

Notes

1 The Case Study

- 1 The quotations used for this vignette come from Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6406 (B280543), File: Clippings – International Institute, 1959–70, Ralph Hyman, “They Oil the Hinges of Integration’s Door,” *Toronto Globe Magazine*, 20 Feb. 1960; MU6422 (B280579), File: Intercom Copies 1957, Nell West, “What Is the Institute?,” *Intercom*, April 1957; MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, Mrs W.E. West (hereafter West) to Controller Jean Newman, Toronto City Hall, 28 March 1957. Note that issues of the Institute newsletter *Intercom* cited in this chapter are from designated files in MU6422 (B280579) and MU6442.
- 2 I conducted selective research on a dozen US Institutes and the central body (or headquarters) in New York City. Immigration History Research Center Archives, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota (hereafter IHRCA), American Council for Nationalities Service records, which contain the American Federation of International Institutes (AFII) collection.
- 3 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983, 2006). For the critique that Anderson’s theorization of an imagined community as a “horizontal comradeship” (7) among members who do not necessarily know each other glossed over the (irreconcilable) divisions of class, race, gender, and ideology in nationalist movements, see, for example, Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000), 65–75.
- 4 Part 4 examines these themes, but a tiny sample of this work includes Bannerji, *Dark Side of the Nation*; Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction” and “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914,” in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); 263–308; Geneviève Fabre, Jürgen Heideking, and Kai Dreisch, eds., *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American Festive Culture from the Revolution to the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001).

- 5 A tiny sample of the extensive literature on social work as progressive and regulatory practice includes Judith Ann Trolander, *Professionalism and Social Change from the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers, 1886 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Mark Peel, *Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse: Social Work and the Story of Poverty in America, Australia, and Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880–1960* (New York: Penguin Books 1989); and the publications on the US International Institutes discussed below.
- 6 For a valuable contribution to the genre of institutional studies that focuses on immigrant organizations, see the Theme Issue on Immigrant Organizations, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 5 (2005), with guest editors Marlou Shrover and Floris Vermeulen. Most essays focus on organizations initiated by immigrants (or their children), but those by Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán (on New York), Irene Bloemraad (Toronto), and José Moya (a sweeping global overview) examine or refer to community-based organizations that share characteristics with the International Institutes.
- 7 University of Pittsburgh, Nationality Rooms, <https://www.nationalityrooms.pitt.edu/rooms> (last accessed 15 April 2022); Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 92–4.
- 8 See, for example, Kanishka Goonewardena and Stefan Kipfer, “Spaces of Difference: Reflections from Toronto on Multiculturalism, Bourgeois Urbanism and the Possibility of Radical Urban Politics,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 3 (2005): 670–8; Mariana Valverde, “The Ethic of Diversity: Local Law and the Negotiation of Urban Norms,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 33, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 895–923.
- 9 For just two examples of media references to the Raptors tapping into Toronto’s diversity, see Tim Reynolds, “The Raptors Diversity Serves Them Well as Global Champions,” *National Post*, 15 June 2019; <https://www.si.com/nba/raptors/news/diversity-social-change>; Gamal Abdel-Shehid, “Toronto’s Multicultural Raptors: Teamwork and Individualism,” *The Conversation*, 3 June 2019, <https://theconversation.com/torontos-multicultural-raptors-teamwork-and-individualism-118141> (both last accessed 30 April 2021).
- 10 City of Toronto Archives (CTA), Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPC) SC40, Box 6, File: 25-I, M, EG, Problems of the New Immigrant Co-ordinating Committee, 1951–4, Minutes, 26 Feb. 1953; AO, MU6472, Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, N.S. Bojovic, “The International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto and Its Services,” Address to Forest Hill Collegiate, 11 Feb. 1960.
- 11 J.B. Thomas, “Open Door to Canada,” *Food for Thought*, Nov. 1954, 20; AO, MU6381, File: St Andrew’s House Study, Toronto Welfare Council Report (TWC), 1954.

