boundaries of the ethnocultural community contributes to a self-contained institutionally complete Korean ethnoculture that exists separate from the greater Canadian musical community. Arguably, similar circumstances exist for other minority ethnocultures that

37 Oh, interview.
38 Ibid.
39 Oh, interview. M-Do is a kathak dance school that runs in collaboration with the Toronto Tabla Ensemble.
provide the means necessary to preserve and transmit the music (and other art forms) distinctive to them from within their individual ethnocultural communities.

Should the TAC Music committee, then, assess Korean organizations performing Western classical music with the emphasis on social merit afforded other ethnocultural groups? Or should they be assessed in the same manner as other Western classical legacy organizations? Without a clear mandate regarding the place of diversity and ethnocultural representation in the TAC’s granting programs, council’s music assessors will continue to hold conflicting opinions regarding what municipal funding priorities are and, therefore, how to assess the applications at the table.

In her book, Yoshihara notes that for Asian students, the Western classical music “conservatory functions as a democratic space for artistic pursuit, where music is the most important thing that matters and students are given merit-based recognition, regardless of their race or nationality.”40 While this is probably still true for studying music, it is not always true for grant-awarding at an arts councils like the TAC where the value of political and social merit is much more significant in awarding music funding than it is within the sheltered world of the conservatory.

**Representation and Authenticity**

The Korean conundrum indicates a problematic relationship between identity, ethnocultural representation and public expectation in publicly funded Canadian music: problematic if we believe in the free will of the artist to choose how they wish to express themselves. It is particularly problematic when an arts assessment committee expects that a self-identifying ethnocultural group should fit the committee’s expectation of representative performance for the sole reason the group has chosen to identify themselves ethnoculturally. Thus, we not only assume ethnocultural identity should translate to difference, but the manner in which multiculturalism has evolved in Canada may have influenced us to expect, even desire that difference.

40 Yoshihara, *Musicians from a Different Shore*, 87.
The TAC’s Director of Grants, Beth Reynolds recalls another example of a desired difference debated during a TAC music committee, an example that also highlights how “difference” can change the committee’s manner of evaluating an application:

Recently, there was a project application from an aboriginal group, but when listening to the audio-support material, a committee member said, “this sounds like any crummy rock band you’d hear on the radio.” And someone else said, “Well, that’s what they want to play. Do you expect that to have drumming?” But there was a sense that because it was the only application in that round from an aboriginal group, on that level alone, there was a desire to fund it. But listening to it, the music wasn’t very good.

*Is that because the applicants decided to self-identity as aboriginals?*

Yes, it was definitely self-identified as aboriginal. There was discussion amongst the committee that this is what [the applicants] wanted to do: they wanted to present a range of country and rock. But there was definitely a sense [amongst the committee] that the support material be more identified as aboriginal.

*So it had a more authentic association?*

Yah! Because then [we could say] “these are native drummers.” (she pauses) But then, would there have been the same judgments of quality?41

As Reynolds and many others have admitted, assessment committees often assess applicants who present ethnically identifiable music with a greater degree of leniency than they afford better-known genres. Yet, assessors also stereotype minority artists by expecting their music to match their ethnocultural identities.

If we agree that stereotypes are entrenched in the Canadian population—and by extension in the beliefs of those who sit on arts council music juries—then we have conflicting manners of assessing grant applications rooted in the same conflicting philosophical notions of authenticity that characterize multiculturalism. This puts the musics performed and created by Canada’s ethnic and historically disadvantaged communities at a disadvantage. Many of the communities—for decades denied access to arts funding to maintain or develop indigenous practices—sustained their expressive cultural traditions within self-contained communities: a pattern of ethnocultural heritage preservation eventually recognized in the Multiculturalism Act as part of the lived experience of

41 Beth Reynolds, interview with author. Toronto, ON, June 2010. Reynolds has been at the TAC since 1986 and since 2000 has been “Director of Grants,” a position that includes her attendance at all committee meetings for each discipline.
Canadian ethnocultural minorities. Yet, to what extent has our history of “recognizing difference”—by means of curated festivals—contributed to the ethnic performer becoming accustomed to performing his or her difference as ethnocultural representation? Has this contributed to Canadian attitudes about “authentic” representation: amongst ethnocultural members as authentic bearers of an ethnoculture; amongst ethnocultural outsiders in their expectations of ethnocultural representation and their desire to witness an authentic ethnocultural (re-)presentation?

What would happen if the new Sulawesi group in town self-identified ethnoculturally in a grant application but performed hard bop? Would we (grant assessors and audiences) say they were inauthentic? Or would the musicians be inauthentic to themselves if they performed the externally desired ethnocultural representation of Sulawesi music in which they had less personal interest?

Conflicting Authenticities

Upon embarking on research into multiculturalism and its effects on Canadian music, I intended to include my participation in two well-funded performance projects, each of which endeavoured to create and present contemporary composed music influenced by the musics of visible minority ethnocultures. While neither project endured as long as anticipated, I witnessed examples of conflicting notions of authenticity, examples which illuminate the controversies over ethnocultural representation that occur around arts council assessment tables.

Ensemble Noir

The first example involves a Toronto-based group named Ensemble Noir (later renamed Musica Noir), founded by South African composer Bongani Ndodana-Breen. Ndodana-Breen created the ensemble in 1999, shortly after moving to Canada. I began working with the group in 2002 and joined them in a 2003 tour of Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa. A few years later (around 2007)—and without giving the core members of his
ensemble any warning—Ndodana-Breen retreated from the local music scene, ultimately returning to South Africa where the post-*apartheid* era presented him with numerous high profile opportunities.

When I interviewed Ndodana-Breen in 2005, he recalled two things that seduced him into making Toronto his home. First, he received a positive review by Globe and Mail reviewer Paula Citron, who described his music as, “absolutely fascinating” while he was composer-in-residence for Toronto’s Canboulay Dance Theatre. The composer also discovered a supportive expatriate South African population with the financial and organizational means to help Ndodana-Breen create a small chamber ensemble.

Ensemble Noir’s original Mission Statement—perfectly formulated to embrace Canadian diversity reads,

> Ensemble Noir strives to promote cultural diversity in contemporary classical music. We are a professional Toronto-based organization dedicated to presenting and promoting contemporary music that reflects cultural diversity and inclusiveness. Ensemble Noir’s unique artistic vision encompasses music from a broad range of cultures, with an emphasis on works by composers from Africa and its Diaspora. Through concerts, educational activities, residencies and recording projects, Ensemble Noir explores the landscape where the cultures of the world merge with contemporary music (Ensemble Noir Mission Statement 2000).

Over time, Ndodana-Breen and Ensemble Noir became increasingly controversial amongst funders. The juxtaposition of “contemporary classical music” and “composers from Africa and its Diaspora” did not fit arts council—or at least assessors’—presumed notions of “African music”. During one of my visits to Ottawa to participate on a Canada Council jury, a music officer stopped me in a council hallway to ask about the ensemble. Yet, before I had a chance to say anything, the officer uttered a statement of presumption about Ensemble Noir saying, “That is not African music!” By the time I sat down to

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42 Bongani Ndodana-Breen, interview by author, Toronto, ON, March 2005.

43 Ensemble Noir, “Mission Statement” under “Homepage” [www.ensemblenoir.org](http://www.ensemblenoir.org) (accessed March 15, 2005). As of 2010, Ndodana-Breen has allowed both the Ensemble Noir and Musica Noir websites to lapse since his departure from Toronto. For administrative reasons, the composer had to create a second title – Musica Noir – which functioned as a presenting organization, while Ensemble Noir remained the name of the performing ensemble.
interview Ndodana-Breen, arts councils, presenters and some critics had become less
generous about the music he composed and presented:

People here have said some nasty things about what I do: “Well this is not really
quite classical music.” And people in world music saying, “Well, this is not really
quite world music. … “Why are you doing this? It’s so exploitative!” To me, it was
akin to telling a Jewish person who’s playing klezmer music, “Why are you doing
this? You’re just exploiting Jewish culture.” It was just so insulting. Exploiting my
race! I think they thought it was sort of gimmick or something. I was dumbfounded.
I’ve never heard that. People have questioned the music itself, but never questioned
the motive. It was the first time the motives were questioned in that way.44

Yet, as a 2003 press release issued by Toronto’s Harbourfront Centre notes, “Ensemble
Noir’s music is a postcolonial reflection of how contemporary ideas about music are
shaped by African aesthetics.”45 Have Ndodana-Breen’s critics presumed that nonwhite
Africans of post-colonial Africa and post-apartheid South Africa should be aesthetically
unaffected by colonial artistic practices? Should the black African musicians trained in
Western classical music abandon—or even disown—the theoretical system they have
learned because of its association with colonization?

Ndodana-Breen grew up in a privileged Xhosa family in Queenstown South Africa, his
family belonging to the Europeanized African class, a class that Terence Ranger suggests
in “The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa” the colonizers created to help them
govern.46 Furthermore, Ranger posits that many of the cultural practices we now tend to
associate with Africanness are also products of the colonizers. “The Europeans believed
themselves to be respecting age-old African custom. What were called customary ... were
in fact all invented by colonial codification.”47 Musically, both Kofi Agawu and Johnston
Njoku say this has resulted in African art music—music composed using the techniques
and instruments of Western classical composition—being “ignored” in musicological

44 Ndodana-Breen interview.
45 Ensemble Noir, “Press Release”
47 Ibid., 250
Implicating ethnomusicologists in this oversight, Agawu declares that African art music is a “decisive musical consequence of colonialism” and its continued composition is as authentically part of African creative behaviour as are other forms of African music-making.

Ndodana-Breen, then, is a logical consequence of South African colonization. He studied music in South Africa at Rhodes University and Stellenbosch University. Nevertheless, Ndodana-Breen says his education “could have taken place in Geneva” because, except for a four-week module in the final year of his undergraduate program, it was completely devoid of “traditional” African music. As the only black composition student at Stellenbosch, though, Ndodana-Breen explored the music of his ethnocultural background and incorporated aspects of it into his compositions. The result is music that Toronto reviewer Robert Everett-Green describes as having “features common to many kinds of African music, such as interlocking rhythms, non-development harmonies and a euphonous [sic] tonal vocabulary.” Yet, Ndodana-Breen did not alter the instrumental sources to express his sonic palette: like the (mostly black) African composers he programmed for Ensemble Noir’s performances, Ndodana-Breen’s compositions use instruments traditional to the Western classical symphony.

Ndodana-Breen’s unique musical voice initially piqued peoples’ interest in Toronto. Over time, though, the Western classical language he used to express his South African and Xhosa culture disrupted the colonialist codification the Canadian music world had adopted as “authentic”—and perhaps even appropriate—for a black South African. Yet, white South African composer, pianist and theorist Martin Scherzinger suggests that

49 Agawu, Representing African Music, 15.
Ndodana-Breen is an important figure because he did not give in to the essentializing colonial stereotypes that implied, “serious music is for whites, popular (traditional, indigenous) music for blacks”, even when he was criticized by white South Africans in post-apartheid South Africa for not employing indigenous instruments. 52

“Vanity and the Goddess Saraswati”

The second project in which I was involved that exemplified the complex negotiation of authenticity was the Queen of Puddings Music Theatre Company’s (Queen of Puddings) contemporary opera “Vanity and the Goddess Saraswati,” (“Vanity”). Queen of Puddings created “Vanity”, in part, to feature the talents of Toronto musician Suba Sankaran. Sankaran received training in karnatic singing and rhythm from her father, Professor Trichy Sankaran, an internationally acknowledged master of the South Indian mrdangam and kanjira, but she also studied Western classical piano and voice throughout high school and trained as a jazz singer at university.

Queen of Puddings began creating “Vanity” in collaboration with German-born composer Michael Oesterle (now based in Montreal) in 2003, and began working with musicians and singers in the spring of 2006. The company struggled to find a suitable librettist for the work, ultimately allowing Oesterle’s wife Christine—a writer—to create a libretto. Oesterle had firm ideas about personnel, vocal sound and storyline that influenced the version of the opera in which I was involved.

The company (Queen of Puddings co-artistic directors Dairine Ni Mheadhra and John Hess, Oesterle and his wife, and choreographer Marie-Josée Chartier) settled on an “upside down” version of the Hansel and Gretel story in which two vain and disobedient children receive solkattu lessons from Saraswati (played by Sankaran)—the Hindu goddess of music and learning—in lieu of punishment. The two singers who played the children were undergraduates from the University of Toronto’s Faculty of Music, chosen specifically because their voices had not yet fully developed and did not have vibrato.

Oesterle began his instrumental decisions by requesting the involvement of Toronto percussionists Rick Sacks and Blair Mackay. Because both Sacks and Mackay play Sundanese *gamelan*, Oesterle included two *sarons* in the score, as well as *taiko* drums, guiro, temple blocks and other small incidental percussion instruments. Beyond percussion, Oesterle scored for two violas—ultimately intending the violists to be choreographed and representing the “parents”—and harmonium. When the producers told him that one of the violists was Indian, Oesterle admits he was worried, and in his explanation, one gets a sense of the ethical ethnocultural concerns he had and how he negotiated his way through them:

I got a call saying, “Oh, We found another violist and she’s *Indian*.” So, I looked you up on the internet … And that’s the first time I was really scared. Because I was scared that this whole concept of “what are you doing Mr. Germany here with the Indian culture?” And I hadn’t formulated any real ideas about how exactly I was going to be dealing with this issue of working with Indian music. I do know from some colleagues of mine who have played with other cultures that I completely disagreed with their decisions. … I don’t think that I should write about Inuit people or that. I just think it’s not right. It would probably sell a lot of tickets but it’s really not right is it coming from me. …

The way we dealt with it – Christine and I – [was by] using a lot of the parameters from our own cultural background and trying to fuse them with this idea of Suba trying to be a certain type of character. … Christine came up with the idea that Hansel and Gretel were the exact same characters. You have your witch, you have your parents [the violists], your kids; except that since it’s vanity, we’re turning everything upside down. The witch is a beautiful goddess, the oppressed children are now spoiled rotten, vain little devils, and the parents … are now the kind that have all the means in the world, but basically don’t know how to deal with their kids.

… It’s not an opera but it’s a story. It’s music theatre but it’s not an opera. It’s about another culture but it isn’t. … I think this whole world music thing (he leaves the phrase unfinished). Well, Suba is still Suba, but I didn’t put any tabla in there. The drone comes and goes … I don’t actually deal with *ragas* a lot, but I do. The *Saraswati raga* is in there very clearly. … [but] I avoided having two violas really play copying the Indian inflections.

… But we never set out to make an Indian opera. Never, never, never. Or a Western opera even. I’m just really hoping that that won’t confuse people from different backgrounds.  

Unfortunately, Queen of Puddings abandoned “Vanity” in 2007, so we will never know whether Oesterle’s vision might have been confusing to audiences. Queen of Puddings

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53 Michael Oesterle, interview by author, Toronto, ON (May, 2007).
had originally told cast members to expect one to two weeks of “Vanity” workshops approximately every six months until the work was completely developed. At the end of the third workshop (May 2007), the company presented a semi-staged version of the show to a small invited audience to solicit external feedback. Six months following the showing, I received no word from the Queen of Puddings and assumed the show had succumbed to developmental delays. Nevertheless, some months later, Sacks casually mentioned that Queen of Puddings had abandoned the project. I do not know when Sankaran and Mackay learned about the cancellation. The younger singers and the other violist learned much later, as I did.

When I learned about the cancellation, I wondered whether the decision had been affected by the reaction of some of the audience members to the semi-staged showing of “Vanity”. According to Ní Mheadhra, who I eventually spoke with in November 2010, her company abandoned the project due to unresolvable internal artistic differences. Officially informing me of the show’s cancellation when I called to schedule an interview, Ní Mheadhra apologized and said she had been too upset about it to tell us at the time they made the decision.

Nevertheless, in the interim period between hearing about the project’s cancellation and speaking with Ní Mheadhra, I continued to think about what had occurred during the audience commentary segment following the May 2007 showing of “Vanity”. A small group of (middle-aged) South Asian women who had attended chose to focus their attention and all of their comments upon Sankaran, critiquing her directly as if no one else in the room held any responsibility for her singing or actions. In my recollection, the women dominated the floor, although my scant note-taking suggests that others also spoke. The others, though, followed traditional protocol for a mid-process showing of a theatrical work and posed their questions (and comments) to “Vanity’s” production team, the people responsible for the work’s form and content. In contrast, the South Asian women criticized numerous elements pertaining to Sankaran’s performance: her articulation of the text, her delivery of the musical rag Saraswati and her hand gestures (abhinaya) derived from South Indian classical dance. They couched their comments
within a frame of “authenticity” and seemed mostly concerned about Sankaran’s apparent lack of rigour in authentically representing karnatic music, rhythm and abhinaya. From my perspective, sitting at the side of the performance area, the womens’ critique seemed like an assault: an assault not only against Sankaran as an individual artist, but more disturbingly, portraying her as a disrespectful bearer of her father’s name and what he represented of tradition.\textsuperscript{54}

When I asked Ní Mheadhra about the “Vanity” showing, she offered a string of short comments. She recalled the day as “extremely painful” due to a death in the family, implying that it limited her and her husband’s emotional capacity to control the post-performance sequence of events. As a result, Oesterle fielded the audience comments:

So, we opened the floor. And those women shouldn’t have been given the floor to say what they did. They were so traditional. … It was specific to that day and that specific mix of people. That wasn’t representative of reality. … There are always going to be people who don’t want things to go forward.\textsuperscript{55}

A few weeks before the showing, Queen of Puddings’ General Manager had asked me if I knew any South Asians who might be good outside eyes and ears for a mid-process performance. Mindful of the nontraditional and hybrid nature of the work, I offered a few suggestions from the theatre and dance worlds. I implicitly knew that the invited observers needed to be open-minded enough to see and hear beyond tradition, yet able to comment upon it from a South Asian perspective. Unfortunately, none of the avant-garde South Asians I knew were available that day, which also meant that no one with an understanding of both tradition and moving beyond tradition could offer alternative South Asian positions to counter those of the women predominantly concerned with the former.

Still, I understood the position of the traditionalists. The work’s title included the name of a Hindu deity, Sankaran assumed the role of the deity and all of Sankaran’s utterances

\textsuperscript{54} Sankaran, like the other members of the cast, had agreed to be interviewed about the “Vanity” project. While she seemed to bear the post-show attack with grace, I wondered what Sankaran thought of the womens’ comments. Unfortunately, after multiple attempts to interview Sankaran over a course of three years, and each attempt postponed or cancelled due to the singer’s busy schedule, I eventually gave up trying.

\textsuperscript{55} Ní Mheadhra, interview.
were in Sanskrit. Oesterle claimed that the decision to have Sankaran speak only in Sanskrit was an artistic one. “[Saraswati] was never ever going to sing in English. She just doesn’t do that. And we tried. I wrote some stuff in English for Suba, and we tried it and I lost complete control over the idea of it.”\textsuperscript{56} Oesterle’s explanation suggests that the production team may have wanted to display Sankaran’s bi-musicality or at least hazard against confining her to a representational role. Perhaps we can therefore forgive an outside observer from assuming that Sankaran – conflated with her role as Saraswati – was meant to represent a tradition. Ironically, although Sankaran is a musical hybrid, the non-
\textit{karnatic} aspects of “Vanity” affected everything except for her.

\textbf{Disrupting Expectations}

Both Ensemble Noir and “Vanity” expose two of the predominant ways Canadians expect to experience ethnocultural representation through music. In the case of Ensemble Noir, funders, critics and audiences expected representation from Ndodana-Breen that fit their stereotype of authentic African music. Instead, the composer introduced the unexpected perspective of a Europeanized African to Canada’s multicultural music scene. The type of African music he introduced to Toronto’s audiences challenged not only audiences’ but also arts councils’ assumptions about ethnic identity, authentic representation and aesthetic stereotypes at the point of their convergence. Furthermore, Ensemble Noir’s presentations disrupted already precarious definitions of musical genre used by the arts councils to categorize musical applications in the mid-2000s. “People think what I do should involve a lot of drumming,” said Ndodana-Breen,\textsuperscript{57} but his music does not. Some saw the composer’s aesthetic choice to \textit{not} use indigenous African drums or African drumming as a negation of his African-ness. Because of this choice, Ndodana-Breen’s music did not fit the “world” (or non-classical) music category into which arts council officers, peer assessors and critics assumed the music of a black African should fit. At the same time, the composer’s insistence upon identifying his music as African did not fit assumptions for Western classical music categorization.

\textsuperscript{56} Oesterle, interview.
\textsuperscript{57} Bongani Ndodana-Breen, interview by author, Toronto, ON (March, 2005).
Thus, Ndodana-Breen challenged stereotypes the Canadian establishment holds as authentic for African music. If we accept that we hold stereotypes for African—and other non-Western—composers (and musicians) then we must consider that because of stereotyping, we have compromised the degree to which musicians of obvious non-Western descent can freely express their personal and individual authenticity. Therefore, I suggest that the conundrum of collective versus individual authenticity that unsettles multicultural philosophy also affects musical presumptions.

Meanwhile, the viewpoints expressed after “Vanity’s” work-in-progress performance exhibit the alternate type of concern for authenticity: that of authentically representing a collective tradition. The women who criticized Sankaran were primarily concerned with maintaining authentic ethnocultural performance. Likely, the performer’s genetic lineage—and the customary South Asian mode of passing on musical tradition through hereditary links—amplified the women’s preoccupation with authenticity. The women, thus, represent the segment of an ethnocultural group for whom preservation of cultural tradition—in this case both the musical tradition and the tradition of genetic inheritance—is important. If we look at the two words that define Canada’s Multiculturalism Act—preservation and enhancement—the younger Sankaran has often chosen the latter path. Thoroughly steeped in her father’s tradition, she also combines elements from her karnatic training with non-karnatic musics, thus choosing to distinguish herself artistically on an individual level and pursuing the path of personal authenticity.

Some – like “Vanity’s” critics—might see the unique musical path as disrespectful to the authenticity of a particular genre and the ethnoculture from which it stems. Nevertheless, an increasing number of Canadian musical projects receiving funding from arts councils combine or work across genres. Such works may be results of a legacy-type organization’s outreach activities, or—like the multi-genre work of Suba Sankaran—they represent individuals’ multiple points of access into music-making in contemporary Canada. Therefore, it behooves us to examine the nature of genre authenticity and the importance we place upon musical authenticity.
**Music and Authenticity**

In *Global Pop*, Timothy Taylor suggests that the better-known discussions about authenticity in music focus on “historical accuracy (in ‘art’ music) or cultural/ethnographic accuracy in world musics”.\(^{58}\) He continues by asserting that “increasingly … [the] authenticity that refers to a person’s positionality as racialized, ethnicized, subaltern, and premodern” and the sense of personal authenticity theorized by Lionel Trilling and Charles Taylor “confuse” the standard discussions of authenticity in music-making.\(^ {59}\)

In the Canadian context (with specific reference to arts council assessment), a musician-applicant’s positionality—whether embraced or ascribed—is the primary locus of contentious debate about authenticity. While (T.) Taylor’s “accuracy” divisions are semantically not well-suited to the Canadian situation (due in part to the arts councils’ divisions along a classical / non-classical axis that allow “world” music to exist on either side), I believe we can equate the concept of “accuracies” with the range of standards by which we assess “artistic excellence”.\(^ {60}\) From a practical standpoint, I would substitute Bruce Haynes’ genre-nonspecific phrase, “competent performance practice”, for Taylor’s “accuracies” as the former encompasses both types of accuracies without unnecessarily introducing ethnicity or ethnoculture into a debate about performance execution.\(^ {61}\)

In discussing the “confusing” aspects of authenticity, Taylor introduces the role of ownership. “Western culture is neither pure nor impure because it is owned. It is constructed as outside the purview of such ideas as authenticity.”\(^ {62}\) On the other hand,

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\(^ {59}\) Ibid.

\(^ {60}\) Unless we are discussing heritage preservation, “cultural/ethnographic accuracy” is—at a functional level—particularly problematic because it can lead a debate towards the same kind of essentialism T. Taylor later criticizes in Lionel Trilling and Charles Taylor’s concept of individual authenticity.


“westerners” associate authenticity with “musics from outside the west … [with] some discernible connection to the timeless, the ancient, the primal, the pure, the chthonic …”

Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman offer an alternate reading of “ownership” and musical authenticity from a communal proprietary perspective:

The power of musical ownership that is so essential to the racial imagination has an extraordinarily global presence. In the most universal sense, the condition whose presence is most global is that of authenticity, the assertion that a particular music is ineluctably bound to a given group or a given place. In the diverse historiographies of music, authentic music is that which bears witness to the “origins” of music – geographical, historical, and cultural.  

In “Vanity”, we find examples of both types of ownership and with concerns for ethnoculturally-associated musical authenticity. During my conversation with the composer, Michael Oesterle, his references to fellow composers who had “played with other cultures” indicate that he too grappled with the ethics of using the music of an ethnoculture about which he knew little and had no genetic connection into his own composition. Yet, he simultaneously maintained his position as creator and “owner” of the opera’s musical score. Meanwhile, the critics of Sankaran’s performance functioned as self-appointed gatekeepers safeguarding the authenticity of their Karnatic music.