- 12 MU6381, File: St Andrew's House Study, 1954–5, TWC Report 1954 and Report 7 Dec. 1955. Alex Freund, "Troubling Memories in Nation-building: World War II Memories and Germans' Inter-ethnic Encounters in Canada after 1945," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 39, no. 77 (2006): 129–55.
- 13 CTA, SC40, Box 53, File: 2-A-IIMT [1956–63], Florence Philpott (director) to Clarence Weaver, Community Chest of Niagara Falls, NY, 1 March 1956 (copy to Boston Institute); AO, MU6381, File: Governing Committee Minutes, 1952–6, Minutes, 6 Oct. 1956; Minutes, 14 Dec. 1955, Appendix, Jack Thomas (St Andrew's warden), Report on Detroit Institute; Warden's Report on American Federation of International Institutes, 27 Jan. 1956.
- 14 "Junior League Sponsors New Canadian Service," *Toronto Star*, 23 Oct. 1954; AO, MU6380, File: Board of Directors, New Canadians Service Association of Ontario (hereafter NCSA), 1952; MU6474, File: Immigrant Assistance, 1957–61, Memorandum Draft – History of Institute (contains errors); MU6380, File: Reports, Report on NCSA, 21 July 1955.
- 15 Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), ch. 7; Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), ch. 5. For the debate over the rapid demise or continuing influence of British values in sixties-era English Canada, see, respectively, José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945–71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), and C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964–1968* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010). My evidence suggests the co-existence of a growing civic nationalism and a continuing commitment to British values.
- 16 Volunteer quoted in Florence Schill, "Full-Time Organizer Aids Work of New Canadian Services," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 8 Dec. 1954. On post-1945 and 1960s contexts, see, for example, Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919–1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), chs. 5–6; Igartua, *Other Quiet Revolution*; Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), ch. 2; Lara A. Campbell, Dominique Clement, and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).
- 17 On this theme see Margaret Wills, *A Marriage of Convenience: Business and Social Work in Toronto, 1918–1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), and Shirley Tillotson, *Contributing Citizens: Modern Charitable Funds and the Making of the Welfare State, 1920–1966* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).
- 18 Personnel files and *Intercom* profiles in Toronto Institute collection at AO; *Toronto Star* 13 Dec. 1960, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/david-croll> (R. Bothwell); <https://www>

- [.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/james-robbins-kidd](https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/james-robbins-kidd) (S. Mowat) (both last accessed 29 April 2021).
- 19 Schill, “Full-Time Organizer.” In the sources, married women were referred to by others and referred to themselves by their husband’s name. When able to locate a first name, I included it.
 - 20 *Globe and Mail*, 24 Aug. 1957 and 29 Nov. 1984; *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jean-lumb> (A. Chan); Polish Language and Literature, University of Toronto, Ungar, <https://sites.utoronto.ca/slavic/polish/donors.html> (both last accessed 29 April 2021).
 - 21 Personnel files and *Intercom* profiles in Toronto Institute collection at AO; *Globe and Mail*, 8 Dec. 1954, 1 June 1955, 10 Sept. 1956, 25 Feb. and 14 April 1958, 9 July 1963, 27 May 1971, 18 Oct. 1990; on Senathirajah, obituary, <https://www.legacy.com/ca/obituaries/thestar/name/nallamma-senathirajah-obituary?pid=190763876> (last accessed 12 Oct. 2021); on McBain/Isserstedt, 1956 Voters List, [ancestry.ca](https://www.ancestry.ca). Jennings served as board president during the agency’s final year in 1974.
 - 22 British immigrant John de Montfort was fired and the position was eliminated for several years. MU6425, File: Staff Restructuring, West to Marie Rosenberg, 26 March 1963; File: Montfort, resume, notes.
 - 23 Personnel files and *Intercom* profile (April 1957) in Toronto Institute collection at AO; Croll cited in *Intercom* Dec. 1965; Archer cited in *Intercom* 1 Oct. 1968; *Globe and Mail* 1 March 1942, 8 Dec. 1954, 20 Feb. 1960, 1 March and 27 May 1961, 10 Aug. and 13 Oct. 1965.
 - 24 The points system favoured education, job skills, and the ability to speak English or French.
 - 25 MU6410 (B280597), File: Executive Director Correspondence, Mr Philip, 19 Dec. 1967.
 - 26 MU6424, File: Executive Director Personnel, 1956–62, Personnel 1960–1 and Forbell to Gellner, 28 March 1961; *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/john-gellner> (last accessed 29 April 2021).
 - 27 MU6425 (B280562), File: John Seaman, biographical sketch 1965; *Intercom* Oct. 1965, 12. Edward Roy and Charles Borque served very briefly in 1967 and 1973, respectively.
 - 28 Quoting Jack Jedwab, “Multiculturalism,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/multiculturalism> (last accessed 29 April 2021).
 - 29 The Institute’s use of the term “nationality group” to refer to the members of a given nation or to an ethnic group creates some ambiguity, but this number likely combined both meanings.
 - 30 Unless otherwise specified, the following summary of the US Institutes draws on Raymond A. Mohl, “The International Institute Movement and Ethnic Pluralism,” *Social Science* 56, no.1 (Winter 1998): 14–21; Mohl, “Cultural Pluralism in Immigrant Education: The International Institutes of Boston, Philadelphia, and San