While the phrase “competent performance practices” can serve as a starting point in assessing a musical work relative to others of a similar type or genre, how do we categorize performance practices that define competence or that practices that move away from a known category of genre?

In her research on authenticity and value, Leanne Fetterley suggests we can use musical “markers” to evaluate the relative authenticity of any work to an “imagined ideal” for its

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63 Ibid., 26.
genre.\textsuperscript{65} Genres, in particular, she says, “embody the expectations according to which an ideal might be imagined. … [The] musical and social expectations associated with genres … provide authority for claims of authenticity, and thus value.” \textsuperscript{66}

In order to communicate about the perceived location of authenticity, specific musical or contextual qualities are used to ‘signal’ or ‘mark’ the distance between a musical text and its authentic ideal. …

… ‘Markers’ of authenticity often imply a connection between a musical text and the expectations of the genre with which it is associated. …

… Any element of a musical text might be situated as a marker of authenticity. These include aspects of style, melody, harmony, rhythm, texture, timbre, instrumentation, form, text. The way that these musical characteristics gain meaning is through their comparison to similar musical texts. … There are very few ways to generalize this process because it is entirely contingent on the characteristics of the ideal in question. \textsuperscript{67}

Can we analyze the situations that faced Ndodana-Breen and Suba Sankaran using Fetterley’s template? Ndodana-Breen’s musical output did not fit the Canadian musical establishment’s (the arts councils’ and peer juries’) imagined ideal for African music. Did the establishment’s inability to imagine beyond the markers they associated with African music limit their ability to imagine the composer’s music adhering to markers associated with contemporary Western classical music? When a musician self-identifies ethnoculturally, do markers [that tend to be] associated with indigenous music(s) of the artist’s ethnoculture obscure markers for genre?

To answer this question, we need an idea of primary markers for contemporary or “new” music. I suggest that a primary marker for determining the value of a contemporary composition (or a contemporary composer) is whether the work reflects an “original voice”. Arts council officers use the phrase when guiding peer assessors through commissioning and composition grants to help assessors determine [a mark of] excellence: “Do you hear an original voice?” In the Canadian musical landscape, Ndodana-Breen unquestionably possessed a unique and original voice. Thus, his work belonged in the contemporary composition (or new music) genre.

\textsuperscript{65} Fetterley, “‘Give Me Real, Don’t Give me Fake,’” 77.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 113.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 78-79.
Historically, arts councils have associated the terms “composition”, “commission” and “new music” with Western avant-gardeism, in particular with a Western academic tradition. As Brenda House points out, until the TAC changed the name of its Composition grant to include “Creator”, applicants to the program came predominantly from Western classical music’s academic tradition. While all councils have changed their program requirements to allow a wide array of academic and nonacademic traditions into the composition and commissioning programs, Ndodana-Breen, nevertheless, easily fits into a second “new music” genre marker locating him along a Western classical music academic lineage.

Yet, the Canadian musical establishment did not possess markers by which to contextualize and thus justify the connection between Ndodana-Breen’s music and his identity as a black South African. Their unfamiliarity with the history of nonwhite Africans composing using the techniques and instruments typical to Western classical composition led them to label him inauthentic. Specifically, Ndodana-Breen’s Canadian peers marked him as inauthentic ethnoculturally: they faulted him for not representing his ethnocultural heritage in the expected and appropriate manner. For one’s peers to declare an artist inauthentic is—irrespective of council officers’ claims to the contrary—a hegemonic power play. Furthermore, if we agree that we are pronouncing a judgment of inauthenticity upon the intersection of ethnoculture and music, and not upon the music alone, then we must accept that the markers influencing the judgment are socially based and not musically based.

How did the music establishment come to this mode of expecting and making musical presumptions based upon ethnoculture? Did a majority of early arts council applications from ethnocultural musicians reflect desires to preserve and maintain traditions rather than push boundaries in an avant-garde manner? Were desires to preserve traditions deliberate countermoves against Canada’s previous era of cultural assimilation? If so, did such tendencies translate into assumptions that ethnocultural artists would be—and then,

68 House, interview.
“should be”—concerned with maintaining musical traditions or creating music that easily identified them ethnoculturally? Or is the tendency to make ethnocultural musical assumptions partly a result of historically assessing ethnocultural musics in the “non-classical” category where they were assessed alongside folk and world music, musics that used instruments and techniques marking them as deliberately non-Western classical and deliberately ethnocultural?

What about the conflicting authenticities in Queen of Puddings’ “Vanity”? Queen of Puddings has created, produced and presented numerous critically acclaimed chamber operas. As a producer of new, original works that have consistently received substantial funding from arts councils, we can assume Queen of Puddings fulfills the necessary markers for “contemporary” opera within a Western classical framework. We can also assume that one such marker would be performances that exhibit a high level of excellence according to Western classical values. A second marker of distinction for contemporary opera would be innovation and pushing artistic boundaries beyond the norm to create a new “original voice” work.

The comments directed at Sankaran following “Vanity’s” work-in-progress performance seemed to present a conflict between markers of authenticity. The South Asian critics, who may very well have had the “authority” to evaluate karnatic music as a genre, indicated that Sankaran had fallen short of the ideal according to their markers for authentic karnatic performance. One marker concerned the technical details and accuracy of Sankaran’s performance. The second marker concerned preservation of the form according to a historical notion of authenticity that also placed upon Sankaran the burden of embodying ethnocultural and hereditary representation. Thus, for “Vanity’s” South Asian critics, some of the markers that signify authenticity for contemporary opera production threaten the authentic in ethnocultural representation. Likely, the markers of authentic representation and preservation are, for the critics, as important as the marker of innovation is for an organization like Queen of Puddings.
Fetterley touches upon this problematic: how changes in a musical text’s *function* can unsettle genre markers and disrupt notions of authenticity:

If a musical text is subject to a change of function, the qualities that “marked” that previous function are simply disregarded and different “markers” might be suggested to validate the music’s new role. This becomes a site for intense debate, however, when conflicting “markers” are simultaneously used to make different claims of authenticity.69

**Evaluating conflicting markers**

Both “Vanity” and Ensemble Noir are sites of conflicting genre markers. They also—and more problematically—exhibit examples of conflicting types of philosophical authenticity. As an increasing number of publicly funded contemporary Canadian musical works collaborate across genres and ethnoculturally specific genres, we need to ask deeper questions about the relationship between ethnocultural identity and authenticity.

Each time we (as peer assessors) read grant applications from people who identify ethnoculturally, why do we want the artists to represent themselves according to an imagined ideal—often an ideal hanging in historical or geographic stasis—for their ethnoculture? Why do we want aboriginal Canadians to represent themselves with frame drums, eagle whistles, powwow dancing or chanting? Why do we want Koreans to play indigenous Korean music? Why do ethnocultural elders want Suba Sankaran to maintain her father’s tradition rather than follow her own musical muse in the multi-genre Canadian musical environment? Why do non-visible Canadians want to build a Western musical monument around only the non-Western, “exotic” part of Sankaran’s musical abilities?

Do the Canadian Canadians or “other” Canadians who choose *not* to self-identify face the same criticisms about authentic representation? Do they have any pressure to represent a group ideal? I suggest that non-visible and non-identifying Canadian musicians have the option to present to peer assessors music that represents their *individual* musical authenticity, music spared the ethnocultural burden to *represent*.

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69 Fetterley, “‘Give Me Real, Don’t Give Me Fake,’” 82.
One can argue, of course, that the musician who chooses a musical path that adheres to a firm set of markers with specific ethnocultural associations is pursuing their personal musical authenticity. But they are also representing, and in choosing to represent, they accept (and perhaps even desire) the creative limitations representation puts upon them. Alternatively, when external expectations interrupt, influence or impede the expression of an artist’s unique perspective, does the artist’s output truly represent their individual voice?

Enhancing Multiculturalism Musically

For over a decade, arts councils’ priorities have pressured Western classical and legacy-type organizations to undertake outreach activities: pushing them to extend their reach towards new audiences, either through the creation of new works that cross genre, or through education and non-traditional performance initiatives. As Michael Murray points out, though, the onus to undertake outreach has been on organizations derived from the Western classical tradition. Murray believes it is time for non-Western and non-classical musicians to also initiate outreach activities, but he also believes it should not be a prerequisite to funding for either the historically advantaged or the historically disadvantaged:

We expect our mainstream acts to get diverse artists, but we don’t expect the opposite. It should be reciprocal. But if organizational artists really don’t want to play for diverse audiences, that’s fine.

In the old language we would say, “We want ‘Canadians’ to enjoy this” [“this” being music of other cultures and genres]. But then some organizations like Bharati Kala Ram have 97% South Asian audiences whereas an organization like Tafelmusik has the marketing skills to work on getting diverse audiences.

If arts councils were to expect outreach and innovation across all musical forms, how might it affect stereotypes in ethnocultural forms prone to stereotyping? How might it change the place and role of markers for innovation in stereotyped traditions? To what degree would markers that contribute to stereotype and preservation shift to make room for those signifying innovation? Might moves to innovate or collaborate across genres alleviate some of the pressure to preserve? Or might such moves lead to new subgenres and new kinds of arts practices?
Murray’s comments also suggest we consider an opposite, non-innovative perspective: that of allowing organizations to remain insulated if that is their preference. In fairness, if we were to ask non-Western classical organizations to undertake outreach, should we then extend the non-innovative approach to legacy organizations? Should we allow Western classical ensembles that, for example, would prefer to focus on “popular” classical music or certain eras of the Western classical tradition to concern themselves only with the music that is of interest to them and their audiences without requiring them to reach out to other musics? If we did, how would arts councils need to rethink their funding priorities? Would supporting ensembles’ desire to retain a narrow musical focus be a regressive move that would exacerbate social, economic and ethnocultural divisions between Canadian musical cultures?

Can we instead find different ways to assess grant applications? Can we view those musicians and ensembles (or their specific projects) that are more interested in preserving than innovating as pursuing similar kinds of (representative) authenticity? Can we not argue that the authenticity markers for preserving—maintaining tradition, preserving history, representing community—are more similar in their function than markers for innovation and creation? If so, can we find ways to support artists that awards merit on bases that are beyond genre or ethnoculture: that asks artists to clarify whether (or to what extent) their project’s goal is to preserve or to innovate. If we do this, I believe we will help peers assess from a fairer perspective that will be less prone to (ethnocultural) stereotyping.

**Playing in-between and across the lines**

A musician like Suba Sankaran has the option of maintaining and representing any one of three musical traditions—*karnatic*, jazz or Western classical. Yet, to deny her two of the traditions in which she has attained a level commensurate with professionalism, so that she authentically represents one tradition, in turn potentially denies Sankaran her individual musical authenticity. Like many freelance musicians, Sankaran performs and creates music through multiple musical vehicles. She maintains an authentic *karnatic*
practice performing with her father in Trichy’s Trio, and exercises her jazz and choral chops in an a capella group called Retrocity. In the band Autorickshaw, though, Sankaran combines her musical worlds. Her website describes the band’s music as “on the cultural cutting edge, as contemporary jazz and funk easily rub shoulders with the classical and popular music of India.”

Shannon Pete suggests that Sankaran is not unusual and that an increasing number of musicians want to perform and create music across multiple genres. “What you usually hear an artist say is, ‘I wanted to bring my worlds together. I wanted to bring all the musics I grew up with including what I learned at university.’ … A lot of people are trying to do it.” At the OAC, Michael Murray also says “we’re seeing more hybrid stuff. You see it in our projects at its finest level. … In music, you see a lot of ‘crossings’ and it happens in music more than any other form. Dance and theatre are very resistant.”

Both officers, nevertheless, find that working across genres and creating successful hybrid works is not as easy as the numerous outreach projects might suggest it should be. Pete and Murray differ on the necessary ingredients for negotiating across genres. Murray says,

If you’re going to be hybrid, you have to have a root. For example, there are a lot of percussionists who are musically diverse. It’s against my nature [as a jazz-trained musician], but I’m finding that musicians with a root have more success. … It’s the level of execution you need. You have to be able to execute.

Although Murray suggests that musicians aiming to create hybrid works need to have a root in one genre, his words seem to also imply that artists need a level of mastery over their chosen mode of sound creation: whether it is an instrument, a voice or a technological device. Pete, meanwhile, finds music less easily fused than other art forms. Possibly the differences in opinion come from the differences in the two officers’ musical

71 Pete, interview.
72 Murray, interview.
73 Ibid.
backgrounds: Murray’s background is jazz; Pete’s is Western classical. According to Pete,

You can get some outrageous fusions. You can get some great fusions. … I don’t think culturally diverse practices in there have any greater or lesser chances of success being fused than other genre practices being fused. I don’t think there’s any distinction at all. It’s just about the music. Most of the time, artists are not approaching this with the rigour of George Lewis, for example. They’re not coming at it from an academically rigorous discourse. They’re just doing it.

… When you’re dealing with an art form as specific as music and dance—a non-verbal art form—you’d think the abstractness would lend itself to a greater malleability to that fusion. But I’m not sure it does because people are so rigidly attached to them.

Until some of our faculties hire people who have succeeded in genre-bending or new art forms or simply practicing those intentions with a real rigour so you can teach them to a new generation, I don’t think things will evolve in a great hurry.74

Pete’s final sentences are intriguing, particularly because she works at an organization that actively promotes cross-genre exchange as a form of outreach. Is she suggesting that the focus of musicians will continue to be on promulgating the authentic practice unless institutions begin to study and teach cross-genre creation; or that our institutions ought to begin teaching across genres?

**Describing Canadian in music**

Although Tafelmusik’s website does not refer to “The Four Seasons Mosaic” as a “multicultural” work, a link on the site to a Department of Foreign Affairs press release announcing the orchestra’s concert in Beijing does. Canada’s Counsellor for Public Affairs at the Canadian Embassy in China, Patrice Cousineau, not only describes the work as multicultural, but also claims that it “reflects” the country:

Through their latest endeavour, “The Four Seasons: a Cycle of the Sun” Tafelmusik reflects that very Canadian characteristic of welcoming and embracing different cultures, of making history part of our present by celebrating multiculturalism and leveraging diversity to reflect the reality of contemporary Canada.75

74 Ibid.
To politicians, music has been a useful representation of an “unproblematic difference.” Music is perhaps unproblematic for them. For those of us who are the music-makers, the teachers of the next generation of performers, creators, musicologists, ethnomusicologists—the next generation of arts council jurists—how we understand music as creation and as representation is, I think, critical.

Furthermore, and this is a broader questioning of the current era of promoting diversity: if we as artists are being subtly manipulated to produce culture with certain undertones of multiculturalism—through outreach, through representation—how free are we, really, to express our lived musical realities, to present authentically personal voices? How free are we to reflect—without expectations or stereotype—upon our surroundings and nation as we sense them? Or are we, through the subtle political manipulations, actually creating contemporary Canadian music that is reflective of our country’s current concern with diversity? Do we dare to admit that the sound envelopes we have begun to create across genres and ethnocultures is Canadian music?
Conclusion

Shortly after beginning my PhD, I received an e-mail from a colleague’s student, Etelka Nyilasi, who wanted some advice about where she should go to pursue her musical goals. (What Nyilasi did not mention, but what I knew from her teacher, is that she is an accomplished violinist in the Western classical tradition). She wrote,

My main interest is Celtic music in North America, but I have also been interested in and studied Arabic folk music (violin mostly, and I bought an oud), and Hungarian folk music (my background is Hungarian). I am currently going into 3rd year composition at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo where I study violin. I also play the viola, piano, bodhran, and mandolin. Could you advise me on schools that focus mostly on the performance practice of these, or one of these styles? If there is such a thing? I would like to be able to play and perform in one or more of these styles in the future. I have heard of Wesleyan University and NYU ... (but) they seem very focused on ethnomusicology.¹

Faced with no viable Canadian options to pursue her goals of learning Arabic and Celtic performance traditions on the violin, composing music, and studying the music of her ethnocultural heritage, Nyilasi went to Europe. She took a Masters degree in composition at the Birmingham Conservatoire, spent her summers in Hungary, and then took a Masters degree in performance at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), where she focused on Arabic violin and began learning Persian violin. While living in London, Nyilasi supported herself by arranging and performing Bollywood film songs for a string quartet that specializes in playing at South Asian weddings.

Seven years after her initial e-mail to me, Nyilasi has returned to Canada to the University of Alberta (UofA). She described her studies to me in an e-mail:

I’m in the Doctor of Music programme in Composition. However, instead of electroacoustic/computer music courses I am taking ethnomusicology courses to complement the programme, because at this stage there is no “major”, “minor” or “double degree”. They are sort of treating it this way, though: being flexible [and] tailoring the degree to my interests. I don’t think there is an official UofA name for what I am doing, as I am unique here and nobody else is in my programme. I chose

¹ Etelka Nyilasi, e-mail to author, 2005; follow-up interview with author, 2011.
Nyilasi’s musical interests were borne from her relationship with her instrument and with her ethnocultural heritage. I have met many other young musicians like her: exposed to a variety of musics; interested in performing and creating; wanting to make a musical connection with their ethnocultural heritage; stymied by the lines that divide musical learning in Canada according to genre. As Nyilasi knew, an ethnomusicology degree would give her a very different skill set than a performance degree. Yet, while one can get a performance degree in jazz or Western classical music, all other genres fall under ethnomusicology in the major Canadian post-secondary institutions. How do we reconcile this with the changes multiculturalism has brought to the world of music funding? Although she is not a visible minority, Nyilasi is a product of multiculturalism and she reflects the way identity politics has influenced ethnocultural minority musicians to encounter and identify with their ethnoculture through its music.

In a 2006 article, Beverley Diamond wrote, “there is still a tendency for ethnic insiders to study immigrant traditions.” This holds as true for Nyilasi as it has for me and for many of my colleagues—especially visible minorities—in ethnomusicology. But what if, rather than wanting to study Hungarian folk music, Nyilasi had wanted to study Brahms or Liszt—because they were Hungarian? She would likely end up in either a Western classical performance program or in musicology. Thus, viewed through the lens of identity politics, the division between ethnomusicology and musicology ceases to make any sense.

Similarly, the division between Western classical musics and all other musics represented by the arts councils I have examined (the Canada Council, in particular), has begun to

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2 Nyilasi, e-mail to author, 2013.
3 Beverley Diamond, “Canadian Reflections on Palindromes, Inversions, and other Challenges to Ethnomusicology’s Coherence,” Society for Ethnomusicology 50, no. 2 (spring/summer, 2006), 327.
erode—if not completely in practice—at the policy level. I believe it must continue to erode. Furthermore, the historical divisions between Western and non-Western musics, and classical and non-classical musics, are impractical divisions in the contemporary Canadian context.

While in the midst of my Ph.D., I happened to meet OAC Music Officer David Parsons, who—like me—was taking the express bus from Hamilton to Toronto. During the one-hour ride, David asked about my studies and I told him that I had been reading about liberal-democratic theory, multiculturalism and individual authenticity. As we discussed the theories, I said—without any forethought—“the difference between individual authenticity and ethnocultural authenticity reminds me of the difference between musicians who pursue authentic performance practice and composers who work to cultivate a unique voice.” David was intrigued by the idea and did not disagree, instead nodding and urging me to continue my train of thought. Focusing on this type of distinction between musical motivation may allow us an avenue by which to assess musicians without having to be bound by the limitations and prejudices of genre.

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If a primary goal of Canada’s arts councils is to provide access to the public granting system, then access should not be limited to symbolic representations. Access should include the same freedom to experiment with form and style irrespective of the ethnoculture of origin. Moreover, if arts councils can find a way to categorize grant applications according to the applicant’s purpose—whether the composer/performer wants to innovate, create, explore; or whether their intention is to perform and interpret with stylistic integrity (genre authenticity)—then we might find ourselves at a point where we can see beyond ethnocultural stereotype and representation. We need not restrict stylistic authenticity to “ethnocultural” (or period performance) arts and artists.

During my tenure on the TAC, I often found applicants’ positions of “authenticity” problematic. Many performers who self-identified ethnoculturally claimed that their
membership in an ethnocultural community automatically conferred upon them an authentic status that we (the peer assessors) should find valuable and whose project we should therefore, fund. Instead, we must begin asking artists to define what makes their work stylistically authentic and why it is important to them and to the community, be the community a bounded, ethnocultural one or the greater Canadian community. Additionally, arts councils need to clearly define “art” and what art means within the multicultural rubric. How—or to what extent—should arts council funding overlap with other types of economic support, such as that for the cultural industries, or for ethnocultural heritage preservation?

As I have noted earlier, OAC Officer Michael Murray has suggested that what applies to Western classical performers and presenters should apply equally to ethnocultural performers or presenters. Thus if groups from either category would prefer not to incorporate outreach into their performance, then neither should have to do so. Conversely, if arts councils feel outreach is valuable then they should expect ethnocultural organizations to undertake the same kinds of outreach that Western classical organizations do.

Murray has also suggested that real equity will not happen until musicians from the Western classical traditions share the assessment table with musicians from Murray’s World and Popular Music categories. Moreover, he feels that all peer assessors will need to become comfortable with ambiguity: ambiguity of genre, and ambiguity of aesthetics. Both require that artists carefully articulate and clarify their musical intentions so that peer assessors can listen and assess appropriately and not necessarily base decisions on their own aesthetic preferences. Other arts council officers have offered their ideas on how the peer assessment process might evolve. Richard Davis suggested the need to cultivate a “generosity of spirit”. Shannon Pete, though, believes that the changes in attitude need to take place before artists become professionals: they need to take place in the post-secondary institutions where we teach music. Similarly, Sharon Fernandez warns that the silos between genres will not disappear until our established musical institutions begin to look beyond the cadre of Western-classically trained musicians, musicologists,
ethnomusicologists and composers, and begin to hire those she describes as “world-class” non-Western and non-classical artists, who live within our geographical borders and create music beyond stereotype.

In 1976, S. M. Crean asked, “Who’s afraid of Canadian culture?” She answered with, “Those very institutions we look to for cultural leadership.”⁴ At the time, Crean criticized not only the performing arts organizations—orchestras, ballets and theatre companies that presented “repertory belong[ing] to a foreign tradition”⁵—but also the various institutions that subsidized them, including arts councils. Today, our arts councils are less afraid of Canadian culture in all its diversity. The Canada Council’s Equity Office, in particular, has changed the funding system from the inside, establishing programs that challenge the traditional organizational model and supporting them with substantial funding. Nevertheless, most of our conservatories, universities and orchestras continue to be afraid: afraid of the greater Canadian musical culture that—in its representations of diversity, and thus, the multicultural nation-state—threaten the dominance of Eurocentric forms of music and the methods by which we teach them.

The Canadian situation has important consequences for how we experience music in the multicultural context, and how we respond to the challenges of Canadian music-making has the potential to be transformative. Pedagogically, we must become conscious of how difference politics affects Canadian music and how we train the next generation of musicians: who we choose to train or ignore; the extent to which we limit or encourage creative expressions of identity; how we acknowledge ethnocultural borrowing and ownership; and how we nurture sociocultural respect for all musical cultures and all musicians. There are roles for ethnomusicologists to help musicians new to the Canadian funding system to negotiate the system and to complete applications so that the applications accurately reflect the artists’ musical and social goals.

⁴ S. M. Crean, *Who’s Afraid of Canadian Culture?*, 5.
⁵ Ibid.
If we truly aspire to liberal-democratic goals and value multiculturalism we must remove—or at least question—the blinkers that limit our field of viewing Canadian music according to genre. We cannot begin defining Canadian music until we allow ourselves to holistically acknowledge all of those creating music in Canada and invite them to contribute to the definition.
Appendix 1

Toronto Arts Council Annual Operating Funding

2013 Program Guidelines MUSIC: ANNUAL OPERATING FUNDING

Application deadlines:
February 1, 2013 for choirs and community music schools
March 1, 2013 for all other music categories

GOALS
Toronto Arts Council provides funding support to outstanding artists and arts organizations that contribute to the cultural life of the City of Toronto. TAC is committed to artistic excellence, innovation, and accessibility, and supports a wide spectrum of artistic endeavour and a range of activity that makes the City of Toronto one of the leading cultural centres in Canada. Through its support, TAC cultivates a richer engagement between artists and audiences and reflects the City of Toronto through the diversity of artists, arts communities and audiences that it serves.

OBJECTIVES
The Music Program provides Annual Operating support to non-profit music organizations engaged in the creation, production and presentation of music, and other activities that contribute to the development of music, music artists, and music audiences in Toronto. Funding through this program supports both operations and programming. The City of Toronto provides the funding for this program through its Community Partnership and Investment Program.

PRIORITIES
The Music Program supports a diverse range of musical forms with a high priority given to organizations that demonstrate a consistent commitment to the development and performance of original works by Canadian composers.

GENERAL ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS
To be eligible for Annual Operating funding, an applicant must:

• be non-profit;
• have professional artistic leadership;
• be located in the City of Toronto and have a significant portion of its activities occurring within the City;
• have a history of sustained music activity over the two years prior to this application, with a demonstrated record of regular, ongoing programming;
• have received a minimum of two project grants through TAC’s Music program (grants awarded through the Appeal process are not counted);

have a viable administrative structure;
• have sound financial management;
• submit verification of financial results of the last completed fiscal year:
  ▪ for requests over $15,000, audited financial statements are required;
  ▪ for requests of $15,000 or less, if annual operating revenues are $100,000 or more, a review engagement is required (or, if available, audited financial statements);
  ▪ for requests of $15,000 or less, if annual operating revenues are under $100,000, unaudited financial statements that include a balance sheet and a statement of income and expenses is required (or, if available, audited financial statements or a review engagement);
• demonstrate a range of revenue sources on an annual basis, including earned, government and private sector revenues.
• be governed by a Board of Directors or other body responsible for the organization.

Organizations must conduct their music activities on an annual, ongoing basis either throughout the year or on a seasonal basis. A single project does not constitute annual or seasonal activity. Organizations, whose level of activity varies from season to season, in keeping with their mandate, must describe their multi-year creation and production cycle. Annual and biennial festivals that have completed a minimum of two editions are also eligible.

Organizations may receive only one grant per calendar year through TAC. Organizations that receive Annual Operating funding are therefore not eligible to apply for TAC project grants in any discipline.

PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS
In addition to the General Eligibility Requirements listed above, in order to apply for annual operating support,

Choral Organizations must:
• produce a minimum of two self-presented concerts with different repertoire in each season (self-presented means that the choral organization takes responsibility for planning, production and ticket selling).

Opera/Music Theatre organizations must:
• produce a minimum of two operas per season, for companies mandated to present standard repertoire, or undertake workshops, for companies dedicated to new work development.

Orchestras, Bands, Ensembles must
• have a minimum of two self-presented concerts in each season (self-presented means that the orchestra takes responsibility for planning, production and ticket selling).
**Presenters** must

- present professional, curated music programming that reflects a defined artistic mandate.
- Series presenters must demonstrate a track record of self-presented, ongoing performances (self-presented means the organization takes responsibility for planning, production and ticket selling).

**FIRST-TIME APPLICANTS ****NEW****

First-time applicants are organizations that did not receive an operating grant last year.

- First-time applicants must consult with the Music Officer before submitting an operating grant application.
- **Additional eligibility requirement.** First-time applicants must have total revenues for the last completed year, and projected revenues for the current and request years that meet the following minimum budget levels:
  - Community Choirs $50,000
  - All other community music organizations $75,000
  - Professional music organizations $100,000

  1*See below for definitions of “community” and “professional”.

- First-time applicants to the Annual Operating program may only apply in the first year of a multi-year cycle. The next year first-time applicants may apply is:
  - Choirs 2013
  - Opera 2013
  - Orchestras / Bands / Ensembles 2014
  - Presenters 2014
  - Service Organizations 2015

  1*“Community” describes music organizations led by paid professional artistic personnel, comprised of volunteer amateur or semi-professional musicians, and may include paid section leads. “Professional” describes music organizations with paid administrative personnel, led by paid professional artistic personnel, and comprised of paid professional or semi-professional musicians (or have a core of the same).

**VALUE OF GRANT**

TAC does not fund 100% of an applicant’s budget. Applicants may receive less than the full amount requested.

These grants contribute to the artistic and administrative costs associated with an organization’s ongoing music activities. TAC does not provide funding for capital projects (e.g. equipment, renovations, purchase of buildings), fundraising events/projects or deficit reduction.

**APPLICATION PROCESS**

Applicants must complete the application form and submit all requested support material. You will enter your Financial and Statistical data online at CADAC (Canadian Arts Database/Données sur les arts au Canada) [www.thecadac.ca](http://www.thecadac.ca) and enclose printed copies of
the forms with your application. Financial statements must also be submitted to CADAC and a copy included with your application.

All the information you need to complete the application is contained in the application form. Use the checklist to ensure you have completed all sections of the application.

All application material must be printed on white, 8.5” x 11” paper, one side only. Use 11 point font and set page margins at a minimum of 1”. The form and written attachments must be collated in alphabetical order by section. Do not separate sections with title pages.

Applicants must submit the original plus one copy of their completed application, including the form and the written attachments. Each copy must be collated and fastened with a secure paper clip. Please do not bind or staple applications.

The application must be signed and complete when it is submitted.

Applications must be received at TAC no later than 5:00 p.m. on the application deadline and are accepted earlier. TAC does not accept applications submitted by e-mail or fax.

It is the applicant’s responsibility to ensure the application is complete and on time. Late or incomplete applications will not be accepted, regardless of postmark date.

SUPPORT MATERIAL

All applicants whose activities include the performance or presentation of music or music theatre are required to submit audio or video recordings with examples of recent work. Only recordings made within the past three years are accepted. It is recommended that at least one example be from the past year. A maximum of three recordings may be submitted on CD or DVD. DVDs with multiple tracks must be indexed.

It is important to submit recordings of the highest possible quality. It is the responsibility of the applicant to ensure that CDs and DVDs can be played on a conventional consumer-grade player.

In addition to the audio/video support material, applicants may submit promotional materials produced by the organization/collective in relation to its last year’s activities (e.g. programs, brochures) and a maximum of six additional pages of printed support materials (including press clippings and support letters).

ASSESSMENT PROCESS

Applications are first reviewed for eligibility by TAC staff. TAC’s Music Committee then assesses all eligible music applications. Grant recommendations are approved by the TAC board of directors.

TAC’s Music Committee is a volunteer committee of practising music artists and other music professionals. Members are selected on the basis of their familiarity with and specialized expertise in a broad spectrum of music forms, styles and practices and their direct experience in Toronto’s music community. TAC strives to ensure fair representation of gender and diverse cultural communities on its adjudication committees and juries. Music organizations are invited to nominate peers interested in serving on
TAC’s Music Committee. These nominations should be submitted in writing. Committee members serve maximum three-year terms.

Annual Operating funding is recommended only at the discretion of the Music Committee. First-time applicants should be aware that approval is not automatic solely on the basis of meeting the general eligibility requirements. (Unsuccessful applicants are eligible to apply to the next Project application deadline.) For organizations currently receiving Annual Operating support, the Music Committee may recommend maintaining, increasing or decreasing current funding levels or it may recommend that organizations no longer meeting the standard required be phased out of the program.

**ASSESSMENT CRITERIA**
The Music Committee evaluates all organizations applying for Annual Operating funding using the following assessment criteria in the context of each applicant’s stated mandate and direction, available resources and stage of development, and the geographic, cultural and artistic environments in which it works.

1. **Artistic Quality**
   In assessing Artistic Quality, consideration is given to:
   - The vitality of the organization’s mandate and vision.
   - The relationship of the mandate and vision to the organization’s achievements, initiatives and goals.
   - The levels of artistry achieved through the organization’s artistic activities, which may include creation, production, presentation, performance, design, writing, exhibition, programming, etc.

2. **Contribution to the Art Form**
   In assessing the contribution the organization makes to the art form, consideration is given to:
   - The level of commitment to the development of Canadian work through creation, production, presentation, exhibition and/or programming.
   - The role of the organization in the development of the artistic field.

3. **Role and Relevance in the Artistic Community**
   In assessing the organization’s role and relevance in the artistic community, consideration is given to:
   - The organization’s relationships with artists and/or other arts organizations, which may include resource-sharing, creative collaborations, providing opportunities for networking and professional development, etc.
   - The support the organization gives to artists in Toronto by providing opportunities for performance, exhibition, screenings, networking, professional development, and/or other types of support.

4. **Public Impact**
   In assessing the organization’s public impact, consideration is given to:
• The organization’s ability to describe its current audience, and its level of commitment to develop an audience that reflects the community it serves.

• The organization’s ability to recognize and cultivate potential new audiences and develop marketing plans to support this.

• The ways in which the organization engages its audience through outreach and audience development activities such as artists’ talks, Q&As, pre- and post-performance talks, lecture-demonstrations, etc.

• The organization’s ability to gain support from the wider community in the form of sponsorships, partnerships, volunteers, etc.

5. Financial and Administrative Viability
In assessing the organization’s financial and administrative health and operations, consideration is given to:

• An appropriate allocation of human and financial resources to fulfill the organization’s plans.

• The stability of the organization, demonstrated by its retention of staff and strategies for ensuring succession planning.

• A budget that is realistic and shows a range of earned, private and government revenue.

• A demonstration through past performance of the organization’s ability to secure the resources necessary to carry out its work.

• A demonstration through past performance that the organization can respond to changes in its financial circumstances.

• If the organization has a deficit, the effectiveness of the plans that are in place to reduce the deficit and to improve and strengthen financial planning.

• A governing body of the organization that reflects the community served by the organization and is committed to the well-being of the organization.

NOTIFICATION
Applicants will be notified of results, by letter, within three months of the deadline. Results are not released over the telephone.

APPEALS
The decision on whether or not an applicant is awarded funding through the Operating stream is that of the Music Committee and may not be appealed.

Annual Operating funding recipients may appeal the decision of the assessment committee if the grant recommended is lower than their 2012 TAC grant (assuming the 2013 request is equal to or greater than the 2012 grant).

In the event that TAC’s grants budget is reduced, or for any other reason approved by the TAC Board of Directors, the eligibility criteria for appeals may be amended without notice. Applicants eligible for appeals will be advised in the grant notification letter.
PAYMENT OF GRANTS AND REPORTING REQUIREMENTS
Successful applicants will receive a Letter of Understanding with their grant notification letter. The Letter of Understanding will detail the terms and conditions of the grant, including interim reports. The Letter of Understanding must be signed and returned to TAC.

Grant recipients must report on the activities for which they received TAC support within their next TAC application. Under normal circumstances, mid-year or interim reports are not required. However, grant recipients are expected to notify TAC immediately of any material changes in their administrative or artistic plans or of any serious disruptions to their activities. Grant recipients are also required to send TAC information on all upcoming performances and events in a timely manner. Information should be mailed or emailed to the Music Officer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF TORONTO ARTS COUNCIL SUPPORT
Grant recipients must include visual acknowledgement of TAC support in all promotional materials, advertising and programs of performances or works related to the grant. The TAC logo may be downloaded from TAC’s website; specifications for the size and placement of the logo should be commensurate with that of other donors or sponsors that have provided comparable financial support.

REPAYMENT OF GRANT
The grant must, on the request of TAC, be repaid (in whole or in part) to TAC, if the grant recipient:
• breaches any of the terms and conditions of the grant.
• knowingly provides false information in the grant application.
• uses the grant for purposes not approved by TAC.
• ceases operating.
• ceases to operate as a non-profit organization.
• winds up or dissolves.
• merges or amalgamates with any other party.
• commences or has commenced against it any proceedings in bankruptcy, or is adjudged a bankrupt.
• breaches any of the provisions of the Ontario Human Rights Code in its operations.

CITY OF TORONTO ANTI-RACISM, ACCESS AND EQUITY POLICY
The City of Toronto requires that all organizations and individuals adopt a policy of non-discrimination as a condition of receiving a grant or other support from the City.

1. All organizations are required to file a Declaration of Non-Discrimination that has been adopted by the Board of Directors/Members of Collective.
2. Organizations receiving Operating grants and that have annual operating budgets greater than $25,000 are required to submit their Anti-Racism, Access and Equity Policy.
Appendix 2

Toronto Arts Council
Music Program: Project Funding (2013 Program Guidelines)²

PURPOSE
Through its Music Program, Toronto Arts Council (TAC) provides Project funding to non-profit, Toronto music organizations and collectives to pursue one-time or time-limited music projects involving production, presentation, dissemination and/or other activities that contribute to the development of music in Toronto. The City of Toronto provides funding for this program through its Community Partnership and Investment Program.

The Music Program seeks to support a diverse range of musical forms with a high priority given to applicants that demonstrate a commitment to the performance of works by Canadian composers.

ELIGIBILITY
To be eligible for Project funding, applicants must be incorporated non-profit organizations or unincorporated collectives operating on a not-for-profit basis. A collective is defined as a group of two or more artists working together under a group name, either on a single project or on an ongoing basis. For collectives of two artists, both must be City of Toronto residents. For collectives of more than two artists, the majority of members must be City of Toronto residents.

First-time applicants to the Music Program are advised to speak to the Music Officer prior to submitting an application to confirm eligibility.

Applicants must be located within the City of Toronto and the activity for which the funding is requested must occur within the City of Toronto.

Organizations/collectives may receive only one grant per calendar year through TAC.

The payment of artist fees is a requirement in this program.

This program is not intended to support an organization/collective’s ongoing activities. Organizations/collectives engaged in annual, ongoing music activities may be eligible to apply for Annual Operating funding. Please contact TAC’s Music Officer for details.

The following are not eligible to apply to this program:
• Organizations/collectives that receive Toronto Arts Council operating support;
• Educational and religious institutions, unless there is a clear demarcation at both the program and budget level between their regular activities (i.e. religious/congregation activities or educational/student body activities) and their arts activities;
• Schools that are part of Ontario’s public or private education system;
• Individuals.

Project applications submitted to the February deadline must be for projects commencing after June 1. Project applications submitted to the August deadline must be for projects commencing after November 1. TAC does not fund retroactively. Projects that have commenced prior to the adjudication will not be considered. Projects must be completed within two years of the date of your grant notification letter.

**VALUE OF GRANT**

**Maximum request:** TAC will fund up to 35% of the project budget, to a maximum of $10,000. Applicants may receive less than the full amount requested. The budget must indicate a range of revenue sources, which may include donated goods and services.

Project funding contributes to the direct costs associated with a music project, including artistic fees, production and technical costs, marketing and publicity costs, administrative costs, etc. It is **not** a source of ongoing annual support; this is a competitive program and there is no guarantee of funding from one year to the next.

Costs related to equipment purchase, capital projects (e.g. building purchases, renovations, etc.), film/video production, music competitions, publishing, archiving, awards and award ceremonies, art therapy, fundraising events/projects and deficit reduction are **not** covered by this program. Costs related to activities occurring outside of the City of Toronto are also **not** covered (e.g. touring, travel, etc.).

**APPLICATION PROCESS**

Applicants are required to complete the *Music Projects* application form and to submit all requested support material. The form and the support material are essential to the evaluation process.

Applicants should complete the application form as accurately as possible, add separate sheets where necessary and take careful note of any additional materials requested under the various headings. Each section must be complete when the application is submitted and the application must be signed by two members of the organization/collective. (In the case of an incorporated organization, one of these signatures must be that of the Board President.) Attachments must be printed on white 8.5" x 11" paper using 11 point font size and with page margins set at a minimum 1". The checklist included with the application form must be filled out to ensure that the application is complete.

Applicants must submit the **original plus nine copies** of their application, including the application form and the written attachments in alphabetical order by section as requested. The original must be single-sided and fastened with a secure paper clip. The copies must be double-sided and secured with a single staple in the top left corner; do **not** bind or place copies in separate envelopes or folders. Submit one copy of Section H (Anti-Racism, Access and Equity), one copy of the completed checklist and one set of audio/visual support material. **See Support Material section below for detailed requirements.**

**SUPPORT MATERIAL**

All applicants whose activities include the performance or presentation of music or music theatre are required to submit audio or video recordings with examples of recent work. Only recordings made within the past three years are accepted. It is recommended that at least one example be from the past year. Do **not** submit promotional audio/visual material, such as compilation videos.
used for publicity purposes or to sell programming. A **maximum of three** recordings may be submitted on CD or DVD. DVDs with multiple tracks must be indexed. **It is important to submit recordings of the highest possible quality. It is the responsibility of the applicant to ensure that CDs and DVDs can be played on a conventional consumer-grade player.**

Applicants may also submit a **maximum of six pages** of printed support materials.

**ASSESSMENT PROCESS**

All applications for Project funding are reviewed first for eligibility by the Music Officer. TAC’s Music Committee then assesses all eligible music applications. The Music Committee’s recommendations are approved by the TAC Board of Directors.

TAC’s Music Committee is a volunteer committee of practising music artists and music professionals. Committee members are selected on the basis of their familiarity with, and specialized expertise in, a broad spectrum of music styles/practices and their direct experience in Toronto’s music community. Committee members are also selected to try to achieve fair representation of gender, diverse cultural communities and City areas. Music organizations/collectives are invited to nominate peers interested in serving on TAC’s Music Committee. These nominations should be submitted on a nomination form, available from TAC. Committee members serve maximum three-year terms.

Project funding is recommended only at the discretion of the Music Committee. This is a competitive program. Applicants should be aware that meeting the general eligibility requirements does not guarantee that a grant will be recommended.

The Music Committee evaluates all eligible applications in a comparative context and makes funding decisions based on the availability of funds, the program objectives, and the following assessment criteria:

- the artistic merit of the proposed project and the strength of the applicant’s artistic goals and objectives;
- the contribution of the project to the development of music in Toronto;
- the contribution of the proposed project to the development of the applicant organization/collective and/or the artists involved;
- the public impact of the project, including the quality and effectiveness of the applicant’s outreach, marketing and/or audience development strategies;
- the financial viability\(^1\) of the proposed project and the ability of the applicant to carry it out.

In applying the assessment criteria, the Music Committee will consider each applicant’s self-defined artistic goals and objectives, geographic and artistic environment, available resources and stage of development.

Priority is given to applicants that demonstrate a commitment to the performance of works by Canadian composers.

\(^1\)Assessment of financial viability includes consideration of unrestricted and internally restricted reserves. Please refer to attached C3-Information Sheet for more details.
NOTIFICATION

Applicants to the Music Projects program will be notified of results, by letter, within four months of the deadline. Results are not released over the telephone.

APPEALS

An appeals process is available to applicants to whom a grant is not recommended. Applicants eligible for appeals will be informed in the notification letter.

CONDITIONS OF FUNDING

Successful applicants will receive a Letter of Understanding with their notification letter. The Letter of Understanding will detail the terms and conditions of the funding. Cheques will not be released until the signed Letter of Understanding has been returned to TAC.

Successful applicants must include visual acknowledgement of TAC support in all promotional materials, advertising and programs related to the project being funded. The TAC logo is supplied to grant recipients; specifications for the size and placement of the logo should be commensurate with that of other donors or sponsors that have provided similar financial support. In lieu of the logo, the recipient may use the phrase "produced with the support of the City of Toronto through Toronto Arts Council."

Grants may only be used for the purposes outlined in the application. Material changes to the nature or scope of the project must be reported promptly to TAC. In such cases, TAC may require full or partial repayment of the grant. Changes to project dates must be reported to your grants officer. All projects must be completed within two years of the date of your grant notification letter.

Grant recipients are required to file an artistic and financial report at the end of the project. The due date for the final report will be included in the grant notification letter. Failure to submit the report will disqualify the applicant from submitting future TAC applications or receiving further funding. TAC may also request repayment of the grant.

TAC committee members and staff attend client performances and events. Grant recipients are required to send TAC information on any public performances or events presented in the context of their grant-supported projects. This information should be mailed, faxed or e-mailed to the Music Officer.

In addition to the aforementioned general conditions of funding, TAC reserves the right to place conditions on the release of grants (for instance, confirmation of venues, programming, performances, other sources of funding, etc.). Any specific conditions associated with a grant will be contained in the Letter of Understanding.

REPAYMENT OF GRANT

The grant must, on the request of TAC, be repaid (in whole or in part) to TAC, if the grant recipient:
• breaches any of the terms and conditions of the grant;
• knowingly provides false information in the grant application;
• uses the grant for purposes not approved by TAC;
• breaches any of the provisions of the Ontario Human Rights Code in its operations;
• ceases operating prior to completion of the project;
• ceases to operate as a non-profit organization or collective prior to completion of the project;
• winds up or dissolves prior to completion of the project;
• merges or amalgamates with any other party prior to completion of the project;
• commences or has commenced against it any proceedings in bankruptcy, or is adjudged a bankrupt, prior to completion of the project.

CITY OF TORONTO ANTI-RACISM, ACCESS AND EQUITY POLICY

The City of Toronto requires that all organizations and individuals adopt a policy of non-discrimination as a condition of receiving a grant or other support from the City.

All applicants are required to submit:

1. signed Declaration of Non-Discrimination, indicating date of the meeting at which the Declaration was approved by the applicant organization/collective. (If requested, the minutes of this meeting must be provided.)
2. statement as to how the applicant organization/collective intends to address the City’s policy principles.

A copy of the following City documents can be downloaded from TAC’s website, www.torontoartscouncil.org: Anti-Racism, Access and Equity Policy Guidelines, Hate Activity Policy and Procedures and Human Rights and Harassment Policy and Procedures.
Appendix 3

Toronto Arts Council Priority Neighbourhoods 2013

PROGRAMMING/ACTIVITIES IN PRIORITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

Toronto City Council has adopted the Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy to strengthen priority neighbourhoods through targeted investment. The strategy encompasses the learnings of the Community Safety Plan as well as the directions proposed by the Strong Neighbourhoods Task Force, a joint project of the United Way of Greater Toronto and the City of Toronto with the support of the Government of Canada and the Province of Ontario.

The City of Toronto has placed increasing emphasis on identifying vulnerable neighbourhoods and targeting resources to improve outcomes for their residents. The strategy for strengthening neighbourhoods takes place within a context in which some areas of the city are at greater risk of negative outcomes than others. Persistently low incomes and a widening income gap between the rich and the poor in many communities threatens the social cohesiveness that has marked the success of the city. Some neighbourhoods have experienced increasing levels of gun violence and criminal gang involvement resulting in city-wide concerns about community safety. An unequal distribution of services and facilities has left some neighbourhoods less well-equipped to deal with the social challenges they face.

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3 Toronto Arts Council, “Priority Neighbourhoods,” under Appendix 1-3: Arts Programming, 
*TAC Annual Operating Funding Application* [http://torontoartscouncil.org/Grant-programs/Music](http://torontoartscouncil.org/Grant-programs/Music) (accessed March 10, 2013).
The following thirteen neighbourhoods have been identified as having priority for increased City investment:

- Crescent Town
- Dorset Park
- Eglinton East-Kennedy Park
- Flemingdon Park-Victoria Village
- Jamestown
- Jane-Finch
- Kingston-Galloway
- Lawrence Heights
- Malvern
- Scarborough Village
- Steeles-L’Amoreaux
- Westminster-Branson
- Weston-Mt. Dennis

Toronto Arts Council supports the City’s efforts to strengthen neighbourhoods through its funding of arts activities taking place in these priority neighbourhoods.

Providing the information requested on the following page will allow this to be factored into the assessment of your application, but there is no additional targeted funding available for activity in priority neighbourhoods.

Will your organization program activities in any of the designated priority neighbourhoods in Toronto in the upcoming Request Year?

If yes … please check neighbourhood(s) where programming/activities will take place.
Appendix 4

Ontario Arts Council:
Orchestras Projects Funding Application (2013)⁴

Orchestras Projects

APPLICATION DEADLINE: March 15, 2013

Please read the Orchestras Projects 2013 Guidelines before starting your application. The Guidelines contain important information regarding eligibility.

If you have questions, please contact the Program Assistant. See the Program Guidelines for contact information.

Fill out the forms listed below, prepare the supporting documents detailed in the checklist, photocopy the required material and send the application package to:

Orchestras Projects
Ontario Arts Council
151 Bloor Street West, Fifth Floor
Toronto ON M5S 1T6

This application contains the following documents:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR APPLYING TO OAC ............................................................. pages i-ii
COMPLETING AND PUTTING TOGETHER YOUR APPLICATION PACKAGE ....... pages iii-iv
Please ensure your application is complete and in order. Application items must be arranged in the order described on the checklist.

VOLUNTARY STATISTICAL INFORMATION ....................................................... page 1
You may choose to fill out this section. Please send only the original of this page; the information is for OAC use only.

APPLICANT INFORMATION .................................................................................... pages 2-5
Please fill out and sign. We need only the original of these pages. Pages 1-5 are for OAC use only and will not be sent to the advisors. The personal information is confidential to the OAC.

Please fill out each of the following and provide 7 copies of each.

APPLICATION SUMMARY ..................................................................................... page 6
ORCHESTRA STRUCTURE, PROGRAMMING/REPERTOIRE, TICKET PRICES AND ATTENDANCE INFORMATION ...................... pages 7-9
ORCHESTRA HISTORY and PROJECT DESCRIPTION ........................................ pages 10-11
PRINT SUPPORT MATERIAL LIST ........................................................................ page 12
PROJECT BUDGET (available separately in excel format) and BUDGET NOTES ........ page 13

CE DOCUMENT EXISTE ÉGALEMENT EN FRANÇAIS.
The OAC is committed to providing services in French according to the requirements of the French Language Services Act.
The OAC is also committed to providing accessible services. Please see page i.
INSTRUCTIONS FOR APPLYING TO OAC

The details in this section are important. Please follow all directions.

If you are a person with a disability and require accommodation in any stage of the grant process, please contact the program office as soon as possible to discuss options.

For more information about OAC’s Accessibility Standards for Service to the Public Policy, please refer to the OAC website at:
www.arts.on.ca/Page3616.aspx

APPLICATION FORMS

- Make sure you have the latest application form and deadline information; programs may have been revised. Application material is dated by year; for example, if you are applying in 2013, you must use a 2013 application.

- We accept applications in English or French.