- Francisco, 1920–1940,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 35–58; Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten, “Paternalism and Pluralism: Immigrants and Social Welfare in Gary, Indiana, 1906–1940,” *American Studies* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1974): 15–26; Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), ch. 5; entry on Bremer in Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green, *Notable American Women: The Modern Period* (Cambridge MA/London: Radcliffe College, 1980), 105–7.
- 31 Marilyn Fischer, “Jane Addams on Cultural Pluralism, European Immigrants and African Americans,” *The Pluralist* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 38–58, and the more critical Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, ch. 5; Rudolph J. Vecoli, “Louis Adamic and the Contemporary Search for Roots,” *Ethnic Studies* 2 (1978): 29–35; Gerald Meyer, “The Cultural Pluralist Response to Americanization: Horace Kallen, Randolph Bourne, Louis Adamic, and Leonard Covello,” *Socialism and Democracy* 22, no. 3 (Nov. 2008): 19–51; John P. Enyeart, “Revolutionizing Cultural Pluralism: The Political Odyssey of Louis Adamic, 1932–1951,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 34, no. 3 (Spring 2015): 58–90; and references below.
 - 32 On this theme, see Dorothea Browder, “A ‘Christian Solution of the Labor Situation’: How Workingwomen Reshaped the YWCA’s Religious Mission and Politics,” *Journal of Women’s History* 19, no. 2 (2007): 85–110.
 - 33 Andrew Urban, “Social Work and Substantive Justice: The International Institutes’ Response to Discriminatory Immigration and Naturalization Laws, 1924–1945,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 37, no.1 (Fall 2017): 5–29; Mohl, “Cultural Pluralism,” 45–7.
 - 34 Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, ch. 5, esp. 222–9, 240–9.
 - 35 Donna Gabaccia, *Immigration and American Diversity: A Social and Cultural History* (Malden: Blackwell, 2002), 209–16.
 - 36 Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 16–20, 207; Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).
 - 37 Gabaccia, *Immigration*, 202–3; Aristide Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), 303, 321, 580.
 - 38 IHRCa, International Institutes, Box 271, File Folder: 10, Edith Terry Bremer, “Development of Private Social Work with the Foreign Born,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* CCLII (March 1949); Box 278, File Folder: 1, William Bernard, “The International Institute Movement and Its Contribution to American Cultural Vitality,” 27 Jan. 1956.
 - 39 The International Services in London ran an International House that Toronto Institute folks visited in May 1966. *Intercom*, May–June 1966; Loewen and Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities*, chs. 3–4.

- 40 Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *Making the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 364; Reg Whitaker, *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987), 12–13; Jordan Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Post-War Toronto and Philadelphia* (University of Chicago Press, 2009), 5–18, 30–2.
- 41 James Lemon, *Toronto since 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1985), chs. 3–4; Toronto History Museums, “The History of Toronto: An 11,000 Year Journey, The Modern Metropolis from 1951,” <https://www.toronto.ca/explore-enjoy/history-art-culture/museums/virtual-exhibits/history-of-toronto/the-modern-metropolis-from-1951/> (last accessed 9 April 2021). Between 1951 and 1971, the percentage of Roman Catholics in the city grew from 20 to 39 per cent. For Metropolitan Toronto, the figures were 17 and 34 per cent. Lemon, *Toronto*, 197.
- 42 The figure for the city was 44 per cent. Lemon, *Toronto*, 196.
- 43 Kelley and Trebilcock, *Making the Mosaic*, 354, 579n3.
- 44 Statistics Canada, “100 Years of Immigration,” <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2016006-eng.htm> (last accessed 9 April 2021).
- 45 From Michael Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Groups in Toronto, 1971–2001: A Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile* (Toronto: Institute for Social Research, York University, Jan. 2006), Table 1.1, p. 100.
- 46 From Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Groups in Toronto*, Table 1.1, p. 100. The 1981 figures are as follows: South Asia (71,490); Caribbean (54,960); South and Central America (18,790). On Blacks, the total number of 121,875, or just over 4 per cent, is documented in “Overview Report, Demographical Portrait of the Black Community in the GTA, Black Experience Project, Environics Institute,” https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/black-experience-project-gta/black-experience-project-gta---4-demographic-portrait-of-the-black-community-in-the-gta.pdf?sfvrsn=32b221cd_2 (last accessed 9 April 2021).
- 47 For a general description of the groups, see Kelley and Trebilcock, *Making the Mosaic*, chs. 8–9.
- 48 This outburst of racism led to the municipal-sponsored Task Force on Human Relations report, *Now Is Not Too Late* (Toronto: Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1977). See also Sheyfali Saujani, “Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony: Feminist Debates, Multicultural Mandates, and Reassessing the Interviewer and Her “Disagreeable” Subjects,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 45, no. 90 (2012): 361–91.
- 49 Mohl, “Cultural Pluralism,” 41–2, 53–4 (which comments on some paradoxical elements of Institute pluralism but does not make paradox a central framing); Mohl, “International Institute Movement and Ethnic Pluralism”; Mohl and Betten, “Paternalism and Pluralism.”
- 50 Victor Greene, “Dealing with Diversity: Milwaukee’s Multiethnic Festivals and Urban Identity, 1840–1940,” *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 6 (2005): 839, 842.

- 51 Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, ch. 5, esp. 222–49.
- 52 Rita Chin, *The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 9–10. For a more detailed discussion, see my conclusion.
- 53 For the argument that this characterization also applies to the US Institutes, see Franca Iacovetta and Erica Toffoli, “A Double-Edged Pluralism: Paradoxes of Diversity in the International Institute Movement, 1945–1965,” *Journal of Social History* (2020) 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 897–919.
- 54 Werner Sollors, “Introduction,” in *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), ix–xvii; Kathleen Neils Conzen et al., “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 3–41; Ellen M. Litwicky, “‘Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries’: Ethnicity and Assimilation,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 3 (Spring 2000): 3–34.
- 55 Marjorie Johnstone and Eunjung Lee, “Shaping Canadian Citizens: A Historical Study of Canadian Multiculturalism and Social Work during the Period from 1900 to 1999,” *International Journal of Social Welfare* 29, no. 1 (2020): 71–82.
- 56 Eileen Yeo, cited in Peel, *Miss Cutler*, “Introduction,” 5n7, but see also Eileen Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996). An insightful discussion of these themes is in Peel *Miss Cutler*, “Introduction” and passim; Karen Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), Introduction, ch. 2, and passim.
- 57 Leonore Davidoff, “Regarding Some ‘Old Husband’s Tales’: Public and Private in Feminist History,” in *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 227–76; Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, “Introduction,” in *Negotiating Identities in 19th and 20th Century Montreal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 1–21.
- 58 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*; Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- 59 Edwin N. Wilmsen, “Introduction: Premises of Power in Ethnic Politics,” 2–5, and Jan Nederveen, “Varieties of Ethnic Politics and Ethnicity Discourse,” 25–44, in Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Litwicky, “Our Hearts Burn”; Robert Cupido, “Public Commemoration and Ethno-Cultural Assertion: Winnipeg Celebrates the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation,” *Urban History Review* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 64–74 (with thanks for initially introducing me to this work).

2 The Scholarship

- 1 John Biles, “The Government of Canada’s Multiculturalism Program: Key to Canada’s Inclusion Reflex?” in Jack Jedwab, ed., *The Multiculturalism Question:*

Debating Identity in 21st-Century Canada (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 31–50. The results of Focus Canada surveys conducted by the Environics Institute for Survey Research and other findings contained in Laurence Brosseau and Michael Dewing, *Canadian Multiculturalism* (15 Sept. 2009; revised 3 Jan. 2018), https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/200920E (last accessed 22 July 2021). They also report on negative responses, including by pundits, to multiculturalism.

- 2 David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 101 (quotation), 79, 98–101; Werner Sollors, “The Multiculturalism Debate as Cultural Text,” in Wendy F. Katkin, Ned Landsman, and Andrea Tyree, eds., *Beyond Pluralism: The Conception of Groups and Group Identities in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 63–4; Nathan Glazer, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 5–8, 10; Sarah Miller-Davenport, *Gateway State: Hawai'i and the Cultural Transformation of American Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 14n37. My discussion of American multiculturalism draws heavily on Russell A. Kazal, “Rethinking the Origins of Multiculturalism: New Perspectives on American Pluralist Ideologies” (an article manuscript in preparation for submission to a journal), with thanks to him for generously sharing his unpublished research with me.
- 3 *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* 438 U.S. 265 (1978), 316 (quotation), and *Grutter v. Bollinger* 539 U.S. 306 (2003), both cited in Kazal, “Rethinking the Origins of Multiculturalism.”
- 4 Kazal, “Rethinking the Origins of Multiculturalism.” For examples of such pairings, see Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 349–52; Miller-Davenport, *Gateway State*, ch. 6; Hollinger, *Postethnic America*, ch. 4. Gerstle argued that “hard” multiculturalism included both Afrocentrists and advocates of a “cultural hybridity” inclusive of “cosmopolitan” identities (*American Crucible*, 350–1). On what Matthew Frye Jacobson terms the “Third Worldist strain” within a left “brand of multiculturalism,” see his *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 229, 208.
- 5 On conflicts over multiculturalism, see Andrew Hartman, *A War for the Soul of America: A History of the Culture Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), chs. 8–9. On late-twentieth-century nativism, see George Sánchez, “Face the Nation: Race, Immigration, and the Rise of Nativism in Late Twentieth Century America,” *International Migration Review* 31 (Winter 1997): 1009–30; Juan F. Perea, ed., *Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Impulse in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); David M. Reimers, *Unwelcome Strangers: American Identity and the Turn Against Immigration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Daniel J. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), ch. 9.