- Applications submitted in French to programs outside the Franco-Ontarian Arts Office are translated into English by accredited translators for assessment. By request, these translations are available to applicants for information only, after results have been announced. Works of art (e.g. film scripts) or written materials that have not been asked for in the application are not translated.

- In programs outside the Franco-Ontarian Arts Office, advisory panels and juries are held in English. If there are French-language applications in those competitions, at least one advisor/juror is francophone. If a competition receives enough French-language applications, a separate meeting with francophone advisors/jurors is convened.

- You must submit your application to the OAC on paper. OAC forms may be filled in on screen by computer then printed, or the forms may be filled in by typewriter or legible handwriting in black ink. Other written materials, such as the project description or artist statement, must be computer-generated in a type size no smaller than 11-point or typewritten and submitted on 8½” × 11” white paper.

- Please provide the required number of copies of the application material. We keep one set for our files and send the other copies to the advisory panel/jury for assessment. These copies should also be on 8½” × 11” white paper, preferably double-sided copies.

DEADLINE AND APPLICATION POLICIES

- We will not accept applications that have been faxed, emailed or sent on a disc.

- Incomplete applications will go forward to the advisory panel/jury as is. We only follow up on missing elements of the application with first time applicants to the OAC. We do not accept any additional materials after the deadline.

  Make sure your application is complete, signed, accurate, and readable, that sections are arranged in the same order as on the checklist, and the package is submitted with the correct number of copies. These requirements are your responsibility.

- We will not notify you automatically when we have received your application package. If you want us to confirm your application has been received, please enclose a self-addressed, stamped postcard.
☐ Get your application in on time. **Late applications are ineligible** and will be returned to you by mail at any point in the process after the deadline date.

☐ We will only accept applications postmarked by Canada Post or a courier company no later than the deadline date. If your application is received late you may be asked to show a dated receipt confirming date of mailing. If you are using an in-office postal meter, your package must also have an eligible Canada Post postmark.

☐ You may also hand deliver your application to our office on the 5th floor of 151 Bloor Street West, Toronto, up to 5 p.m. on the deadline day.

☐ After 5 p.m. on the deadline day ONLY, you may leave your application packages with building security until 8 p.m. Your application must be complete (photocopied and sorted) before you drop it off.
COMPLETING AND PUTTING TOGETHER YOUR APPLICATION PACKAGE

Please read the *Orchestras Projects 2013 Guidelines* before starting your application. The Guidelines contain important information regarding eligibility.

Complete all sections of this application. You may wish to have someone else review your application before you send it to the OAC to make sure it is complete.

APPLICATION CHECKLIST

**Voluntary Statistical Information (p. 1)** .................................................................
This is an OAC-prepared form. This form is *voluntary* and the information gathered on this form will not be used to assess your application, will not be passed on to the jurors/advisors and will not be attached to your file.

**Applicant Information (p. 2)** ..................................................................................
To be signed (original only). This is an OAC-prepared form.

**Application Summary (p. 6)** .................................................................................
(7 copies required.) This is an OAC-prepared form.

**Orchestra Structure (p. 7)** ....................................................................................
(7 copies required.) This is an OAC-prepared form.

In this section, please complete the table that best represents your type of orchestra.

**Programming/Repertoire (p. 8)** .............................................................................
(7 copies required.) This is an OAC-prepared form.

**Ticket Price and Attendance Information (p. 9)** ...................................................
(7 copies required.) This is an OAC-prepared form.

**Orchestra History (p. 10)** .....................................................................................
(7 copies required.) This is an OAC-prepared form.

See application pages for the content and presentations of *Programming/Repertoire, Ticket Price and Attendance Information* and *Orchestra History*.

**Project Description (p. 11)** ..................................................................................
(7 copies required.) This is an OAC-prepared form.

**Print Support Material List (p. 12)** .................................................................
(7 copies required.) This is an OAC-prepared form. List the support material you are submitting on this form.

**OAC Budget Form (available separately in Excel format)** ....................................
(7 copies required.) This is an OAC-prepared form.

Keep a copy of the budget for later use. If your application is successful, you will need to use this copy of the budget when it is time to submit your final report.

**Print Support Material** ..........................................................................................
(7 copies required.)
This material can support your application by providing context. It includes required items: current season brochures and programs (no more than 3 selected concert programs), as well as other publicity, posters or media/reviews that may be attached (maximum 4 other items). See the *Print Support Material List*.

*Note: Orchestras applying for project support should not submit audio recordings.*
Print support materials will not be returned.

Financial Statements .........................................................................................................................
(one copy only required.)

All orchestras should include a financial statement for the last completed year showing revenue and expenses as well as a balance sheet.

INSTRUCTIONS:

- After completing your application, sort the copies into 7 individual sets.
- Each set should contain all items in the same order as they appear on the checklist above. Please number the pages.
- Attach the Voluntary Statistical Information (optional) and Applicant Information to one set. The Voluntary Statistical Information form is destroyed after we prepare an internal summary report using these statistics. The Applicant Information is kept in our files. The other 6 sets will be sent to the advisory panel members for assessment.
- Please either staple or clip each of the 6 subsequent application sets for the advisors. Do not submit bound copies, binders or folders.
- Send the entire application package to the program name and address on the cover page of this application.
- Remember to make a copy of the complete application for your files.
Voluntary Statistical Information

The OAC is committed to supporting and enhancing Ontario’s thriving, evolving and diverse arts communities. As a public agency we recognize:

- our responsibility to help correct systemic barriers and historical challenges faced by Aboriginal peoples and people of colour;
- our role in supporting the arts as a critical link between language and culture for francophone people;
- the need to support new generations of artists (18 to 30 years old) in order to seed growth in all our arts communities.

We are gathering information to find out how well OAC grants serve Aboriginal artists, artists of colour, francophone artists and new generation artists, and organizations that support the work of artists from these communities.

This information will not be used to assess your application, will not be passed on to the assessors and will not be attached to your file. After we prepare a summary report using these statistics, this form will be destroyed.

**Your response to the questions in this section is voluntary.**

The term person of colour is based on the government of Canada's definition of visible minorities, which is defined as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.”

OAC’s definition of the term “Aboriginal” means Status and Non-Status, Métis and Inuit people.

OAC’s definition of the term “Francophone” is a person who learned French at home and still understands it.

OAC’s definition of the term “new generation” is a person who is 18 to 30 years of age.

You may check off more than one box.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is the primary purpose of your ad hoc group, collective or organization to support the work of:</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aboriginal artists? yes □ no □</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francophone artists? yes □ no □</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artists of colour? yes □ no □</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artists aged 18 to 30? yes □ no □</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Describe the cultural and/or ethnic background(s) of the artists whose work you support.
## APPLICANT INFORMATION

### APPLICANT NAME

Organization Name:

*(If the application is successful, a cheque will be made out to the above organization. You must be able to cash a cheque in this name.)*

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<th>Preferred language for communication for individual</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>FRENCH</th>
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<tr>
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<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐ Other specify</td>
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First-time applicant to the OAC? Yes ☐ No ☐

First-time applicant to program? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do you have an overdue final report on a grant from any OAC program as of this deadline date? No ☐ Yes ☐ – This application is not eligible (see guidelines for details)

Do you have an outstanding final report on a grant from this program as of this deadline date? No ☐ Yes ☐ – This application is not eligible (see guidelines for details)

* An outstanding report on a previous grant is one that is not yet due according to the date in your grant notification letter or it has been submitted incomplete and not approved.

An exception will be made in the case of applicants with an outstanding final report for an Orchestras Projects grant toward series presenting activity in 2012-2013 that is still in progress, and who cannot yet submit a final report. In this case, a new grant awarded in this program will be conditional upon receipt and approval of a final report for the previously funded series.

If you are a first-time applicant, please tell us how you heard about this program:

### APPLICANT FULL ADDRESS

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<th>Number and street name</th>
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### APPLICANT MAILING ADDRESS IF DIFFERENT FROM THE ADDRESS ABOVE

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Orchestras Projects APPLICATION 2013
COMPLETE THIS SECTION

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name of person responsible for application information</th>
<th>Position in the organization</th>
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<tr>
<td>Name and title of artistic head / project coordinator</td>
<td>Name and title of administrative head</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name of person the OAC should contact regarding this application</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<table>
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<th>□ Ms.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incorporated not-for profit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charitable status</td>
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PROJECT DETAILS

Project title or name: (e.g., 2013-2014 concert series or other event)

Total amount you are requesting from the OAC

$
TERMS AND CONDITIONS

Please read carefully the following terms and conditions before signing this document.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR THE APPLICATION

Indemnification: The applicant agrees that the OAC is not responsible for loss or damage, however caused, to applications and to support materials.

Consent to Release: The applicant consents to the release of project information and any reports associated with this application to OAC assessors and other granting agencies where the applicant has also applied.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR THE RECEIPT OF OAC FUNDS

If you are successful in receiving a grant, the following terms and conditions apply. Your signature on this document indicates that you agree to the terms and conditions as outlined below.

Purpose and Use of the Grant
OAC funds will be used only for the purposes outlined in this application.

If the project is delayed or changed substantially for any reason you will notify the OAC in writing before the changes take place.

If the project does not go forward, you will return to the OAC the funds granted for the proposed project.

Grants will be used for the proposed project within two years from the date of the grant notification from the OAC.

Safe Programming Requirements
If you, your co-applicant, your collective or your organization is engaged in direct delivery of programming to vulnerable members of society, you must obtain a vulnerable sector screening for each person involved in this programming before beginning your activity.

Income Tax
For individuals, a T4A form will be issued by the OAC and should be retained for income tax purposes.

Your grant notification letter will contain a form requesting your social insurance number. You must complete this form and return it to the OAC within four weeks of the date on the letter.

Audit Requirements
You must maintain accounting records detailing the receipt and disbursement of funds received from the OAC. You may also be audited by the Provincial Auditor’s Office to show that the money has been used properly.

Reporting Requirements
You are required to submit a final report on how you used the grant. Guidelines telling you how to prepare this report will be provided with your grant cheque. This report must be submitted by the date identified in your grant notification letter. If you fail to submit a report, you will be disqualified from applying for any further OAC grants or from receiving further funding. The OAC may also request that you repay the grant.

Acknowledgment
You are required to acknowledge OAC’s support of your project through the use of OAC’s logo.
AUTHORIZING INFORMATION AND SIGNATURES

I agree to the following:

- I have read and understand all the terms and conditions above, as well as the program requirements explained in the program guidelines and application checklist.
- The information given in this application for funding assistance is true, correct and complete in every respect and that, in the event that a grant is awarded, I agree to the terms and conditions described above.
- I understand that late applications or applications that do not meet the eligibility criteria for the program will be withdrawn from the grant application process and returned to me at any time in the process.
- I understand that no further information can be added once I have submitted this application.
- My organization has no overdue reports to any OAC program.
- I have included 1 copy of:
  - Applicant Information
  - Financial Statement
- I have included 7 COLLATED* copies of the following items:
  - Application Summary
  - Orchestra Structure
  - Programming / Repertoire
  - Ticket Price and Attendance Information
  - Orchestra History
  - Project Description
  - Support Material List
  - OAC Budget Form
  - Support Material

  *COLLATED means that the above items are sorted into 7 sets, where one complete set contains a copy of each item, assembled in the order they appear on the checklist.
- I understand that any extra material not accepted in this program will be removed and not forwarded to the advisory panel.
- I understand that support material will not be returned.
- I am a Canadian citizen or permanent resident of Canada, and a resident of Ontario.
  
  OR

  I am a Canadian citizen or permanent resident of Canada, and a Quebec resident of the National Capital Region and I am not applying to the Quebec government for funding for this project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION APPLICANT</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>SIGNATURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artistic Head / Music Director</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of board of directors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPLICATION SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location – City / Town / First Nation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project title or name</th>
<th>Total amount you are requesting from the OAC</th>
<th>Total project expenses (from budget page)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(e.g., 2013-2014 series of 5 concerts)</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Project Summary (25 words or less)
For example: professional artistic costs of the orchestra’s 2013-2014 series of 4 concerts OR a 25th anniversary concert featuring the local choral society and guest soloists, etc.

### ACTIVITY SCHEDULE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Start Date:</th>
<th>month</th>
<th>day</th>
<th>year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End Date:</th>
<th>Cannot be completed before July 15, 2013 and must be completed by July 15, 2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type of orchestra (tick one only) See Program Guidelines, page 1, for information on orchestra definitions.
- [ ] Professional
- [ ] Semi-professional
- [ ] Community

Are requests being submitted to other OAC programs for other activities that are related to this project? (e.g., Arts Education Projects, Music Commissioning, etc.)
- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

If yes, provide brief details here.

Have you already received support from other OAC programs for other activity related to this project?
- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

If yes, provide brief details here.
ORCHESTRA STRUCTURE

In this section, complete the table that most closely reflects the structure of your orchestra. If your organization contains more than one orchestra within its structure, you may fill in more than one table, but clearly indicate which table applies to which orchestra. Use your current-year statistics to answer the questions.

Orchestras with a Master Agreement
This section applies only to orchestras with a master agreement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Master Agreement</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When was your current master agreement ratified?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maximum number of services/week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To which fiscal years does it apply?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number of weeks/year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many musicians are specified?</td>
<td>Core</td>
<td>Base salary/week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many of the core musicians live in your community?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salaries</th>
<th>Extras</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average weekly salary of musicians who are principals</td>
<td></td>
<td>How many extras are hired in total?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average weekly salary of section musicians</td>
<td></td>
<td>Average per-service fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How many services do the extras provide?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Orchestras with a core of professional players
This section applies only to orchestras with a core of professional players who are paid a minimum of AF of M scale to attend all rehearsals and performances.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orchestras with a core of professional players</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How many musicians, in total (paid AND unpaid) are a regular part of the orchestra (i.e., attend all rehearsals and concerts)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many of the regular musicians in your orchestra live in your community?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many professional core players are paid to attend ALL rehearsals and concerts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you have a contract with these core players?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of services/year for the core players</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual salary for the core players</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other than the core players, how many other players who are a regular part of the orchestra (i.e., attend all rehearsals and concerts) are paid?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many musicians who are a regular part of the orchestra are unpaid?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many extra musicians are hired to attend the dress rehearsals and concerts only, per year?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the average per-service fee for these additional musicians?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the orchestra have an agreement with the local AF of M regarding the payment of fees for amateur and professional musicians?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Orchestras Projects APPLICATION 2013
## Orchestras with No Paid Core Players

This section applies only to orchestras with no paid core players. (“Core” is defined as professional musicians who are paid a minimum of AF of M scale to attend all rehearsals and concerts.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How many musicians are a regular part of the orchestra (i.e., attend all rehearsals and concerts)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many of the musicians in your orchestra live in your community?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many of the musicians who are a regular part of the orchestra are paid either an honorarium or an amount below AF of M scale?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many extra musicians are hired to attend the dress rehearsals and concerts only, per year?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the average per-service fee for these additional musicians?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the orchestra have an agreement with the local AF of M regarding the payment of fees for amateur and professional musicians?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PROGRAMMING / REPERTOIRE

**CDN** = Canadian work. **BRD** = recorded for broadcast. **COM** = new work commissioned by the orchestra.

### MASTERWORKS SERIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title of Works</th>
<th>Timing</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Conductor, Soloist(s) / Instruments</th>
<th>Conductor, Soloist(s) / Instruments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EXAMPLE</strong></td>
<td>23 Sep 2013</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Le jardin mystérieux</strong></td>
<td>6:00</td>
<td>Gougeon, Denis</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The North Wind's Gift</strong></td>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Luedeke, Ray</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Darkly Splendid Earth (Violin Concerto)</strong></td>
<td>19:00</td>
<td>Schafer, Murray</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Ms Jones</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Symphony #6</strong></td>
<td>40:00</td>
<td>Beethoven</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title of Works</th>
<th>Timing</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Conductor, Soloist(s) / Instruments</th>
<th>Conductor, Soloist(s) / Instruments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EXAMPLE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TICKET PRICE AND ATTENDANCE INFORMATION

### TICKET PRICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Actuals for 2012-2013</th>
<th>Projected for 2013-2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single ticket</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subscription ticket</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ATTENDANCE FIGURES (ACTUAL AND PROJECTED)

Use the fillable tables below to provide an overall picture of your audience attendance. List each concert separately.

For next season, the dates should correspond to the dates/activities listed above under 2013-2014 programming/repertoire.

**Current Year** – actual and forecasted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concert date</th>
<th>Hall capacity</th>
<th>SINGLE tickets: Total # of paid</th>
<th>SUBSCRIPTION tickets: Total # of paid</th>
<th>Total audience including comp tickets</th>
<th>% of total capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXAMPLE 23 SEP 2012</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Request Year** – forecasted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concert date</th>
<th>Hall capacity</th>
<th>SINGLE tickets: Total # of paid</th>
<th>SUBSCRIPTION tickets: Total # of paid</th>
<th>Total audience including comp tickets</th>
<th>% of total capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### ORCHESTRA HISTORY

If you are not using the fillable form, please provide the required information as attachments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Organization Information</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Describe your organization’s artistic vision and/or provide its mission statement/mandate, as well as a brief history of the orchestra (½ page maximum) and an overview of the orchestra’s ongoing activities. (Do not include your incorporation documents.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Board Members and Administrative Staff</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List your board members, with their professions and their board responsibilities. List administrative staff, and indicate whether staff members are full, part-time, contract or volunteer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Music Director/Conductor</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provide a brief biography of your orchestra’s music director/conductor (or attach this separately if you prefer to use an already existing document).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

If you are not using the fillable form, please provide the required information as attachments.

We require the following details about how you will accomplish the project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Give a detailed description of the proposed activity(ies) for which you are requesting funds. It is important to indicate whether the request is for the artistic costs of your 2013-2014 self-presented concerts, a specific single event, or other performance. Please indicate the reason for selecting the proposed music programming (artists and repertoire) and what its benefit might be to the orchestra.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Describe your audience and provide details of how the orchestra’s concerts are promoted. Include here information on ticket sales (subscriptions/singles) and your marketing and publicity strategies. As well, describe any activities that actively engage audiences in the work of your orchestra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide a description of other revenue sources for the proposed year/activity. This may include fundraising, sponsorships, special events, advertising revenue and in-kind donations (give an estimated value), as well as foundations and/or other government support, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explain how you will complete the project if you are unable to secure all the revenue projected in your budget.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please provided any additional information that you think will help advisors assess your project proposal. This can include information on education outreach programs or other relevant activities of your orchestra, such as local partnerships, commissions of new work, tours or recording projects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PRINT SUPPORT MATERIAL LIST

Indicate the required samples of the current season brochure(s), and selected concert programs (where available), as well as any other print support materials that are being submitted. Attach the same samples to each of the individual set copies.

Support material is an important part of the assessment process. Please take the time to fill out the relevant sections of this form.

Print support material will not be returned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Describe any material included, such as season brochures, concert programs, reviews, etc. The orchestra's current season brochure is required. A maximum of 3 separate concert programs should also be attached, and up to 4 selected other items (reviews, publicity, advance press, etc.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Please attach identical samples of print support materials to each of the 7 individual application sets.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PROJECT BUDGET

NOTE: Applicants must complete and submit the Orchestras Projects Budget on OAC’s form (available in PDF and Excel). This form can be found at www.arts.on.ca/Page113.aspx.

You may insert the completed revenues and expenses pages here.

The project budget is considered carefully in the assessment of the viability of the project. Please be realistic when you prepare your budget.

Either print the budget form and complete it by hand, or complete it on-screen, then print it out.

Keep a copy of the budget for later use. If your application is successful, you will need to use this copy of the budget when it is time to submit your final report.

BUDGET NOTES

Footnotes can help explain your project budget projections to the advisors. Please provide any notes regarding your proposed expenses or anticipated revenues here.

Orchestras should present a balanced project budget. However, if the proposed activity is a series or complete concert season, there may be reasons why a surplus or deficit is being projected by your organization (e.g., reduction of an accumulated deficit). In such cases, you must include an explanatory note.

REMINDER: All orchestras should include a financial statement for the last completed year showing revenue and expenses as well as a balance sheet.
Appendix 5

Ontario Arts Council:
What is the Popular Music Program? 2013 Guidelines

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Guidelines 2013

Popular Music

APPLICATION DEADLINES: June 17 and December 2, 2013

DOWNLOAD FORMS AT: WWW.ARTS.ON.CA/PAGE110.ASPX

If you are applying to the June 17, 2013 deadline:
The activity cannot be completed before October 15, 2013.

If you are applying to the December 2, 2013 deadline:
The activity cannot be completed before March 31, 2014.

Applicants will be notified of the results approximately 4 months after each deadline.

Your application to this deadline will not be accepted if you have any outstanding* final reports for this program, or other overdue reports.

* An outstanding report on a previous grant is one that is not yet due according to the date in your grant notification letter or it has been submitted incomplete and not approved.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

What is the Popular Music program? ................................................................. 1
Who can apply? ................................................................................................. 1
What kinds of activity does this program fund? ............................................. 2
What about home studio projects or demo projects? ................................. 3
What kinds of activity will the program not fund? ......................................... 3
How much can I apply for? ............................................................................ 4
How often can I apply? .................................................................................. 4
Who makes the decisions about the grants? ................................................. 5
What are the decisions based on? ................................................................. 6
When do I find out whether I will receive a grant? ....................................... 7
What do I have to do if I receive a grant? ...................................................... 7
Whom do I contact if I have questions? ......................................................... 7
Appendix A: How do I submit audio-visual support material? .................... 9
Appendix B: Definitions of Commonly Used Terms ..................................... 11
Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) ............................................................. 13

CE DOCUMENT EXISTE ÉGALEMENT EN FRANÇAIS.
The OAC is committed to providing services in French according to the requirements of the French Language Services Act.

The OAC is also committed to providing accessible services. Please see “Whom do I contact if I have questions?”
What is the Popular Music program?

The Popular Music program offers grants to music originators to assist them in the creation and production of their original work in popular music genres. The Popular Music program aims to reflect a range of music practices and to support excellence in all its diversity, inclusive of many different regional, linguistic, cultural, Aboriginal and Franco-Ontarian music practices and/or identities.

The Popular Music program prioritizes support for projects that display exceptional creativity in songwriting, composition, performance, and when applicable, production. For the purposes of the Popular Music program, the term “popular music” includes, but is not limited to the following styles:

- African / Caribbean / South American World Music*
- Asian / South Asian / Middle Eastern World Music*
- Electronic / Dance
- Folk / Roots / Country / Traditional European Folk*
- Jazz / Blues
- Rock / Indie / Pop
- Traditional and Contemporary Aboriginal*
- Urban / Hip Hop / R&B / Soul

*Included are originators practicing in traditional/classical music forms that are not considered Western European classical music.

The vision statements that guide the OAC's directions provide a framework for our funding priorities in the Popular Music program are:

- The lives, careers and work of individual artists flourish.
- People of all ages and in all regions actively engage and participate in the arts.
- Aboriginal, francophone, culturally diverse, new generation (ages 18 to 30) and regional artists and arts organizations are recognized for the value they provide to all Ontario’s people, cultures and creative sectors.
- The creativity, innovation and excellence of Ontario's artists and arts organizations in all their diversity are seen and acclaimed locally, nationally and internationally.

Who can apply?

INDIVIDUALS

To be eligible for OAC project funding, a person must:

- be a resident of Ontario
- be a Canadian citizen or a Permanent Resident of Canada, or have an application pending for Permanent Resident status and, if requested, be able to provide documentation to verify this
have been a resident in Ontario for at least one year before making this grant application

continue to live in Ontario for at least eight months a year, with the following exceptions:

- Artists who live in Ontario may leave the province for up to one year and continue to be eligible for OAC support if the absences are temporary (e.g. for an educational or artistic opportunity) and they do not also apply for support from the jurisdiction of their temporary residence

- Artists living permanently in Quebec municipalities in the National Capital region who:
  - are applying to the OAC in English or French
  - have been recognized as Ontario artists
  - contribute actively to the artistic life of Ontario
  - have not sought assistance from the Quebec government for the same project

be a professional artist. The OAC defines a professional artist as someone who has developed skills through training or practice, is recognized by artists working in the same artistic tradition, has a history of public presentation or publication, seeks payment for her or his work, and actively practises his or her art. Short breaks in artistic work history are allowed.

BANDS AND GROUPS

To be eligible for OAC project funding, bands or groups must:

- be active bands/groups with at least 50% of the members meeting the above requirements for individuals.

ADDITIONAL ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS

You are not eligible to apply to the Popular Music program if you have received a grant from this program and have not yet completed your project and filed a satisfactory final report. Please submit the report for your previous project at least one month before applying to the new deadline.

You are not eligible to apply to any OAC program if you have an overdue final report or have submitted an incomplete final report on a previous grant from any OAC program.

What kinds of activity does this program fund?

The Popular Music program offers grants to originators in the form of individuals, bands or groups for only one of the following categories at any deadline:

CATEGORY 1 – CREATION

- Creation of new works/songs through
  - Writing: The writing of lyrics and/or music with no recording component.
Home Recording: Recording and / or experimentation in a home studio, defined as a studio that does not regularly charge fees to a variety of artists to produce work. This includes projects where the majority of the activity will take place at a remote location using equipment owned or rented by the band or the producer.

Demo / EP: The creation of a short form recording in any facility, home or professional. A short-form recording is any recording that is considered considerably shorter in length compared to the standard in your artistic community, and often is for the purpose of demonstrating newly developed work for others in the music community (labels, funders, presenters, promoters and /or festivals) or for limited / online release direct to your audience.

Grants for the creation of new work can assist with artistic costs, production costs or living costs, thereby assisting in the creation of the new work. A budget is not required for this category.

CATEGORY 2 – FULL-LENGTH PROFESSIONAL AUDIO RECORDING

Production of a full-length audio recording in one or more professional facilities that regularly charge a fee to a variety of artists to record and produce work. The applicant must be the originator of the majority of the material for the recording. Grants can assist with producer costs (if not self-produced), guest artist costs, and costs associated with recording, mixing, editing, mastering, packaging design and manufacturing (maximum 1,000 units) in professional facilities. A small portion of the work may be completed in home facilities, but these costs are not eligible for support in this category. A budget completed on the OAC Budget Form is required for this category. Category 2 – Audio Recording does not fund fees for the applicant (individual or band). Do not include any fees for the applicant in the project budget.

For both Category 1 and Category 2 expenses must be incurred in the province of Ontario or Quebec municipalities in the National Capital region to be eligible for support.

Applicants may include participants (co-creators, musicians, engineers and producers) that are not Ontario residents as long as the work is completed in the province of Ontario or Quebec municipalities in the National Capital region.

What about home studio projects or demo projects?

- See “What kinds of activity does this program fund?”

What kinds of activity will the program not fund?

The following are not eligible for project funding:

- Projects where the applicant is not the originator of the music.
- Projects where the artist or group of artists is not in a decision-making position regarding all phases of the project.
- Activities that are completed before the results of this competition are announced.
- Activities that take place outside of Ontario or Quebec municipalities in the National Capital region.
- Purchasing of instruments or equipment (rental of instruments and equipment is eligible).
- Fundraising or benefit activities.
- Video projects.
- Compilations.
- Spoken word, narration or poetry projects (contact the OAC’s Literature Office for support for these activities).
- Projects in Western European classical music forms.
- Pre-production expenses or expenses beyond the manufacturing costs of the first 1000 units (i.e., rehearsals, second print-runs, promotion or marketing expenses).
- Fees claimed by applicants and/or their regular band/group members. Note: for the purposes of this program, regular band members are defined as those who create, or contribute to, the body of work of the band/group.
- Projects in the name of record companies/labels, managers, agents, lawyers
- Projects of applicants who have not submitted a final report from a previous Popular Music grant or who have not submitted a final manufactured product from a previously funded recording project.
- Projects of applicants who have received a Popular Music grant within the last year.

**How much can I apply for?**

- CATEGORY 1: up to $4,000
- CATEGORY 2: up to $10,000

Due to the number of applications we receive and the limited funds that are available, grants awarded may be smaller than the amount requested. Approximately 1 out of every 8 projects is funded at each jury assessment.

**How often can I apply?**

You may not apply to more than one OAC program for the same activity unless you have received notification that your first application has not been successful.

For the Popular Music program:
- You may submit only one application per deadline.
- You may apply to only one grant category per deadline.
- You may receive only one Popular Music grant within a 12-month period.
- You may receive only one Category 1 grant for any project.
- You may receive only one Category 2 grant for any project.
Who makes the decisions about the grants?

Applications in this program are assessed by a jury made up of 5 or 6 artists in music. The jurors decide on grant recipients and amounts. The jury's decisions are authorized by the OAC's Director & CEO.

OAC granting officers choose advisors and jurors who:

- have broad knowledge and experience of the relevant art form, arts organizations and related issues;
- have knowledge of the cultural needs of a particular region or community;
- will provide fair and objective opinions and
- are able to articulate their opinions and to work in a group decision-making environment.

The composition of an advisory panel or jury should represent the range of applications in the competition and include arts professionals representing regional, culturally diverse, Aboriginal and Francophone artistic practices and communities in Ontario.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Advisors and jurors are required to keep the contents of all applications and discussions during the assessment meeting confidential.

Advisors and jurors must not disclose that they have been selected as assessors. Names of advisors and jurors are released with grant results following each program competition.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The OAC is particularly concerned with potential conflicts of interest. There are two dimensions of conflict of interest – direct and indirect. There are also two kinds of direct conflict of interest – financial and private.

- An advisor or juror is in a direct conflict of interest with a particular application if he or she, or a member of the advisor/juror's immediate family (spouse or equivalent, son or daughter, parent, sibling or member of the immediate household) has a financial interest in the success or failure of the application. If the applicant is an organization, staff or board members of the organization, or members of their immediate families, would be in direct conflict. If the applicant is an individual, immediate family members would be in direct conflict.

- An advisor or juror is in a direct conflict of interest with a particular application if he or she has a private interest in the success or failure of the application. If the applicant is an organization, staff or board members of the organization, or members of their immediate families (spouse or equivalent, son or daughter, parent, sibling or member of the immediate household) would be in direct conflict. If the applicant is an individual, members of his/her immediate family, as described above, would be in direct conflict. For applications from individuals and organizations, a private interest also includes affiliations or activities that compromise or unduly influence decision-making.

Any reason that makes it difficult for an advisor or juror to evaluate an application objectively may create an indirect conflict of interest.
Officers do not choose advisors or jurors who are in **direct** conflict of interest with any of the applications being assessed. If a direct conflict of interest becomes apparent, the officer will ask the assessor to stand down from the panel.

All advisors and jurors are asked to sign forms to identify **indirect** conflicts of interest as a further means of documenting the integrity of the process. At the advisory panel or jury meeting, the officer answers any questions and facilitates a discussion on the assessor’s impartiality and decides how the situation will be managed.

**OTHER ELEMENTS IN THE ASSESSMENT PROCESS**

Written assessments may be used by the officer to provide specialized analysis of an application when necessary. The officer shares knowledge gained from these reports with the members of the advisory panel or jury to help them make decisions about the application.

**RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ADVISOR OR JUROR**

Before they meet to discuss the applications, the advisors/jurors become familiar with the program, its assessment criteria (below) and the OAC’s strategic priorities. They read all of the applications and the written support material. At the meeting, the advisors/jurors review any audio-visual support material, discuss the applications and rank them, using their knowledge and expertise in a group decision-making environment. The final decisions depend on the OAC’s strategic priorities, the range and number of applications in the program and the program budget.

**What are the decisions based on?**

**Artistic Merit** based on
- Submitted recordings
- Answers to questions 1, 2 and 5 in the Application Details section
- List of Participants

**Impact** (on the artist(s), the art form and their community) based on
- Answers to questions 1, 2 and 3 in the Application Details section

**Viability** based on
- Answers to questions 4 and 5 in the Application details section
- List of Participants
- For Category 2 – Audio Recording, a completed OAC Project Budget

Scores for each of the above three categories are used to provide a total score, and applicants are ranked by this total score.

For Category 2 projects, the budget is an important part in the assessment of the viability of the project. Please be realistic when you prepare your budget. The total revenues and total expenses must balance. Most total budgets in this program are in the $8,000–$25,000 range and rarely exceed $25,000. If your project budget is greater than $25,000, please include the reason in your answer to Question 2. Requests to Category 2 are typically in the range of 50-75% of the total budget up to the maximum of $10,000.
When do I find out whether I will receive a grant?

You will be notified in writing approximately 4 months after the application deadline of whether you receive a grant or not. We do not give grant results by telephone or email, so please do not call us or email us for this information. The program officer can provide limited feedback.

What do I have to do if I receive a grant?

If you receive a grant you must acknowledge OAC’s support by placing the OAC logo on all printed promotional material and house programs. This includes such items as press releases, websites, liner notes in a CD booklet and the OAC logo displayed on the back cover of a CD.

If you receive a grant, you must also submit a final report describing how the terms of the grant were met, along with other documentation as required (lyrics/charts/scores or a final manufactured CD) within one year of the receipt of the grant.

If you do not submit a final report, the OAC may require you to repay the grant. You or your band/group will be ineligible to submit future applications to any OAC program or receive further grant payments from the OAC until the grant is repaid or an acceptable report is submitted.

SAFE PROGRAMMING REQUIREMENTS

If you or your band/group is engaged in direct delivery of programming to vulnerable members of society, you must obtain a vulnerable sector screening for each person involved in this programming before beginning your activity. Vulnerable members of society are defined in the Criminal Records Act as persons who, because of age, disability or other circumstances, whether temporary or permanent are:

- In a position of dependence on others, or
- Are otherwise at a greater risk than the general population of being harmed by a person in a position of authority or trust relative to them.

You may be asked to produce a certified criminal record check or vulnerable sector check by schools, community organizations and the Ontario Arts Council. You should have this document in your possession at all times when working in schools and in communities. Depending on where you live, a certified criminal record check or vulnerable sector check may take several weeks to process. Contact your local police department or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to start this process.

For more information about Protecting Vulnerable People, please click on the following link: www.arts.on.ca/Page4053.aspx.

Whom do I contact if I have questions?

The OAC is committed to helping applicants present themselves as favourably as possible to the jury.

If this is your first grant application to OAC, or you want to check your eligibility, or you want to review the application process, please contact the OAC. Because we receive so many
telephone calls in the weeks before the deadline, please call with your queries as far in
advance as possible.

These guidelines contain definitions of commonly used terms, frequently asked questions
and answers, and other general information.

A current application form may be downloaded from the OAC website at
www.arts.on.ca/Page110.aspx. For a paper copy to be mailed to you, contact us at 416-
961-1660, 1-800-387-0058 or info@arts.on.ca.

We do not send application forms by fax or email.

For questions about the Popular Music program, contact:

**Program Assistant:** Kathleen Law, ext. 7430, email klaw@arts.on.ca

**If you are a first time applicant to OAC and are unsure whether your project fits with
this or other OAC programs, contact:**

Janice Lambrakos, Information Services Coordinator
1-800-387-0058 ext. 7429, 416-969-7429, jlambrakos@arts.on.ca

Ontario Arts Council
151 Bloor Street West
Fifth Floor
Toronto ON M5S 1T6
www.arts.on.ca / info@arts.on.ca

If you are a person with a disability and require accommodation in any stage of the grant
process, please contact the program office as soon as possible to discuss options.

For more information about OAC’s Accessibility Standards for Service to the Public Policy,
please refer to the OAC website at: www.arts.on.ca/Page3616.aspx
Appendix A

How do I submit audio-visual support material?

Complete the support material list.

Clearly label your support material (applicant name) and ensure they match your support material list.

- Give specific credit on the Support Material List (e.g. writer, performer, instrument played, producer, engineer).
- Clearly identify the contents of your support material on the list, and provide instructions on how to navigate.

Number and title each file; make sure the number is before the title so that the order of the images will correspond to your support material list.

Number and title each file following the model [number].[title of work].[file extension] e.g. 01.TitleofWork.wav.

Do not send more examples than required; assessors will consider only the number specified.

If you wish, include a comment about the reasons for your selection on the support material list.

If you are using a format not listed in the list of accepted file types, check with us to see whether we can accommodate it.

Test your support material and ensure that it plays as expected.

Render your work in the best possible quality on electronic media to ensure clear sound.

WHAT TYPES OF MEDIA DO WE ACCEPT?

- CD and CD-R only

WHAT TYPES OF IMAGE, AUDIO AND/OR VIDEO FILE TYPES DO WE ACCEPT?

- MP3
- M4A
- WAV
- AIFF

DO NOT SUBMIT:

- USB sticks
- audio cassettes
- DVDs
- VHS
- ZIP files or other compressed data files
- material that requires plug-ins, extensions or other executables that need to be downloaded or installed
- files by email
- any other component of your application on your CD or DVD
- Blu-ray Discs

**Support material will not be returned.**

**HOW WE SHOW YOUR MATERIALS**

- All support material is presented using a high fidelity stereo system.

**QUESTIONS?**

- Please call the Program Assistant if you have any questions regarding your support material.
Appendix B

Definitions of Commonly Used Terms

The following terms are used in various OAC documents, including those found in the application packages for project grants. Please refer to these definitions to help you fill out the forms as required.

**APPLICANT**
An artist or organization applying to the OAC for a grant to help undertake or complete a specific project.

**APPLICATION**
A request for a sum of money to help undertake or complete a specific project. The request is made by submitting an application package to the OAC. Applications are made to programs and must be sent to the OAC by the program deadline.

**APPLICATION PACKAGE**
An application package has several parts—an application form, an application summary, a project description, etc. Each application form for a project program has a checklist of the items you must send to the OAC; the required items vary from program to program.

**ARTIST STATEMENT**
An artist statement describes your artistic vision for the project and how the vision is reflected in the activity you are proposing. It helps the reader of your proposal understand why you want to do the project. The artist statement answers the question “why” and the project description answers the question “how.”

**ASSESSMENT**
The process of judging an application.

**ASSESSOR**
A person from the artistic community selected by the OAC to read applications and to give advice or to make decisions about who should receive funding. There are three kinds of assessors—advisors, jurors and third-party recommenders. See "Who makes the decisions about the grants?" for more information about assessors.

**ASSESSMENT CRITERIA**
Common standards by which all applications to a particular program are judged.

**ASSESSMENT METHOD**
The type of assessment used to judge applications—advised, juried or third-party recommender.

**CO-APPLICANT**
One of two artists or organizations applying to the OAC for a grant to work on a specific project. A co-applicant is an equal partner in the project.

**DEADLINE**
The final date that you can send your application to the OAC. All applications to a particular deadline in a program are assessed together.

**ELIGIBLE, ELIGIBILITY**
The qualifications needed to be able to apply for OAC funding.

**GRANT**
An amount of money given to an artist or organization who is successful in the assessment process.

**OUTRIGHT GRANT**
Most project grants are outright; that is, cheques are included with the letters notifying applicants they will receive grants.

**CONDITIONAL GRANT**
If a grant is conditional, a cheque will not be sent until specific requirements described in the notification letter have been met by the applicant.

**OFFICE**
Every artist or organization applying for a grant does so through one of the OAC’s granting offices. Some offices support a specific artistic form—dance, literature, media arts, music, theatre, visual arts; each artistic form is called a discipline. The OAC also has offices that offer grants for specialized activity in more than one discipline—arts education, Aboriginal arts, Chalmers, community/multidisciplinary arts, Compass, Touring and Franco-Ontarian arts.

**ORGANIZATIONS**
Incorporated not-for-profit companies as well as ad hoc groups, collectives and other unincorporated organizations that are mainly composed of professional artists and arts...
professionals and operate on a not-for-profit basis. For-profit book and magazine publishers may apply to Compass and Touring.

**PARTICIPANT**
An artist, consultant, mentor or organization who is essential to a project but does not apply for, or receive, a grant.

**PROJECT**
An activity or event that is undertaken by, or includes, professional artists and/or arts organizations.

**PROGRAM**
Each OAC office has a number of programs to which artists and organizations can apply for grants. Programs have deadlines for applications and fixed budgets. All applications to a particular deadline are assessed together.

**PROGRAM GUIDELINES**
- Detailed explanations of how a program works, including the program description, priorities, specific applicant eligibility, grant levels, assessment method, assessment criteria and application procedures.

**PROFESSIONAL ARTIST**
Someone who has developed skills through training and/or practice, and is recognized as such by artists working in the same artistic tradition, and has a history of public presentation or publication, and seeks payment for her or his work and actively practises his or her art. Short breaks in artistic work history are allowed.

**RÉSUMÉ**
A brief summary of professional or work experience and qualifications that relates to an application for support from the OAC.

**SUPPORT MATERIAL**
Samples of artistic work that you have completed or are working on, such as manuscript pages, documentation of visual art and CDs of performances or samples of brochures, posters, etc. that illustrate previous or current projects. Each program at the OAC has different requirements for support material; you can find them in the guidelines for each program.
Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs)
Questions and answers to help you apply for an OAC project grant

How do I find out if I’m eligible for a grant?

Individual program guidelines contain eligibility requirements. To find out what programs are available, you can go to our website, www.arts.on.ca, or call or email one of the contacts above.

Where can I get an application? Can I get one online?

Applications and program guidelines for most project programs are available for downloading on our website, www.arts.on.ca, or you may call or email to have the material mailed to you.

How much money can I apply for? Will I receive what I ask for?

OAC project programs have varying levels of grants. See the individual program guidelines for details about grant levels. Because of the number of applications we receive and the limited funds that are available, grants awarded may be smaller than the amount requested.

Can I fill out my application in French?

Oui. See “Instructions for Applying to OAC” in the application form.

Can I talk to someone before I fill out my application?

Yes. If you need to speak to someone, see the “Whom do I contact if I have questions?” section.

Can I apply for a grant at any time?

No. There are specific deadlines for applications for each project program. Late applications will not be accepted. You will find deadlines listed in the individual program guidelines, in the OAC’s deadlines calendar and on the OAC’s website: www.arts.on.ca. You may call or email to have a list of deadlines mailed to you.

Can I email or fax my application to you?

No. Applications must be mailed, couriered or delivered in person. See individual program applications for application procedures.

Do I really need to send in support material?

Most programs require support material as part of a complete application; others recommend you send in appropriate images, audio-visuals, brochures or posters to help you support or explain your application. But please, do not send in original works of art. See “Completing and Putting Together Your Application Package” in the application form.
What if my application is missing something?

Incomplete applications will go forward to the advisory panel/jury as is. We only follow up on missing elements of the application with first time applicants to the OAC. We do not accept any additional materials after the deadline.

What if I miss the application deadline date?

Your application will be returned.

Will you let me know when you receive my application?

No. If you want to hear back from us when we receive your application, send a self-addressed, stamped postcard with your application. We will then send it back to you after the deadline date; we do not open applications until after the deadline.

How long do I have to wait for a decision on my application? Do I hear from you if I don’t receive a grant?

We will send you a notification letter approximately 4 months after the deadline whether you receive a grant or not. Decisions will not be given by telephone.

Who decides whether I get a grant?

The OAC uses a process of peer assessment to make decisions, and operates at “arm’s length” from the government to make sure grants are based on artistic criteria. Juries are composed of artists and other professionals in the field who decide who gets grants in some programs. Advisory panels, also composed of artists and other professionals in the field, provide advice and help set priorities in other programs, but they do not make final grant decisions. Third-party recommenders – organizations chosen from the artistic community – make recommendations for funding on the OAC’s behalf in some of the programs for individual artists. See “Who makes the decisions about the grants?”

If I get turned down, can I appeal?

No. Decisions are final and cannot be appealed. However, if there is evidence that due process was not followed in the decision-making procedures, the OAC will investigate.

If I get turned down, when can I apply again?

Often, you can apply to the next deadline. But programs have differing rules about reapplication. Refer to the individual program guidelines for specific rules.

Can I find out why I was turned down?

Limited comments on your application can be provided in some programs. You can find out from the individual program guidelines whether this applies.

Can I apply for more than one grant at a time?

You may not apply to more than one OAC program for the same activity unless you have received notification that your first application has not been successful. However, you may apply to different programs for different activities at the same time.
If I get a grant one year, can I apply again another time?

Generally, you cannot receive funding for the same project more than once. As well, some programs have limitations on the number of times you may apply for a different project. You can find out what these limitations are from the individual program guidelines.

If I get a grant, do I have to pay taxes?

Individuals receiving OAC grants will be issued T4As. For more information on Tax Implications of Grants see www.arts.on.ca/Page71.aspx.

If I get a grant, do I have any responsibilities to you in return?

Yes. You are required to do several things. 1) You must turn in a report to us by the date written in your grant notification letter. If you do not send in a satisfactory report by this date, the OAC will not accept or process any other grant application in your name, and may require you to repay your grant. 2) Grants must be used for the purposes for which they were given within two years. 3) You must acknowledge the support of the OAC. See “What do I have to do if I receive a grant?”
Appendix 6

Canada Council Act
Section 8: Objects, Powers and Duties of the Council

8 (1) The objects of the Council are to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in, the arts and, in particular, but without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the Council may, in furtherance of its objects,

(a) assist, cooperate with and enlist the aid of organizations the objects of which are similar to any of the objects of the Council;
(b) provide, through appropriate organizations or otherwise, for grants, scholarships or loans to persons in Canada for study or research in the arts in Canada or elsewhere or to persons in other countries for study or research in the arts in Canada;
(c) make awards to persons in Canada for outstanding accomplishment in the arts;
(d) arrange for and sponsor exhibitions, performances and publications of works in the arts;
(e) make grants to universities and similar institutions of higher learning by way of capital assistance in respect of building construction projects;
(f) exchange with other countries or organizations or persons therein knowledge and information respecting the arts; and
(g) arrange for representation and interpretation of Canadian arts in other countries.

(2) The Governor in Council may assign to the Council such functions and duties in relation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization as the Governor in Council considers desirable.

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Appendix 7

Canada Council for the Arts:
Grants to Professional Musicians—Individuals

1 Canada Council for the Arts, “Grants to Professional Musicians—Individuals,” under “Music,”
http://canadacouncil.ca/en/music/find-grants-and-prizes/grants/grants-to-professional-musicians-
individuals (accessed June 16, 2013).
GUIDELINES AND APPLICATION FORM

MUSIC SECTION
Grants to Professional Musicians – Individuals

Follow these three steps to apply for this grant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>Read the Program Guidelines for details about the purpose of the program, who and what is eligible, grant amount, assessment process and criteria, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>Read the Important Information section. If you still have questions about the program or the application process, contact the appropriate program officer indicated below. For first-time applicants, we recommend that you contact the Program Officer several weeks before the deadline.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3</td>
<td>Complete all sections of the attached application form. Be sure to use the Checklist (Part E of the form) to confirm that you have completed all relevant sections of the form and have included all required support material.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Canada Council for the Arts is committed to equity and inclusion, and welcomes applications from diverse Aboriginal, cultural and regional communities, including people with disabilities.

Deadlines
1 November (Short-Term Grant)
1 March (Long-Term or Short-Term Grant)

If either of these dates falls on a weekend or statutory holiday, the deadline moves to the next business day.

Your completed application and all required support material must be postmarked on or before the deadline date.

The Canada Council will not accept applications postmarked after the deadline date, incomplete applications, or those submitted by fax or email.

Further Information
Program Officers
Music Section
Canada Council for the Arts
350 Albert Street, P.O. Box 1047
Ottawa ON K1P 5V8
1-800-263-5588 (toll-free) or 613-566-4414, and the extension number.
TTY: 1-866-585-5559

Classical and electroacoustic fields of music: André Jutras, extension 5071 andre.jutras@canadacouncil.ca

All other fields of music: Claire Marchand, extension 4294 claire.marchand@canadacouncil.ca

MUG27E 10-12

www.canadacouncil.ca
### Mandate of the Music Section
The Music Section supports the on-going development of outstanding Canadian artistically driven music, created, performed, produced and disseminated by professional Canadian artists and arts organizations expressing Canadian cultural, creative and intellectual diversity for the benefit of the Canadian and international public.

### Program Objectives

**Statement**
Canadian professional musicians are consistently demonstrating artistic excellence, originality and innovation at all stages of their careers and are dedicated to the creation and enrichment of music as an art form. For decades, the Canada Council for the Arts has been assisting them by generating favorable conditions to inspire their work or to pursue new opportunities to enhance their skills through advanced training or mentoring to have an impact on the creation and identity of our Canadian artistic cultural fabric. This program allows individual artists the freedom to develop unique performance and compositional voices in all genres of music.

**Objectives**
This program is designed to:

- provide opportunities for personal artistic development in advanced studies in performance and composition as well as research and creation in all fields of artistically driven music
- support artists at all stages of their professional careers (emerging, mid-careers and established)
- respond to the needs of the artists by offering specific long-term and short-term grants.

### Program Description
This program offers opportunities to individual professional Canadian musicians to pursue their artistic and creative development. Professional musicians include instrumentalists, singers, composers, arrangers, singers/songwriters, performers, conductors and opera stage directors.

The program has two components:

- **Long-Term Grants** are available for a seven to twelve month period.
- **Short-Term Grants** are available for a maximum period of six months.

**General fields of music**
The Canada Council recognizes that there are well over 100 genres of music in Canada but it uses the term “general fields of music” for its categorization needs. Applicants will be asked to identify their specific genre of music.

Professional musicians whose practices are in the following general fields of music are eligible:

- Aboriginal
- Classical/contemporary
- Electroacoustic/Audio art
- Folk/traditional
| Program Description (continued) | • Improvised/Musique actuelle  
• Instrumental  
• Jazz  
• Songwriting  
• World.  
Grants cover subsistence, project and transportation costs related to a program of work lasting from a few weeks to a year. Whether artists are applying for a long-term or a short-term grant, this funding will allow them to dedicate a concentrated period of time to work on their projects. Therefore, artists are encouraged to submit realistic timelines and budgets in their proposals.  
**La Cité Internationale des Arts** ([www.citedesartsparis.net](http://www.citedesartsparis.net))  
A studio-apartment at the Cité Internationale des Arts in Paris is also available (to applicants to the Long-Term Grants component only) at a moderate cost.  
It may be used for a period of three months to one year, from 1 September to 31 August. Musicians interested in renting the studio-apartment may indicate this in Part B of their application form. |
| --------------------------------- | --------------------------------- |
| **Applicant Eligibility** | Note that meeting the eligibility criteria does not guarantee that you will receive a grant.  
For this program, applicants cannot apply to two consecutive deadlines.  
**Eligible applicants**  
To apply to the Canada Council for the Arts, you must be a Canadian citizen or have Permanent Resident status, as defined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. You do not need to be living in Canada when you apply.  
You must also meet the Canada Council’s definition of a professional artist, which is an artist who:  
• has specialized training in the field (not necessarily in academic institutions)  
  - This training will be consistent with the standards of his or her practice.  
  Training may include post-secondary academic study, mentorship, private instruction, workshops, periods of self-directed study, community-acquired knowledge or any combination of the above.  
• is recognized as a professional by his or her peers (professional artists working in the same artistic tradition)  
  - Other music artists working in the same tradition identify the applicant as an artist of superior achievement and (or) potential. Peer acknowledgement may include a history of support or recognition at a local, regional, or provincial and (or) territorial level.  
• is committed to devoting more time to artistic activity, if possible financially  
  - The applicant pursues his or her own artistic vision, retains creative control, and is committed to the creation of original work. The applicant exhibits high professional standards and is dedicated to the ongoing development of the artistic practice. |
Applicant Eligibility (continued)

- has a history of ongoing public presentation in a professional context.
  - The applicant receives compensation for the public presentation of her or his work, and actively seeks to maximize the audience for the work, regardless of its market appeal.

To apply to this program, you must also meet the eligibility requirements of one of the following categories of applicants:

- **Emerging artists** are those who have completed their basic training (university graduation or equivalent in specialized or self-training). They must have had an active professional career for at least two years, in addition to performances while in academic settings or as part of specialized training programs.

- **Mid-career artists** are no longer full-time students and must have completed their formal studies at least five years before applying to this program. They must have had an active professional career for at least five years.

- **Established artists** are those who have made a nationally or internationally recognized contribution to music over a number of years and are still active in their profession.

**Collaborative creation projects**

You can use these grants to work with another artist (from the same artistic discipline), but only on creation projects. There can be only two artists involved in collaborative creation projects, and both must meet the program’s eligibility criteria.

The maximum grant amount for subsistence remains $2,000 per month in total.

We consider a project as collaboration when both artists share the artistic control of the project. If the nature of the other artist’s involvement is sharing expertise, consultation or mentorship, then it should not be considered a collaboration. Rather his/her fee should be included in the budget as project expenses on the line “honorarium”.

In the case of a collaboration, both artists must create and sign a document to confirm their collaboration. If a grant is awarded, only the applicant identified in part A1 of the form will be responsible for the grant and will be subject to the Grant Terms and Conditions.

**Recording requirements**

Recordings are an essential part of your application, because they are used to determine your eligibility to apply to this program and the peer assessment committee relies heavily on this material when making its decisions. The recordings must be of good technical quality because the committee makes its decisions about artistic quality by listening to the submitted recordings.

See Part D1 of the application form for technical details about submitting your recordings.

Recording dates are mandatory in part D3. Your application will not be accepted if you do not provide this important information.
Applicant Eligibility (continued)

You must allow yourself enough time to complete the application and organize the required recordings. The committee may be reviewing several hundred applications. Therefore, the presentation of your application and recordings is extremely important and should not be done at the last minute.

Composers

For projects that involve writing and creation, applicants must provide three recent works that are relevant to the proposed project. One of the works must be no more than 24 months old before the application deadline date; the other two may be older works of the applicant's choice. For collaborative creation projects at least one work must be provided for each participant.

Performers

For projects that do not involve writing and creation, applicants must provide three recent, contrasting works that have been recorded no more than 24 months before the application deadline date. Recordings must also include one Canadian work; the Program Officer must approve any exceptions to the Canadian work requirement before the performer applies.

Conductors

Conductors must submit video of three contrasting pieces. The videos must be taken from concerts or rehearsals, and they must show the conductor from the musicians' perspective.

Opera stage directors

Opera stage directors must submit three video excerpts from productions they have directed.

Project Eligibility

You can use these grants:

- for advanced studies in composition or performance, privately or at an institution (the Canada Council considers advanced studies to be those beyond a Bachelor of Music degree or equivalent private or self-training)
- to compose (personal creative projects only)
- to arrange (personal arranging projects only)
- to research new forms of music or new repertoire that will be used in the performance or composition of new works
- for collaborative creation projects involving no more than two musicians (for example, projects can involve two composers, or a composer and a librettist/lyricist)
- to attend workshops/master classes for individual professional artistic development.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Eligibility (continued)</th>
<th>Restrictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>You <strong>cannot use</strong> these grants for:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• recording and production projects (refer to Production Grants in Music: <a href="http://canadacouncil.ca/grants/music/mz127228028536093750.htm">http://canadacouncil.ca/grants/music/mz127228028536093750.htm</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• rehearsals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• performances (refer to Production Grants in Music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• projects that are strictly promotional in nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• projects related to music therapy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• projects related to music pedagogy/teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• projects involving composition commissioning (refer to the Commissioning of Canadian Compositions program: <a href="http://canadacouncil.ca/grants/music/kg127245427079218750.htm">http://canadacouncil.ca/grants/music/kg127245427079218750.htm</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• hiring an arranger/orchestrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• collaborative advanced training projects for duos, trios, quartets, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• academic research or post-graduate studies in musicology or theory (refer to the programs of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• touring or any other activities supported by other Music Section programs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant Amount</th>
<th>Amount available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long-term grants:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Up to $24,000 is available for long-term projects (between seven and twelve months).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short-term grants:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Up to $12,000 is available for short-term projects (a maximum of six months).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>If your application is successful, you may possibly not be awarded the full amount that you request.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>These grants cannot be used to fund activities that occurred before this program deadline.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other sources of funding**

The Canada Council may share the funding of a project with other private or public donors or sources, but it will not fund a project that has already received full financial support. In Part C of the application form, you must provide information on other sources of funding that you have applied for, either from an academic institution or from other private or public sources.
**Grant Amount (continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Eligible expenses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grants may cover your subsistence, project and transportation expenses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subsistence expenses</strong> are your living costs, to a maximum of $2,000 a month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(An itemized budget is <strong>not</strong> required for these costs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Project expenses</strong> must be justified by a detailed budget and may include tuition fees, a teacher’s honorarium, research materials (such as books and CDs), rental of music equipment, instrument maintenance and rental of practice space.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transportation expenses</strong> must be justified by a detailed budget. Only your air, rail or bus ticket costs will be covered, for travel from one city to another. You may also request half the cost of air transportation for large instruments, such as a cello, double bass or harp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The air travel portion of the grant is based on the cheapest available airfare from your place of residence to the place where you will carry out your program of work. If you will already be in that location, you may apply for a one-way fare to return to a destination in Canada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowable transportation expenses <strong>do not include</strong> hotel or meal costs, local transportation, travel by a spouse or dependants, or the shipment of personal items.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Ineligible expenses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grants from this program may not be used for capital costs, such as the costs of computers, software, musical instruments, microphones or amplifiers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th><strong>Access Support</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual applicants who are Deaf or have disabilities may apply for additional funds to cover expenses for specific services and supports which are required to carry out the proposed eligible activities. The Canada Council may contribute toward the access related expenses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eligible expenses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible expenses may include but are not limited to the following:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sign language interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• a personal attendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• a guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• rental of specialized equipment.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Ineligible expenses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• major capital expenses (e.g. purchase of wheelchair, vehicle, computer, renovations, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• services and supports for which an individual is already receiving funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• services and supports which are not directly tied to the activities supported by the grant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requests are reviewed on a case-by-case basis and are not shared with the assessment committee. Please contact the Program Officer if you have any questions about your request.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Assessment of Applications

Assessment process
Peer evaluation is fundamental to the Canada Council’s decision-making process. Applications will be evaluated by a peer assessment committee, composed of experienced individuals who are recognized as professional artists by their peers. Committee members will also be selected with consideration to fair representation of artistic specializations, gender, generations, Canada’s two official languages, Aboriginal peoples, and the cultural and regional diversity of Canada. New committees are formed for each competition.
Where there are unusual circumstances, the Canada Council may provide the committee with additional evaluations from independent assessors.
All decisions of the peer assessment committee are final.
For further information on this subject, please see “Peer Assessment: How the Council Makes Its Decisions,” posted on the Canada Council’s website.

Assessment criteria
The peer assessment committee’s decisions will be based on the general merit of your application, compared with that of all other eligible applications in this national competition, and on the availability of funds.
The Canada Council for the Arts looks for originality and creativity in the genre of music practised by the artists. It also looks for artistic excellence.

Note on Prizes
Through this program, the Music Section co-administers several prizes. From the list of successful applicants, a peer assessment committee selects the winner for each prize.
You do not apply for these prizes. You will automatically be considered for any prizes whose criteria you meet.

- The Victor Martyn Lynch-Staunton Awards, worth $15,000, are awarded annually for outstanding artistic achievement by Canadian mid-career artists.
- A bequest from the estate of the late John B.C. Watkins, the J.B.C. Watkins Awards provide fellowships of $5,000 to professional Canadian artists who are graduates of a Canadian university, postsecondary art institution or training school and who are pursuing graduate studies in any country other than Canada.
- the Bernard Diamant Prize, worth $5,000, offers professional Canadian classical singers under age 35 an opportunity to pursue their career through further studies.
- the Joseph S. Stauffer Prizes, worth $5,000 are made to honour the memory of the benefactor whose bequest to the Canada Council enables it to "encourage young Canadians of outstanding promise or potential."
- the Robert Fleming Prize, worth $2,000, which is intended to encourage the careers of young creators of music, is awarded annually in memory of Robert Fleming to the most talented Canadian music composer in the grant competition for composers in classical music.

Note that your Personal Information provided in the application form will be used to determine your eligibility for the Prizes.
**IMPORTANT INFORMATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Processing the Application</th>
<th>Acknowledgement of receipt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Canada Council for the Arts will send you a notice acknowledging that your application has been received. It does not confirm that your application is eligible.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Response time**

You will be informed of the result of your application approximately **four months** after the application deadline. The Canada Council does not release results by telephone or email.

If you have filled out the application form using Go! Grants Online, you will receive an electronic notice asking you to consult the status of your application to learn the results.

You can access the Searchable Grants Listing, a database of successful grant applicants, at [www.canadacouncil.ca/grants/recipients](http://www.canadacouncil.ca/grants/recipients). You can also contact the Canada Council, in writing, to request the list of peer assessors.

**Application preparation**

- You are responsible for providing all the information and support material requested.
- The Canada Council will make decisions about your eligibility based on the information you provide in your application.
- Submit only the material requested. Extra material will not be shown to the peer assessment committee.
- Carefully choose the material you submit in support of your application as committee members have limited time in which to study each grant application.
- Do not submit originals. The Canada Council is not responsible for the loss or damage of support material submitted.
- It is important to inform the Canada Council of any changes to your contact details.

**Format and layout**

You may submit your application by mail or electronically using GO! Grants Online.

Note that **you must submit all your support material online if you apply using GO!** Make sure, before you begin, that you have all the required documentation and support material in the appropriate electronic format.

For paper submissions, all the documents requested and the application form must be submitted:

- printed on one side only
- on separate sheets of **white** paper (letter format, 8½ x 11 inches)
- with a **black** font size of 11 points or larger
- with paper clips (documents cannot be bound, placed under plastic or stapled).

Avoid unusual formatting as it can make documents hard to read.
| Personal Information | The Privacy Act gives individuals the right to access and request correction of personal information about themselves. The Canada Council will protect personal information as required by the Privacy Act. The information will be stored in a series of Canada Council data banks described in *Info Source*, a government publication that is available on the Internet. All other information may be accessible to others under the Access to Information Act.

For this program, the Canada Council for the Arts requests that you indicate your year of birth on the application form. The personal information that is provided by you on this application form will not be used to assess your application and will not be passed on to the peer assessors.

The Canada Council may share information related to applications and awards with officials in other arts and cultural industry funding agencies, on a confidential basis, to assist with program planning and evaluation. |

| Grant Terms and Conditions | **Before you apply for a grant**, please note all the following conditions:
- All your overdue final reports for Canada Council grants must be submitted and approved before you are eligible to apply for another Canada Council grant.
- You may receive a maximum of two grants to professional artists from the Canada Council in any 48-month period.
- You may apply for only one Canada Council grant to professional artists and one travel grant in any Canada Council fiscal year (1 April to 31 March).

**Note:** There is an exception to the condition that you can apply for only one grant to professional artists in any fiscal year. If you are an established professional artist who works in more than one discipline (for example, in both visual arts and music) and you meet the eligibility criteria as an established artist in both disciplines, you may apply to two different Canada Council grants to professional artists programs in one fiscal year. You must, however, accept or refuse the first grant that the Canada Council offers you (within two weeks of the date of the grant notification). If you accept the first grant offered, your other application will be withdrawn from competition.

Each arts disciplines section has its own criteria regarding established artists.

**If your application is successful**, the terms and conditions will be outlined in the grant notification letter. These are some of the conditions:

**Grant payments**

The Canada Council will send you the grant money after it has received your grant acknowledgement form and after you have satisfied any conditions that are provided with your grant notification letter.

Because grants and awards are taxable income, you may wish to receive the funds in the same year or years that you will have grant expenses. If your project or program of work will be carried out over two or more calendar years, you may request that your grant be paid in more than one installment. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant Terms and Conditions (continued)</th>
<th>Tax status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada Council grants are taxable. T4A slips will be issued, at the appropriate time, for grants and awards paid to individuals. If you have any tax-related questions, please contact the Canada Revenue Agency or your provincial or territorial revenue department.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Changes to proposed activities**

You must notify the Canada Council immediately if you cannot use part or all of the grant during the period stated in your application or if you decide not to carry out your proposed activities.

The program officer must approve any changes to your funded activities (for example, changes in the activity budget, to key creative personnel, or to the start or end date) **before you carry them out.**

**Expiry date of the grant**

The grant funds will be available to complete your project/activity/work for three years following the competition deadline date that you apply to. The end of this three-year period is the expiry date of your grant.

If you require an extension to the expiry date, please contact the appropriate Canada Council Program Officer, in writing. Otherwise, the Canada Council will cancel the part of your grant that has not been paid to you by the expiry date, or you may be required to return a portion of the grant you have already received.

**Acknowledgement of Canada Council for the Arts support**

You must acknowledge the support of the Canada Council for the Arts in all promotional material associated with the grant. Details about the acknowledgement policy will be included with the grant notification letter.

**Final report**

You will be required to submit a final report on how you used the grant. This report must be submitted by the date identified in your grant notification letter.
Grants to Professional Musicians – Individuals

The information you provide on the next two pages will not be submitted to the peer assessment committee.

**IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of applicant (please provide your full legal name):</th>
<th>☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐ Ms. ☐ Mr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last name</td>
<td>First and middle names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent address:</td>
<td>Mailing address, if different from permanent address:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street address and apartment or suite number</td>
<td>Street address and apartment or suite number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Province or territory Postal code</td>
<td>City Province or territory Postal code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone (residence) Telephone (business)</td>
<td>Telephone (residence) Telephone (business)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website Email</td>
<td>Website Email</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DECLARATION**

I permit the Canada Council for the Arts to include my name, address and email on its mailing list?  □ Yes  □ No

(This information will be used for Canada Council business only, including surveys.)

I prefer to communicate with the Canada Council in:  □ English  □ French

To be eligible for consideration, you must sign below to confirm your agreement with all of the following statements:

- I am a Canadian citizen or have a permanent resident status, as defined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- I have carefully read the eligibility criteria for this program, which are described in the application guidelines, and I meet these criteria.
- I understand that I may apply for only one Canada Council grant to professional artists and one travel grant in any fiscal year (1 April to 31 March).
- For this program, I understand that I cannot apply to two consecutive deadlines.
- I understand that I am not eligible to apply to this program until all my overdue final reports for Canada Council grants have been submitted and approved.
- I accept the conditions of this program and agree to accept the Canada Council decision.
- I am aware that the Canada Council for the Arts is subject to Access to Information Act and Privacy Act, as described in the application guidelines.
- I am aware that information provided in this application form will be used to determine my eligibility for the prizes described in the application guidelines.

I confirm that the statements in my application are complete and accurate, to the best of my knowledge.

__________________________________________________________________________

Signature (an original signature is required)  Date

Personal information collected on this form will be stored in the personal information bank for the appropriate program.
**ACCESS SUPPORT (if this applies)**

Applicants who have disabilities may apply for additional funds to cover expenses for specific services and support required to carry out the proposed eligible activities. Please see the access support section in the program guidelines for details.

Are you requesting funds to cover expenses for access support?

- [ ] No   - [ ] Yes  Total amount requested: $ _______________

Please describe the services and support required and indicate the cost.

1. Services or support required (provide details):

   ____________________________
   ____________________________
   ____________________________

   Cost: $ ____________________

2. Services or support required (provide details):

   ____________________________
   ____________________________
   ____________________________

   Cost: $ ____________________

3. Services or support required (provide details):

   ____________________________
   ____________________________
   ____________________________

   Cost: $ ____________________

4. Services or support required (provide details):

   ____________________________
   ____________________________
   ____________________________

   Cost: $ ____________________

---

Personal information collected on this form will be stored in the personal information bank for the appropriate program.

PROTECTED WHEN COMPLETED
Grants to Professional Musicians – Individuals

The information you provide from this point onward will be submitted to the peer assessment committee.

- The Canada Council for the Arts requires only one copy of this application form. Type or print in black ink to make your submission easier to photocopy.
- Do not bind your completed application form (in other words, do not use spiral binding, mount it in plastic, staple it, etc.).
- If you are completing the form on a computer, use the following format.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART A1 – NAME AND LOCATION OF APPLICANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of applicant (please provide your full legal name):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City (permanent residence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART A2 – DESCRIPTION OF GRANT REQUEST AND FIELD OF MUSIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Program component and type of grant requested:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Long-Term (1 March) □ Short-Term (1 March or 1 November)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Individual □ Collaborative creation Name of collaborator: __________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period to be covered by this grant:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your project start date can be any time after the application deadline date, but may not be later than 12 months after the deadline (for Long-Term Grants) or later than 10 months after the deadline (for Short-Term Grants).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From __________________________ to __________________________ Number of months: ______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(day, month, year) (day, month, year)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount requested:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maximum of $24,000 for Long-Term Grants or $12,000 for Short-Term Grants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ ___________ (rounded to the nearest hundred</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identify your general field of music:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ Classical/Contemporary □ Aboriginal □ Folk/Traditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Electroacoustic/Audio art □ Jazz □ Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Improvised/Musique actuelle □ World □ Songwriting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identify your specific genre of music:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>____________________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identify your practice:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ Composer □ Singer □ Instrumentalist: __________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(principal instrument)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Other (please specify, if this applies): __________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART A2 – DESCRIPTION OF GRANT REQUEST AND FIELD OF MUSIC (continued)

In a sentence (a maximum of 15 words), summarize your proposed project. (Examples are “to compose for three months,” or “to study guitar with Jane Doe in Montreal for 10 months.”)

________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________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**PART C – FINANCIAL INFORMATION**

Fill in the budget for your proposed project. Indicate the types of expenses for which you will use this grant and the total amount you are requesting. You must round your total budget request to the **nearest hundred dollars**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenses (see the application guidelines for details of eligible expenses.)</th>
<th>Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Subsistence** for ____ months at $________ per month  
(to a maximum of $2,000 per month for individuals or collaborations) | $ |
| **Project expenses** (if this applies) | $ |
| Tuition fees/honorarium | $__________ |
| Instrument maintenance | $__________ |
| Practice space rental | $__________ |
| Research materials | $__________ |
| Music equipment rental  
(rental costs cannot exceed the purchase price) | $__________ |
| **Total** | $__________ |
| **Transportation expenses** (if this applies; note that only air, bus or train fares are eligible) | $ |
| **Total expenses** | $ |
| **Revenues** (list of funding requested from other sources for this project, if this applies) | $ |
| Federal grants, other than from the Canada Council (provide details) | $ |
| Provincial or territorial grants (provide details) | $ |
| Municipal or regional grants (provide details) | $ |
| Graduate or doctoral assistantship | $ |
| Personal contribution | $ |
| **Grant requested from the Canada Council** | $ |
| **Total revenues** | $ |

Total expenses must equal total revenues.

**Budget notes:**
**PART D1 – SUPPORT MATERIAL**

In addition to the completed application form and the documents requested above, you must provide the support material indicated below. Audio support material will be returned to applicants. Written support material will be retained in your file.

Support material is an essential part of the application, and the assessors rely heavily on this material when making their decisions.

**Written support material**

- **Curriculum vitae or professional résumé (maximum of three pages)**
  
  Submit an up-to-date chronological curriculum vitae or résumé describing your professional history including training, performance history, discography, etc. **Artist bios are not acceptable.**
  
  For collaborative creation requests, both you and the other artist must submit your curriculum vitae or professional résumé (maximum of three pages for each artist).

- **Collaborative creation agreement**
  
  For collaborative projects, you and the other artist must sign a document to confirm that you wish to work together.

- **Letter of acceptance**
  
  If you plan to study in an academic institution or with a private teacher/master/coach, you must send a copy of the letter of acceptance to the Canada Council.
  
  You do not need to submit this letter when you apply for the grant, but it will be required if your application is successful. The Canada Council will not release the grant payment until it has received this letter of acceptance.

- **Lyrics**
  
  If you are a songwriter or composer of lyric-based music, you must provide the lyrics of the three recordings you are submitting.

- **Scores/Lead sheets**
  
  Please do not send accompanying scores as they are not required.

- **List of repertoire** (for classical music composers and performers only)

- **Libretto/Synopsis** (for operatic projects only; maximum of three pages)

**Recordings**

You are responsible for providing recordings of good technical quality. Remember that the assessors make their decisions about artistic quality by listening to the submitted recordings. Refer to the application guidelines for details of the recording requirements.

You must submit three different audio or video samples that clearly illustrate your work as a performer, composer, arranger, conductor or opera director. The amount of time that peer assessment committees can devote to listening is relatively short, so it is important for you to submit your strongest work. Especially for longer works, you may direct the committee to different parts of the recording by providing cue information in Part D3.
**PART D2 – GUIDELINES FOR SUBMITTING DIGITAL SUPPORT MATERIAL**

Canada Council prefers to receive the recordings as three tracks or files on a single disc. Recordings may be submitted on a CD, CD-R, DVD, DVD-R, or Blu-ray disc. **Internet links are not acceptable.**

The Canada Council for the Arts has access to rooms offering 5.1 Surround capabilities.

**IMPORTANT NOTICE:** If the digital support material submitted with your application does not follow the guidelines below, your application may be considered incomplete and may be withdrawn from the competition.

Test your material before you submit it to ensure that it is formatted correctly. It is your responsibility to ensure that all material reaches the Canada Council intact and in a readable format.

**Audio files** must be submitted on a CD or a CD-R. Audio files must be:
- Uncompressed in.aif, .aiff, .wav format or
- Lossless (.flac, .m4a, .mp4) or
- Compressed (.mp3, .wma).

**Videos** must be submitted on one DVD, DVD-R or CD-R.

Video files must be:
- in .avi, .mov, .mpg, or .mpeg format
PART D3 – DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF RECORDINGS

Clearly label your support material and complete the following. List your recordings in the order that you want them to be presented.

**Please keep the recordings to a maximum of 40 minutes in total.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 1</th>
<th>Item 2</th>
<th>Item 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Title:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Title:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Composer:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Composer:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Composer:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian? □ Yes □ No</td>
<td>Canadian? □ Yes □ No</td>
<td>Canadian? □ Yes □ No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Applicant’s credit or role (performer: instrument, composer, etc.):</strong></td>
<td><strong>Applicant’s credit or role (performer: instrument, composer, etc.):</strong></td>
<td><strong>Applicant’s credit or role (performer: instrument, composer, etc.):</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Completion or recording date (mandatory; see date requirements in the application guidelines):</strong></td>
<td><strong>Completion or recording date (mandatory; see date requirements in the application guidelines):</strong></td>
<td><strong>Completion or recording date (mandatory; see date requirements in the application guidelines):</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performed by:</td>
<td>Performed by:</td>
<td>Performed by:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brief description of how this piece of music relates to the proposed project:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Brief description of how this piece of music relates to the proposed project:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Brief description of how this piece of music relates to the proposed project:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Track Running time:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Track Running time:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Track Running time:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Track number:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Track number:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Track number:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indicate cues:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Indicate cues:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Indicate cues:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accompanying lyrics/libretto:</strong> □ Yes □ No</td>
<td><strong>Accompanying lyrics/libretto:</strong> □ Yes □ No</td>
<td><strong>Accompanying lyrics/libretto:</strong> □ Yes □ No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indicate format (CD, DVD, .wma, .mp3,.mov, etc.):</strong></td>
<td><strong>Indicate format (CD, DVD, .wma, .mp3,.mov, etc.):</strong></td>
<td><strong>Indicate format (CD, DVD, .wma, .mp3,.mov, etc.):</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART E – CHECKLIST

Use this checklist to confirm that you have completed all relevant sections of the form and have included all required support material. Be sure to write your name on all items.

You must include the following items in the order shown below.

☐ Identification of applicant

☐ Declaration (an original signature is required)

☐ Access support (if this applies)

☐ Part A1 – Name and location of applicant

☐ Part A2 – Description of grant request and field of music, including summary of project

☐ Part B – Description of project (maximum of 750 words)

☐ Part C – Financial information

Part D1 – Support material

☐ Curriculum vitae or professional résumé (maximum of three pages)

☐ Collaborative creation agreement (if this applies, signed by both artists)

☐ Letter of acceptance (if this applies - it does not need to be submitted with the application)

☐ Lyrics (songwriters must include lyrics of the three audio selections)

☐ List of repertoire (for classical music composers and performers only)

☐ Libretto/synopsis (for operatic projects only; maximum of three pages)

☐ Recordings

☐ Part D3 – Detailed description of recordings

Submit your application to:

Music Section
Canada Council for the Arts
350 Albert Street
P.O. Box 1047
Ottawa, ON K1P 5V8

Voluntary Self-Identification form (see the attached form)

You are encouraged to fill out the attached Voluntary Self-identification form to help the Canada Council determine whether its programs and services are reaching a diverse and wide range of Canadian artists, as intended. The Canada Council also welcomes any individual connected with the submission of a grant application to complete the form. The information that you provide will not be used to assess the eligibility or the merit of your application.
Voluntary Self-identification Form

The Canada Council for the Arts is a federal Crown corporation created by an Act of Parliament, and it has certain legal obligations under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The federal Privacy Act protects the personal information that you provide on this form.

The Canada Council for the Arts’ mandate is to support the study, enjoyment and production of works in the arts. Moreover, the Canada Council would like to strengthen its positive impact on all professional Canadian artists. The Canada Council can better achieve these objectives if it knows more about who applies to its programs and who receives its funding.

The Canada Council is committed to equity, diversity and inclusion when providing grants and services to professional artists and arts organizations. Its policies reflect Canada’s rich and complex reality, and the Canada Council uses its unique national perspective to identify and address issues related to access. The issues can be—but are not limited to—regional, cultural, racial, generational, language-based, Aboriginal-based, disability-based and (or) gender-based.

For this reason, you are encouraged to complete this voluntary self-identification form to help the Canada Council determine whether its programs and services are reaching a diverse and wide range of Canadian artists, as intended. The Canada Council also welcomes any individual connected with the submission of a grant application to complete this form.

The form will be detached from program application forms. The information that you provide in this form will not be used to determine your eligibility.

How will the Canada Council use the information that you provide?

Your voluntary self-identification information may be used to:

- generate statistics that will measure the impact of, and identify gaps in, funding
- ensure there is diversity in the membership of peer assessment committees, advisory committees and focus groups
- gather information to help the Canada Council with the design, review and evaluation of its programs
- plan outreach activities and targets
- report to the Canada Council Board and committees
- share information with other government departments, organizations and contractors with whom the Canada Council has a data sharing agreement (please refer to the consent option on page 4), and
- Identify applications for priority funding after they have been assessed as having equal merit with other applications.

How will the Canada Council protect the information that you provide?

By submitting your personal information, you are consenting to its collection, use and disclosure in accordance with the Privacy Act. The Canada Council will use or disclose the information to others only for the purposes stated. If the Canada Council wishes to use your information for other purposes, it must first receive your written consent to do so.
NAME: ______________________________________

If you have any questions regarding the provision of this voluntary self-identification information, please contact an Information Officer, Arts Services Unit, at 1-800-263-5588 or 613-566-4414, ext. 5060, or by email at info@canadacouncil.ca.

Please complete this revised form even if you have provided self-identification information in the past. The information is stored in a series of Canada Council for the Arts data banks described in *Info Source*.

To access, correct or revise your personal information, please provide a precise description of your personal information to the Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) Coordinator:

**ATIP Coordinator**
Canada Council for the Arts  
350 Albert Street, P.O. Box 1047  
Ottawa ON K1P 5V8

atip-aiprp@canadacouncil.ca  
Telephone: 1-800-263-5588 or 613-566-4414, ext. 4696  
TTY: 1-866-585-5559  
Fax: 613-566-4390

It will take you approximately 10 minutes to complete this form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>____________________________________</th>
<th>____________________________________</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last name</td>
<td>First name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Year of birth: __________________________ |

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of residence:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City, town, hamlet, reserve or other place: __________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province or territory: __________________________ Postal code: ________</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Where <strong>in Canada</strong> do you consider to be your home? (This may be different from your current place of residence.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home city, town, hamlet, reserve or other place: __________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home province or territory: __________________________</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>Gender:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>☐ Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Transgender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Other, please specify: __________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal information collected on this form will be stored in the personal information bank for the appropriate program.

**PROTECTED WHEN COMPLETED**

VSFE 04-12
NAME: ______________________________________

Citizenship:
Check a box if you identify as a:
☐ Canadian citizen
☐ Permanent resident (as defined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada)
☐ Other, please specify ____________________________________________

Newcomer or immigrant:
Check the box below if you identify as a:
☐ Newcomer or immigrant to Canada
If you checked this box, please indicate the year you immigrated to Canada: ____________

Official Languages:
What is your preferred official language?
☐ English
☐ French

First Language:
Check one or more of the boxes below indicating the language(s) you first learned and still understand:
☐ English
☐ French
☐ Inuktitut
☐ Other Aboriginal language (please specify): _________________________________
☐ Sign language (please specify): _________________________________________
☐ Other languages (please specify): _________________________________________

Official-language minority communities:
These are groups of people that share a common language, English or French, distinct from the linguistic majority of the province or territory in which they live, as defined in Section 41 of the Official Languages Act.
Check one of the boxes below if you identify as a:
☐ Anglophone official-language minority
☐ Francophone official-language minority

Aboriginal/First Peoples of Canada:
Check one of the boxes below if you identify as:
☐ First Nations
☐ Métis
☐ Inuit

Personal information collected on this form will be stored in the personal information bank for the appropriate program.
PROTECTED WHEN COMPLETED
VSFE 04-12

358
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethno-Cultural Origin:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Check only one of the boxes below if you identify as:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Indigenous person from outside Canada (for example, Maori from New Zealand, Sami from Norway, Quechua from Peru) (please specify):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Person of African, Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American or mixed racial heritage—Mixed racial heritage means that your heritage includes at least one of the groups named here. (Note that the above corresponds to “visible minority,” as defined in the Employment Equity Act of Canada.) (Please specify):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Other (please specify):</td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disability:</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Check the box below if you identify as a person with a disability.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Please specify:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AGREEMENT TO PROVIDE PERSONAL INFORMATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consent to share information:</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please check one of the boxes below:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ I consent to the sharing of my information with other government departments, organizations and contractors that the Canada Council for the Arts has a data sharing agreement with.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ I do not consent to the sharing of my information with other government departments, organizations and contractors that the Canada Council for the Arts has a data sharing agreement with.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have signed on the signature line below to confirm that I agree to the following:

- I have provided the personal information in this form with the understanding that it will be used only for the purposes stated in this form and that the Canada Council requires my written consent before it can use my personal information for any other purpose.
- The information I have provided is true and complete.

Name: ____________________________________________

Signature: ___________________________  Date: ___________________________

If you complete this form by hand, your original signature is required (not a photocopy). If you complete this form online, your email address will be accepted as your signature.

**CANADA COUNCIL USE ONLY—Contact ID: ________________________________**
Appendix 8

Canada Council for the Arts:
Music—Grants to Professional Orchestras

1 Canada Council for the Arts, “Grants to Professional Orchestras,” under “Music,”
MUSIC SECTION

Music: Grants to Professional Orchestras

Follow these three steps to apply for this grant:

| Step 1 | Read the Program Guidelines for details about the purpose of the program, who and what is eligible, grant amounts, application assessment process and criteria, etc. |
| Step 2 | Read the Additional Information for Completing the Application Form and the Important Information sections. If you still have questions about the program or the application process, contact the program officer indicated below. |
| Step 3 | Complete all sections of the attached application form. Be sure to use the checklist (Part H of the form) to confirm that you have completed all relevant sections of the form and have included all required support material. |

The Canada Council for the Arts is committed to equity and inclusion, and welcomes applications from diverse Aboriginal, cultural and regional communities, including people with disabilities.

**Deadline**

1 February 2013

The next multi-year funding application deadline is February 2014. No multi-year applications will be accepted until this date.

If this date falls on a weekend or statutory holiday, it moves to the next business day.

Your completed application and all required support material must be postmarked on or before the deadline date.

The Canada Council for the Arts will not accept applications postmarked after the deadline, incomplete applications, or those submitted by fax or email.

**Further Information**

**Daniel Swift**  
Program Officer  
Music Section  
Canada Council for the Arts  
350 Albert Street, P.O. Box 1047  
Ottawa ON K1P 5V8  
daniel.swift@canadacouncil.ca  
1-800-263-5588 (toll-free) or 613-566-4414, ext. 5248  
TTY: 1-866-585-5559  
MUG12aE 12-12  
www.canadacouncil.ca
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandate of the Music Section</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Music Section supports the on-going development of outstanding Canadian artistically driven music, created, performed, produced and disseminated by professional Canadian artists and arts organizations expressing Canadian cultural, creative and intellectual diversity for the benefit of the Canadian and international public.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Program Objectives**

- Symphony and chamber orchestras have been part of the Canadian musical fabric for more than a century. Deeply rooted in their communities, these organizations provide Canadians with access to the enduring and large core of traditional classical music repertoire, to new works written by foreign and Canadian composers, as well as to musical compositions in a wide variety of genres using symphonic or chamber orchestra instrumentation.

- As musical resources centers in their local and regional communities, orchestras are of vital importance to the performance and study of classical music, and act as advocates for the arts. They provide performance opportunities and employment to established and emerging musicians, training and development for young artists, educational activities for learners of all ages, professional teachers for private or academic studies, and highly-skilled instrumentalists participating in musical endeavors of various local producers and presenters.

- While the Canadian orchestral scene runs the gamut from professional organizations to community, youth, school and volunteer-based orchestras, the Canada Council for the Arts supports the professional component of the orchestral field, which is uniquely positioned to provide expert musical resources and engaging performances to the Canadian public.

**Objectives**

- To recognize and support artistic excellence and achievement in orchestral music.
- To advance the creation, development and performance of Canadian works, while promoting the vitality of the international repertoire.
- To foster the presence of Canadian creators and performers on the Canadian orchestral stage.
- To encourage innovative education and outreach programs that attract and serve new audiences for orchestral music, including young audiences.
- To foster mutual understanding, co-operation and collaboration among creators, performers, administrators, audiences of diverse cultural backgrounds, of other disciplines and of artistic forms in development.
- To encourage the use of best management practices within the orchestra field.
- To stimulate the Canadian public’s interest in, and appreciation of, orchestral music.
| **Program Description** | This program supports the activities of Canadian professional orchestras in their community by contributing financial assistance through **Operating Grants** or **Project Grants**.

**Operating Grants** provide ongoing support to the overall activities and organizational structure of orchestras on a **multi-year** or **annual** basis.

**Project Grants** assist with selected costs associated with a particular orchestral activity or event taking place in a defined and concentrated period of time, with a particular interest for initiatives involving Canadian creation, development of young audiences and outreach/dissemination.

**Note:** The Project grants component of this program has its own guidelines and application form, which are available on the Canada Council’s website. |
| **Eligibility** | **All applicants**
To be eligible to apply, your organization **must meet all of the following requirements**. It must:

- be a professional, non-profit Canadian orchestra
- have a board of directors in place at the time of application
- have completed at least three full years of ongoing local and professional activities
- receive significant support from other levels of government, the public and the private sectors
- engage professional artistic and administrative personnel
- demonstrate a significant and strong commitment to Canadian creation/repertoire as part of its ongoing annual programming.

**First time annual funding applicants**
To be eligible to apply for an annual grant, your organization must have received project grants in each of the last two competitions. It must also meet the basic eligibility criteria described above. The peer assessment committee’s decision to award an annual grant for the first time will be based on your organization’s performance against the assessment criteria (compared with that of all other eligible applicants in a national competition), the ability of your organization to demonstrate that it fulfills a distinctive role within its community, and the availability of funds.

**Restrictions**
Please note that orchestras cannot request an operating grant from more than one Canada Council program. You must consult the Music Section to determine which peer assessment committee may best assess your organization’s activities. |
Grants will be awarded based on a competitive process. A peer assessment committee will recommend the funding priorities and establish the amount of the Canada Council’s *contribution* to the proposed activities of successful applicants.

These grants cannot be used to fund activities that have already been completed or for expenses that were incurred before this program’s deadline.

Peer assessment is a competitive process within which regular adjustments to grant amounts are made. Funding adjustments, increases or decreases, are based on an organization’s performance according to the program objectives and assessment criteria. Adjustments also reflect the funds available and the number of applicants competing for those funds. While an increase to a grant amount does not have a maximum (or up to the maximum grant amount in a program), a decrease as part of the regular peer assessment process for any annual or multi-year competition will not exceed 20 percent.

If your organization is successful in obtaining operating grant funding, it will be subject to the Canada Council *Fair Notice* to Organizations policy.

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**CADAC Financial and Statistical Information**

The Canada Council for the Arts collects financial and statistical information through a national online database called CADAC (Canadian Arts Data / Données sur les arts au Canada). The CADAC website [www.thecadac.ca](http://www.thecadac.ca) enables arts organizations applying for operating funding from public funders that are partners in CADAC to submit their financial and statistical information in the same format.

Arts organizations that apply for an operating grant at the Canada Council for the Arts are required to use the “CADAC Financial Form for Arts Organizations” and the “CADAC Statistical Form for Arts Organizations” to submit the information that is required in Part F of the attached application form. Please go to the CADAC website [www.thecadac.ca](http://www.thecadac.ca) to access and use these forms. Step-by-step instructions for the process of completing, uploading, and submitting the required information is provided in Part F of the attached application form.

Applicants are encouraged to review the following guides at [www.thecadac.ca/cms/en/guides.html](http://www.thecadac.ca/cms/en/guides.html) for useful instructions on how to complete both the CADAC Financial and Statistical Forms.

- CADAC Financial Form for Arts Organizations: [https://www.thecadac.ca/Help/FinancialForms/Eng/Financial%20Form1.html](https://www.thecadac.ca/Help/FinancialForms/Eng/Financial%20Form1.html)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CADAC Financial and Statistical Reporting (continued)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Budget notes</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The CADAC Financial Form for Arts Organizations allows you to add some annotations to your budget, but on a limited number of categories only. Please provide, when appropriate, detailed notes to clarify any ambiguity that might arise from aggregated figures, unusual variances, etc. Include these notes on separate sheets and make direct reference to the CADAC Financial Form’s exact line numbers to which your notes apply. Include these sheets with your application form or attach them at the end of your financial statements when you submit them to CADAC.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Assessment of Applications</strong></th>
<th><strong>Assessment process</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Music Section will review applications for eligibility, based on the published eligibility criteria. A peer assessment committee will then evaluate all eligible applications.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer evaluation is fundamental to the Canada Council’s decision-making process. Members of peer assessment committees are specialists in the field and may be musicians, artistic and general directors, conductors, composers, administrators, outreach and education specialists, trustees or generalists with a broad knowledge of the orchestral art and milieu in Canada or internationally.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee members will also be selected with consideration to fair representation of artistic specializations, gender, generations, Canada’s two official languages, Aboriginal peoples and the cultural and regional diversity of Canada. New committees are formed for each competition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When a large <strong>concentration of orchestral activities</strong> exists at the regional/metropolitan level, the peer assessment committee and the Music Section may recommend financial support only to the applicants that, in view of this concentration and with regard to the assessment criteria, prove to be the most competitive.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All recommendations are final.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>For further information on this subject, please see “Peer Assessment: How the Council Makes Its Decisions,” posted on the Canada Council’s website.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Assessment of Applications (continued)

Assessment criteria

The peer assessment committee will base its review of applications on the program’s objectives and the weighted assessment criteria listed in this section. These criteria are applied within a national competitive and comparative context and with consideration to each organization’s artistic mandate, geographic and artistic environment, and available resources.

1. Artistic quality (60 percent)
   (1.1 equals 30 percent, and 1.2 plus 1.3 equals 30 percent)

1.1 Excellence in music performance and quality of programming. The merit of the organization’s artistic goals, including the success with which the orchestra meets them (in other words, the relevance of an orchestra’s programming to its mandate and audience, and the vitality of its artistic direction). (30 percent)

1.2 The organization’s commitment and contribution to the development, production and dissemination of Canadian orchestra works. (15 percent)

1.3 The organization’s commitment and contribution to the development of Canadian artists, emerging or established. (15 percent)

2. Outreach/Dissemination/Community engagement (20 percent)

- The organization’s leadership role in its community and region (for example, its educational activities, community programs, and artist development activities).

- The commitment of the organization to developing and expanding its audiences, and specifically to developing young audiences.

- The overall importance of the organization to the cultural wealth of Canada, including its impact on the Canadian orchestral music field and, where this applies, its impact internationally.

- The organization’s ability to foster and create partnerships within the community (with other arts organizations, community groups, institutions, etc.)

- The ability of the organizations to anticipate, create or respond to new opportunities and to meet community needs and expectations.
### Assessment of Applications (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Organizational health (20 percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Human Resources: The quality and coherence of the organization’s governance, management, and human resources structures and functions. Evidence of a shared vision and understanding among key stakeholders within the organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Operations: The quality and effectiveness of administrative operations as they support artistic programming and organizational stability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Planning: The quality of the organization’s long-range planning and evaluation mechanisms. The ability of the organization to plan for and support artistic growth and risk-taking into the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Resources: The quality of the organization’s financial planning and performance. The organization’s ability to manage physical resources, where this applies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please read the “Additional Information for Completing the Application Form” section for detailed explanations about the assessment criteria.

### Fair Notice to Organizations

The Canada Council is committed to a transparent process whereby performance concerns and substantial funding reductions are conveyed to organizations in a timely manner. The Canada Council recognizes the importance of maintaining organizational stability and is dedicated to providing advance notice of adjustments.

Any grant reduction of more than 20 percent requires advance notice as per the Canada Council’s Fair Notice Policy and will be applied at the next competition deadline. This policy takes effect when an organization is assessed very poorly against the program objectives and assessment criteria and/or the organization’s activities change and are no longer consistent with the program objectives.

### Concerned Status

An organization may be placed on Concerned Status if it is experiencing organizational instability (usually financial or administrative in nature.) This is a tool to monitor organizational health and to stipulate conditions that need to be satisfied in order for an organization to remain competitive in an operating program. The organization will be notified in writing explaining why the Concerned Status applies and how the organization will be monitored.
### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR COMPLETING THE APPLICATION FORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Information</th>
<th>The presentation of your application and required support material is of critical importance. You need to allow ample time to complete the application form and to organize your support material.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part C — Structure of your Organization</td>
<td>Please complete this section or provide a separate sheet showing your board and staff complement. Corporate affiliations are requested for information only. They include organizations of which the applicant is a professional member.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Part D — Basis of Assessment: Statement | Part D is a very important section of the application. The following paragraphs provide guidelines on the basis of assessment.  

**Format**  
Please limit this section to **10 pages**. This page limit **does not include** the Letter from the Chairperson of your Board (see details below). However, all other letters (artistic and administrative directors) that might be used as part of the Basis of Assessment section’s narrative are to be included in the page limit. For detailed format and layout information, please refer to page 16.  

**Note that the Canada Council will copy and forward to the peer assessment committee no more than the 10-page maximum allowed for this section.**  
You are not required to submit the maximum number of pages allowed. Peer assessment committee members have a large volume of material to read and limited time to discuss each application. It is more important to tell a concise and compelling story of your organization than to focus on volume or nonessential details.  

**Letter from the Chairperson of your Board**  
As part of your Basis of Assessment description, please attach a two- or three-page letter written and signed by the chairperson of your organization’s board of directors. Remember that the page limit indicated in Part D of the form (10 pages) does not include this letter.  
As stewards of an arts organization, the members of the board must be fully aware of the organization’s history, raison d’être and future directions. The letter from the chairperson should describe the board’s knowledge of the organization and its view of its stewardship role.  
As the representative of the board, the chairperson should demonstrate his or her knowledge and understanding of the board’s role in determining the **artistic vision** and mandate of the organization. The letter must describe the responsibilities of the board in ensuring that this vision is carried forward within the organization and the community. |
### Part D — Basis of Assessment: Statement (continued)

**Note:** Artistic vision should not be confused with programming decisions. Organizations have different ways of describing artistic vision. Generally, it is a compelling interpretation of an organization’s mission and mandate. It is an overarching statement by an organization about the art that it makes, and about the role it plays for audiences and within the community. It can be a strategic direction that is challenging and bold, and envisions the organization’s destination. It is what success will look like, even if, as a fluid concept, it may never be fully realized.

In the letter, the chairperson may describe the board’s role and strategies in the hiring of key personnel, evaluation and succession planning. The letter may describe lines of accountability within your organization (including how well they work) and aspects of governance such as board committee structures, governance policies, mechanisms for board member recruitment, and mechanisms for training and renewal.

The letter should also address the board’s responsibilities in fundraising and development. As well, the chairperson may reflect on her or his leadership role within the organization and the community, and may describe highlights or challenges from the past or current seasons. The chairperson may also address the board’s vision for the organization to move forward, as well as pending initiatives in board development or strategic planning.

**Content**

There are many ways to tell the story of your organization. It is important to inform the peer assessment committee about your organization’s past achievements, present environment, and future plans.

**Past**

For example, you may briefly describe how your organization has achieved its objectives over the previous year. You may also identify areas in which it has surpassed its goals or dealt with challenges.

**Present**

The description of your organization as it is today may include program and activity highlights, artistic achievements, community response, organizational health and current challenges. Describe your organization’s process for planning and responding to challenges, changes and opportunities.

**Future**

Describe your organization’s goals, strategies and activities for the coming season (2013-14). Where appropriate, describe the rationale for your objectives and your plan for success.
| Part D — Basis of Assessment: Statement (continued) | **Organization, Presentation and Tone**  
**Clarity**  
You may organize the material as you wish, using prose, point form, tables or photos. Make sure that your statement can be easily read and understood by the peer assessment committee members.  
**Note:** Keep in mind that you are addressing the committee members rather than the Canada Council program officer.  
You may provide letters from the artistic and administrative directors in your Part D statement. However, these letters **must** be included in the **10-page** limit allowed for this section.  
While it is important for your statement to be clear and concise, take into account the three categories of assessment criteria (and their relative weights). It will be impossible to highlight every success of your organization in the space allowed, so focus on major achievements in artistic merit, outreach and community engagement, and organizational health. If you have described specific challenges, be sure to address your organization’s plans to respond to those challenges.  
**Repetition**  
As a general rule, avoid repetition. Since some basic information might have already been stated in Part B of the application (Profile of your Organization), you may, when relevant, want to refer to this material and enrich and (or) complete it rather than repeat it. Duplication can weaken your message.  
While you may also wish to highlight important **programming choices**, you should not waste valuable space in this section by listing all programming, since this information is included in the appendices.  
**Tone**  
Ensure that descriptions of proposed plans or projects are supported by solid rationale and evidence of your organization's ability to carry them out. Avoid statements that are unsubstantiated, reactive or negative.  
Given the volume of material presented to the peer assessment committee, the clarity, tone and accuracy of your application are very important. Committee members tend to react positively to thoughtful, constructive analysis and to react negatively to vagueness or defensiveness. |
### Part D — Basis of Assessment: Statement (continued)

#### Assessment Criteria

Be sure to take into account all of the assessment criteria when completing your Part D statement. The assessment criteria are explained in detail below.

1. **Artistic Quality (60 percent)**
   
   (1.1 equals 30 percent, and 1.2 plus 1.3 equals 30 percent)

   **1.1.** Excellence in music performance and quality of programming. The merit of the organization’s artistic goals, including the success with which the orchestra meets them (in other words, the relevance of an orchestra’s programming to its mandate and audience, and the vitality of its artistic direction). (30 percent)

   This criterion refers to the artistic quality of production maintained by your orchestra, as demonstrated by the:

   - programming choices that your orchestra makes over a season or a number of seasons. The assessment focuses on how those choices reflect your orchestra’s artistic vision, how much originality and innovation your orchestra demonstrates in its programming choices, and how relevant these choices are to the audiences served and the audiences to be developed

   - vitality of the artistic direction, including the artistic director’s ability to move the vision of your organization forward, and the artistic director’s understanding (demonstrated through programming choices) of his or her role in furthering your organization’s mission within its community

   - quality of the audio material submitted with the application. Assessment is based on quality of execution, vitality and interpretation; peer assessors take community and regional context into consideration. Note that live recordings are preferred to commercially released CDs.

   Make sure that your application clearly describes the artistic mandate and niche of your organization. You should also describe the nature of the audiences served by your organization, and the directions in which you see audiences growing and developing. In view of this analysis, explain how your past and projected programming choices contribute to audience growth, and to improved dynamism and relevancy of your organization’s mandate. An organization’s ability to link such factors demonstrates the vitality of its artistic direction and vision.
| Part D — Basis of Assessment: Statement (continued) | 1.2. The organization’s commitment and contribution to the development, production and dissemination of Canadian orchestra works. (15 percent)  
This criterion refers to the activities that your orchestra undertakes to support the development and production of Canadian works and to promote this repertoire. This can include premiere presentations of works commissioned and presented by your orchestra, subsequent performances of substantial works drawn from the Canadian orchestra repertoire, programs or activities related to the development of new or existing Canadian orchestra works (such as new music festivals, workshops, composers-in-residence), and other initiatives that advance Canadian creation/reertoire.  
Indicate clearly which programming choices come from the Canadian repertoire (see Appendix A1), and as with all other aspects of programming, explain how the choices relate to your orchestra’s overall vision. Describe your strategies to heighten public appreciation for Canadian repertoire. For development activities, indicate how your orchestra’s creative resources are applied to ensure that these activities produce results. |
|---|---|
| 1.3. The organization’s commitment and contribution to the development of Canadian artists, emerging or established. (15 percent)  
This criterion refers primarily to the contribution that your orchestra makes to the ongoing development of Canadian artists (performers, conductors, composers, etc.) as demonstrated by such development and training activities as residencies, mentorships and workshops. It includes opportunities provided for new and emerging artists, culturally diverse groups, etc., as well as work opportunities for professional Canadian soloists and conductors over the course of their careers.  
Highlight key activities that your orchestra undertakes to achieve this objective. Also indicate what role you see your orchestra playing in contributing to the ongoing development of current and future generations of Canadian soloists and conductors. |
Part D — Basis of Assessment: Statement (continued)

2. Outreach/Dissemination/Community engagement (20 percent)

- The organization’s leadership role in its community and region (for example, its educational activities, community programs and artist development activities).

- The commitment of the organization to developing and expanding its audiences, and specifically to developing young audiences.

- The overall importance of the organization to the cultural wealth of Canada, including its impact on the Canadian orchestral music field and, where this applies, its impact internationally.

- The organization’s ability to foster and create partnerships within the community (with other arts organizations, community groups, institutions, etc.)

- The ability of the organization to anticipate, create or respond to new opportunities and to meet community needs and expectations.

This section refers to your orchestra’s engagement with its present stakeholders, as well as to its initiatives in finding and responding to new or non-traditional audience groups. Outreach refers to contact and dissemination activities, often (although not always) considered to be the activities that take place outside the main concert venue. Assessment will be based on the orchestra’s initiatives to expand its adult audiences, develop young audiences (the audiences of the future), reach diverse demographic groups, and contribute to the dissemination of and advocacy for orchestral music and its artists.

Here you may describe how you have identified the core audience of your orchestra and the measures you undertake on a regular basis to strengthen and expand that core base of support. You may also outline your strategies (marketing or other, short or long-term) to build your audience’s knowledge of and appreciation for Canadian works.

The peer assessment committee members evaluate not only the type and frequency of outreach activities, but also their quality. Indicators of quality may include innovation, creativity, appropriateness, alignment with organizational objectives, or the use of creative partnerships. Your organization’s leadership role in the community will be considered, not only as a responsive entity, but also in creating needs and expectations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part D — Basis of Assessment: Statement (continued)</th>
<th>3. <strong>Organizational Health (20 percent)</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Human Resources: The quality and coherence of the organization’s governance, management and human resources structures and functions. Evidence of a shared vision and understanding among key stakeholders within the organization.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Operations: The quality and effectiveness of administrative operations as they support artistic programming and organizational stability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Planning: The quality of the organization’s long-range planning and evaluation mechanisms. The ability of the organization to plan for and support artistic growth and risk-taking into the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Resources: The quality of the organization’s financial planning and performance. The organization’s ability to manage physical resources, where this applies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This section refers to how the administrative infrastructure of your organization supports and strengthens its artistic mandate. It also refers to how the administrative infrastructure provides a framework for your organization to manage changes within its financial, economic and geographic environment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The peer assessment committee may consider:</td>
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<tr>
<td>- the effectiveness of the management and administrative structures, in the context of how they support your organization’s artistic objectives</td>
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<tr>
<td>- the effectiveness of your organization’s human resources management, including staffing policies, training, internal communications, and the level of engagement of staff and musicians in your organization’s vision</td>
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<tr>
<td>- the strength of governance, including the existence of clear and updated governance policies and procedures (this may include descriptions of roles and responsibilities, lines of accountability, board recruitment, training and renewal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- the demonstration of an understanding of the role of the board both as steward of your organization’s vision and mandate, and in strengthening your organization’s link to the community</td>
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<tr>
<td>- the effective allocation of resources to production, marketing and administration, and accurate forecasting of changes to this allocation</td>
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<tr>
<td>- the existence of clear and coherent planning tools for project management, program planning and organizational planning, and the use of program evaluation procedures</td>
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<tr>
<td>- the diversification of revenue sources, as demonstrated by strategies and achievements</td>
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</table>
Part D — Basis of Assessment: Statement (continued)

- the financial stability of your organization, as demonstrated by an appropriate balance between expenses and revenues, and the ability to forecast the potential risks associated with a project or with expansion plans; plans for the organization to develop capacity to respond to future contingency or artistic risk.

The administrative structure of your organization should be clear to the peer assessment committee. You may describe how the operating budgets are developed, and if your organization has made major changes to its budgeting process, you should provide a rationale for the changes.

Explain large discrepancies between past budget projections and actual figures, and describe measures planned to deal with the results and to provide more accurate forecasting in the future.

**Deficit Reduction Plan**

The Music Section takes into consideration temporary financial difficulties that may result from any number of circumstances. However, an organization’s ability to plan for and effectively manage risk is an indicator of organizational health. The Music Section does not encourage poor management of Canada Council funds, particularly if the severity of an accumulated deficit prevents an organization from fully achieving its artistic mandate.

The Canada Council considers an accumulated deficit with the following characteristics to be an indicator of financial, organizational or artistic instability:

- the deficit has increased over the past three years, up to the current season, or
- the deficit equals 20 percent or more of your organization’s revenues and thus negatively affects its artistic vitality.

If your organization is in either position, you must provide, in a separate document, an explanation for the deficit and propose a plan to reduce or eliminate it. Your explanation and plan should not exceed two pages (unless otherwise stipulated by the Music Section). Please note that these pages will not be included in the maximum page count for Part D of the application. Submit this information as an attachment to your Part D statement. The peer assessment committee will carefully examine this document.

Supplementary documents that address the deficit (such as a strategic plan or business plan) are not acceptable. Instead, provide an executive summary of any such document, focusing on the deficit reduction plan.
### IMPORTANT INFORMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Processing the Application</th>
<th>Application preparation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>You are responsible for providing all the information and support material requested.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Canada Council will make decisions about your eligibility based on the information you provide in your application.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Submit only the material requested. Extra material will not be shown to the peer assessment committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carefully choose the material you submit in support of your application as committee members have limited time in which to study each grant application.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do not submit originals. The Canada Council is not responsible for the loss or damage of support material submitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is important to inform the Canada Council of any changes to your contact details.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Format and Layout

All the documents requested and the application form must be submitted:

- printed on one side only
- on separate sheets of **white** paper (letter format, 8½ x 11 inches)
- with a **black** font size of 12 points or larger
- with one-inch margins
- with a suggested line-spacing of 1.5
- with paper clips (documents cannot be bound, placed under plastic or stapled).

Avoid unusual formatting as it can make documents hard to read.

### Acknowledgement of receipt

The Canada Council for the Arts will send you a notice acknowledging that your application has been received. It does not confirm that your application is eligible.

### Response time

You will be informed of the result of your application approximately **four months** after the application deadline. The Canada Council does not release results by telephone or email.

You can access the Searchable Grants Listing, a database of successful grant applicants, at [www.canadacouncil.ca/grants/recipients](http://www.canadacouncil.ca/grants/recipients). You can also contact the Canada Council, in writing, to request the list of peer assessors. This information will be available six months after you have been informed of the competition results.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Information</th>
<th>The Privacy Act gives individuals the right to access and request correction of personal information about themselves. The Canada Council will protect personal information as required by the Privacy Act. The information will be stored in a series of Canada Council data banks described in Info Source, a government publication that is available on the Internet. All other information may be accessible to others under the Access to Information Act. The Canada Council for the Arts may share information related to applications and awards with officials in other arts and cultural industry funding agencies, on a confidential basis, to assist with program planning and evaluation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Grant Terms and Conditions | **If your application is successful,** the terms and conditions will be outlined in the grant notification letter. These are some of the conditions:  
**Grant payment**  
The Canada Council will pay these grants in two instalments each year, **unless your organization has been placed on Concerned Status.**  
The first payment will be sent to you once the Canada Council has received your grant acknowledgement form and after you have satisfied any conditions that are described in your grant notification letter.  
**Should its parliamentary appropriation be reduced,** the Canada Council may adjust funding commitments in a multi-year cycle.  
The Canada Council also reserves the right to:  
* redistribute, delay or suspend payments if the organization does not carry out its planned program of activities; undergoes major changes in artistic and/or administrative direction; or does not meet its obligations as a grant recipient, including the requirement to submit regular reports to the Canada Council and comply with the acknowledgement policy.**  
**Acknowledgement of Canada Council for the Arts support**  
You must acknowledge the support of the Canada Council for the Arts in all promotional material associated with the grant. Details about the acknowledgement policy will be included with the grant notification letter.  
**Final report**  
You will be required to submit a final report on how you used the grant. This report must be submitted by the date identified in your grant notification letter. |
### Music: Grants to Professional Orchestras

- The Canada Council for the Arts requires only one copy of the application form. Type or print in black ink to make your submission easier to photocopy.
- Do not bind your completed application form (in other words, do not use spiral binding, mount it in plastic, staple it, and so on).
- If you are completing the form on a computer, use the following format.

**PART A1 - IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of applicant (legal name of organization):</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of person completing this application (if same as applicant, please repeat here):</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Permanent address of applicant:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street address and apartment or suite number</td>
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<tr>
<td>City</td>
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<tr>
<td>Province or territory</td>
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<td>Postal code</td>
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<td>Telephone</td>
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<td>Fax</td>
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<td>Email</td>
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<tr>
<td>Website</td>
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</table>

**PART A2 – CADAC ID**

Please provide your CADAC ID below.

**CADAC ID:**

**Note:** Go to the CADAC (Canadian Arts Data/Données sur les arts au Canada) website at [www.thecadac.ca](http://www.thecadac.ca) to register your organization. You will receive your CADAC ID through an email confirmation from CADAC. You must indicate this number above or your application will be considered incomplete.

**PART A3 – AMOUNT REQUESTED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount requested for 2013-14: $__________</th>
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</thead>
</table>

**Financial year-end** (day/month) __________
PART A4 — DECLARATION

In which language do you prefer to communicate with the Canada Council? □ English □ French

For your organization to be eligible for consideration, you must sign below to confirm your agreement with all of the following statements:

As representatives of the applicant organization:

• We have carefully read the eligibility criteria for this program, which are described in the application guidelines, and confirm that the organization we represent meets the eligibility criteria.

• We accept the conditions of the program and agree to abide by the Canada Council’s decision.

• We are aware that the Canada Council is subject to the Access to Information Act and Privacy Act, as described in the application guidelines.

We confirm that the statements in this application are complete and accurate, to the best of our knowledge.

President/ Chairperson    Artistic Director    General Manager/ Administrative Director

Signature    Signature    Signature

(ORIGINAL SIGNATURES ARE REQUIRED)

Date    Date    Date
## PART B — PROFILE OF YOUR ORGANIZATION

It is your responsibility to maintain an up-to-date profile of your organization each time you apply to this program. Please describe your organization, and the events or activities that have marked its development. Use a maximum of **1,000 words** (approximately **two pages**), on separate sheets and print on one side only of white, 8½ x 11 inch paper, in a font size of 12 points or larger.

Please address the points below:

### Factual information

- The legal mandate of your organization (if it is incorporated).
- The artistic mission statement of your organization.
- A brief history (including date established, milestones and accomplishments).
- Other relevant information concerning ongoing activities such as training programs, touring activities, special initiatives, etc.

### Contextual information

- The particular place and role your organization occupies in your art form.
- The context in which you work (how, for example, you see your organization within the ecology of your discipline in a regional, national and, if applicable, international context?)
**PART C — STRUCTURE OF YOUR ORGANIZATION**

Complete Part C to provide information on the structure of your organization, or submit a separate sheet that provides the information requested. Corporate affiliations are requested for information purposes only. They include organizations of which your organization is a professional member.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Board of directors</th>
<th>Details of incorporation (if this applies)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President or Chairperson:</td>
<td>The organization is incorporated under the following name:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past President:</td>
<td>Type of charter:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer:</td>
<td>Date of charter:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Board Members:</td>
<td>Charitable licence number:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Permanent artistic staff (names and titles)</th>
<th>Permanent administrative staff (names and titles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of full-time employees</th>
<th>Corporate affiliations (if this applies)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of part-time employees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART D — BASIS OF ASSESSMENT: STATEMENT

This is a very important section of the application. Please consult the “Additional Information for Completing the Application Form” section of the program guidelines before completing this section.

Please detail your organization’s past achievements, present environment and future plans. When completing this section, be sure to address the assessment criteria described in the application guidelines. Note that the peer assessment committee will take into consideration each organization’s artistic mission, geographic and artistic environment, and available resources when applying the assessment criteria.

Please limit this section to 10 pages. This page limit does not include the Letter from the Chairperson of your Board (see details below). However, all other letters (artistic and administrative directors) that might be used as part of the Basis of Assessment (Statement) section’s narrative are to be included in the page limit. Use a font size of 12 points or larger and, using one-inch margins, print on one-side only of white, 8 ½ X 11 inch paper. A minimum line spacing of 1.5 is suggested. Do not staple or hole-punch the pages. Note that the Canada Council will copy and forward to the peer assessment committee no more than the 10-page maximum allowed for this section.

You are not required to submit the maximum number of pages allowed. Peer assessment committee members have a large volume of material to read and limited time to discuss each application. It is more important to tell a clear and compelling story of your organization than to focus on volume or non-essential details.

Letter from the Chairperson of your Board

As part of your Basis of Assessment (Statement) description, please attach a two- or three-page letter written and signed by the chairperson of your organization’s board of directors. See the Additional information for completing the application form section of the guidelines for details on what should be covered in the letter. Remember that the page limit indicated in Part D of the form (10 pages) does not include this letter.
PART E — SUMMARY OF MAJOR ACTIVITIES

All appendices attached to this form are an essential part of your application. They must be completed and submitted with your application.

Carefully follow the directions concerning the information required for each season.

Appendix A1 – Canadian Repertoire and Performers

Provide a list of programs/series in Appendix A1 for the current season (2012-13) and the next season (2013-14). List all concert series and indicate how many programs there are in each of them. Also, calculate the overall number of Canadian works to be performed in each series. Identify the Canadian repertoire and add the requested information (duration of works, premieres and commissions). The last column should include the names of all Canadian soloists and guest artists performing in a given series.

Appendix A2 – Overall Programming

Use Appendix A2 or include your own detailed list of repertoire and soloists/guest artists/conductors for the current season (2012-13) and the next season (2013-14). Please group your concerts by series.

Also include brief points on any other programming activities that your organization has planned for each of these seasons.

Appendix A3 – Young Audience Programming

Provide information for the current season (2012-13) and the next season (2013-14). List the names of series, events or stand-alone concerts intended for young audiences. Indicate how many concerts are included in the series or events, where the activity is taking place, and the venue’s capacity. For the current season only, calculate the total audience reached.

Appendix B — Dissemination Activities (Performance and Attendance Statistics)

Provide information for last season (2011-12), the current season (2012-13) and next season (2013-14).

Please note the following:

Hall capacity

- Enter the venue’s number of seats in the Main Hall, Second Hall or Tours rows as appropriate.
- For multiple performances of a concert program or for a concert series, multiply the hall capacity by the number of performances and enter this number in the appropriate row.

Percentage of paying attendees per hall capacity

- Add the number of tickets sold, either through subscription or as singles, for all performances of a particular concert program (or in a concert series).
- Divide this sum by the total hall capacity related to this particular concert program (or to the concert series).
- Multiply the result by 100 to obtain the percentage of paying attendees to be entered in the appropriate row.
PART E — SUMMARY OF MAJOR ACTIVITIES (continued)

Appendix C — Employment Statistics and Selected Budget Expenses

Provide information for last season (2011-12), the current season (2012-13) and next season (2013-14).

Please note the following:

**Full-season contract musicians**: professional musicians on salary or professional self-employed core musicians for whom the orchestra’s fees represent a living wage or a major portion of their revenues. Full-season contract musicians usually work under an agreement providing them with a guaranteed number of services over the performance season, receive remuneration through regular instalments (such as bi-weekly payments), and can be considered full-time members of the organization. (In the “CADAC Statistical Form” use line 2345 “Number of artists to whom your organization paid artists’ salaries” to record this information.)

**Per service contract musicians**: musicians for whom orchestra fees do not represent the main portion of their revenues. They may work regularly with the orchestra through the whole performance season under an agreement that guarantees their position/rank in the ensemble. (In the “CADAC Statistical Form” use line 2345 “Number of artists to whom your organization paid artists’ salaries” to record this information.)

**Extra musicians**: musicians who are hired at will and are paid fees for occasional services with the orchestra. (In the “CADAC Statistical Form” use line 2340 “Total number of artists to whom your organization paid artists’ fees” to record this information).
PART F – FINANCIAL AND STATISTICAL INFORMATION

The information provided in this part, in the form of financial reports and budget forecasts, allows the Canada Council to determine the extent to which the organization exhibits sound financial management and viable budget forecasts. Statistical information provided through CADAC enables the Canada Council to collect aggregate data for research and reporting on all arts organizations that we fund in our operating grants programs, while also allowing organizations to generate their own useful reports.

To submit your financial and statistical information for this application, you must use the “CADAC Financial Form for Arts Organizations” and the “CADAC Statistical Form for Arts Organizations” at www.thecadac.ca.

**CADAC Financial Form for Arts Organizations**  
You are required to submit financial information for the two previous seasons (2010-11 and 2011-12), the current season (2012-13) and the next season (2013-14).

**CADAC Statistical Form for Arts Organizations**  
You are also required to submit statistical information to CADAC for the current season (2012-13 projections) and for the previous two seasons (2010-11 and 2011-12).

Follow these steps to download, complete, upload and submit the forms to CADAC:

**STEP 1**  
Register your organization with CADAC at www.thecadac.ca as early as possible to ensure that you have enough time to assemble and submit the required financial and statistical information.

**STEP 2**  
Download, complete and upload and submit in CADAC the “Financial Form for Arts Organizations” and “Statistical Form for Arts Organizations”. Repeat this step if you need to add to and (or) change your financial or statistical information, or if you are filling out the form for another year.

OR

Enter your financial and statistical information directly in CADAC, save and press the ‘Submit’ button.

**STEP 3**  
Submit your organization’s financial statements to CADAC, if you have them in an electronic version. If not, mail your signed copies to CADAC at the address below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CADAC FINANCIAL STATEMENTS SUBMISSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>350 Albert Street,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.O. Box 1047,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa, ON K1P 5V8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please note that the following type of financial statement is required by the Canada Council for the Arts. If your organization’s last Canada Council annual operating grant was:

- $100,000 or more, you are required to submit an audited financial statement
- between $50,001 and $99,999, you are required to submit a review engagement
- $50,000 or less, you are required to submit an internal financial statement.

If your organization is a new applicant to this program, you may submit internally prepared financial documents. Other audited financial statements must also be submitted for any holding companies, parent companies or foundations with which the organization is associated, and for any subsidiaries, related companies or special trust funds that the organization controls.
PART F – FINANCIAL AND STATISTICAL INFORMATION (continued)

BUDGET NOTES

The CADAC Financial Form allows you to add some annotations to your budget, but on a limited number of categories only. Please provide, when appropriate, further detailed notes to clarify any ambiguity that might arise from aggregated figures, unusual variances, and so on. Please include these notes on separate sheets and make direct reference to the CADAC Financial Form’s exact line numbers to which your notes apply. Include these sheets with your application form or attach them at the end of your financial statements when you submit them electronically to CADAC.

PART G1 — SUPPORT MATERIAL

You must include with your application:

- one copy of brochures and print materials from the current (2012-13) and two previous seasons (2010-11, 2011-12)
- a maximum of two recordings of recent performances by the orchestra (recordings of live performances are preferable to commercially released CDs).

The peer assessment committee has limited time available to review applications. It is therefore in your best interest to present well-organized and clearly labeled material and to indicate the preferred listening/viewing order of the two samples. It is also useful to add additional cues within your audio/video material and to specify which part(s) of each sample the peer assessment committee should start with. You may direct the committee to different parts of the recording by providing cue information in Part G2.

The Canada Council prefers to receive the recordings on a single disc. Recordings may be submitted on a CD, CD-R, DVD, DVD-R, USB key or Blu-ray disc.

The Canada Council for the Arts has access to rooms offering 5.1 Surround capabilities.

Audio files must be submitted on a CD, CD-R or USB key. Audio files must be:

- Uncompressed in aif, aiff, wav format or
- Lossless (.flac, .m4a, .mp4) or
- Compressed (.mp3, .wma).

Videos must be submitted on one CD-R, DVD, DVD-R, USB key or Blu-ray disc. Video files must be:

- in .avi, .mov, .mpg, or .mpeg format

Test your material before you submit it to ensure that it is formatted correctly. It is your responsibility to ensure that all material reaches the Canada Council intact and in a readable format. Audio and audiovisual support material will be returned to you. Paper support material, including brochures and press reviews, will be retained in your Canada Council file.
**PART G2 – DESCRIPTION OF SUBMITTED AUDIO OR AUDIOVISUAL SUPPORT MATERIAL**

Please send a maximum of two recordings of recent performances on one clearly indexed CD, CD-R, DVD, DVD-R, USB key or Blu-ray disc.

Clearly label your support material with the applicant’s name and complete the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 1</th>
<th>Item 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Title:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Running time:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Running time:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recording date:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recording date:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Composer:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Composer:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Performers:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Performers:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Brief description of your reasons for choosing this particular support material:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Brief description of your reasons for choosing this particular support material:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track number:</td>
<td>Track number:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicate cues:</td>
<td>Indicate cues:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- CD
- CD-R
- DVD
- DVD-R
- USB key
- Blu-ray disc

**PART H — CHECKLIST**
Please check the boxes below to confirm that you have submitted all relevant parts of the application form and all required support material. Be sure to put your name on all items.

You must include the following items in the order shown below.

- Part A1 – Identification of applicant
- Part A2 – CADAC ID
- Part A3 – Amount requested
- Part A4 – Declaration (original signatures are required)
- Part B – Profile of your organization (max. 1,000 words)
- Part C – Structure of your organization
- Part D – Basis of assessment: Statement
  - Basis of assessment (maximum 10 pages)
  - Letter from the chairperson of your board
  - Deficit reduction plan (if this applies)
- Part E – Summary of major activities
  - Appendix A1 – Canadian repertoire and performers for the appropriate seasons
  - Appendix A2 – Overall programming for the appropriate seasons
  - Appendix A3 – Young audience programming for the appropriate seasons
  - Appendix B – Dissemination activities for the appropriate seasons
  - Appendix C – Employment statistics and selected budget expenses for the appropriate seasons
- Part F – Financial and statistical information
  - “CADAC Financial Form for Arts Organizations,” submitted electronically to CADAC
  - Budget Notes
  - “CADAC Statistical Form for Arts Organizations,” submitted electronically to CADAC
  - Signed financial statements submitted electronically to CADAC (audited financial statements, review engagement or an internal financial statement — see the instructions in Part F)
# PART H – CHECKLIST (continued)

- Part G1 – Support material
  - One copy of brochures and print materials from the appropriate seasons
  - Two recordings of recent performances by your orchestra

- Part G2 – Description of submitted audio or video support material

## Send your application to:

**Music Section**  
Canada Council for the Arts  
350 Albert Street, P.O. Box 1047  
Ottawa ON K1P 5V8
References


Buttrick, John. *Public Funding of the Arts: An Economic Examination, Working Paper*
No. 90-1 Department of Economics, Working Paper Series. Toronto: York University, 1990?


“Guidelines and Application Form.” Under *Music*


“Notes from the Jazz/Folk Music Advisory Committee 1994-95.” Private Collection. Ottawa: Canada Council Touring Office.


——“Voluntary Self-Identification Form.” Under Peer Assessment. 


Canadian Conference of the Arts. “About the CCA.” Canadian Conference of the Arts. 


——“The MAPL system – defining a Canadian song.” Ottawa, August 8, 2010 


Harbourfront Centre. “Press Release.”


Hill, Kelly. “Mapping Artists and Cultural Workers in Canada’s Large Cities.” In Arts Research Monitor 9, no. 4 (October, 2010)

———“Artists in Canada’s Provinces and Territories.” Arts Research Monitor 7, no. 10 (Hill Strategies, 2009)


———.“How Applications are Selected for Funding.” http://www.arts.on.ca/Page74.aspx (accessed June 29, 2012).