- 6 Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 58–72 (quotation on p. 72); Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 349–57, 364–8; Jacobson, *Roots Too*, chs. 5–6 and passim (quotations on pp. 243 and 208).
- 7 Hollinger, *Postethnic America*, 92–101; John Higham, “Ethnic Pluralism in Modern American Thought,” in John Higham, *Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 198–232 (1st ed. 1975); Philip Gleason, “The Odd Couple: Pluralism and Assimilation,” in *Speaking of Diversity: Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 47–90; Nicholas V. Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Educational Movement, 1924–1941* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982). Gerstle did note that the “soft” multiculturalism that continues “to value the nation” so long as it allows for a wide array of ethnic and racial difference was not in fact a new stance. After appearing in Kallen’s work, it re-emerged periodically in a wide array of subsequent pronouncements and writings, including the government’s Second World War propaganda campaigns, Oscar Handlin’s post-1945 scholarship, and the “curricular initiatives” of some urban school districts in the early 1960s. Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 349. On Kallen and contemporaries, see [chapter 1](#).
- 8 Kazal, “Rethinking the Origins of Multiculturalism”; Russell A. Kazal, “The Lost World of Pennsylvania Pluralism: Immigrants, Regions, and the Early Origins of Pluralist Ideologies in America,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 27 (Spring 2008): 7–42; Russell A. Kazal, “‘The United Peoples of the United States’: International Socialism and the Transnational Context of American Pluralist Ideologies,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, New Orleans, LA, April 2017; Daniel Katz, *All Together Different: Yiddish Socialists, Garment Workers, and the Labor Roots of Multiculturalism* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Diana Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Daniel Geary, “Carey McWilliams and Antifascism, 1934–1943,” *Journal of American History* 90 (December 2003): 912–34; Allison Varzally, *Making a Non-White America: Californians Coloring outside Ethnic Lines, 1925–1955* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008); Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007); George J. Sánchez, “‘What’s Good for Boyle Heights Is Good for the Jews’: Creating Multiculturalism on the Eastside during the 1950s,” *American Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (September 2004): 633–61; Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900–1970* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Russell A. Kazal, “Grass-Roots Pluralism: Los Angeles and the Origins of American Multiculturalism” (book manuscript in progress); Russell A. Kazal, “Toward ‘a Multi-Cultural Nation’: Multiracialism and Languages

- of Diversity in Postwar Southern California,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of Social Science History Association, Montreal, November 2017; Russell A. Kazal, “John Anson Ford and Global Interracialism in Mid-Century Los Angeles,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, November 2012.
- 9 See, for example, Peter Cole et al., eds., *Wobblies of the World: A Global History of the IWW* (London: Pluto Press, 2017), esp. Introduction and essays by Kenyon Zimmer, David M. Struthers, and Mark Leier.
 - 10 Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles*; Miller-Davenport, *Gateway State*; Kazal, “Grass-Roots Pluralism.”
 - 11 For differing assessments of Trudeau, see H.D. Forbes, “Trudeau as the First Theorist of Canadian Multiculturalism,” in Stephen Tierney, ed., *Multiculturalism and the Canadian Constitution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 27–42; Karl Peter, “The Myth of Multiculturalism and Other Political Fables,” in Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Methuen 1981), 56–67; Wsevolod W. Isajiw, “Multiculturalism and the Integration of the Canadian Community,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 15, no. 2 (1983): 107–17; May Chazan et al., eds., *Home and Native Land: Unsettling Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2011).
 - 12 For differing assessments of Yuzyk (and Ukrainian Canadian allies), see, for example, Oleh W. Gerus, “Paul Yuzyk (1918–1986): A Personal Reflection,” in *In the Footsteps of Nationbuilders*, May 2000, <https://yuzyk.com/2019/09/22/paul-yuzyk-1918-1986-a-personal-reflection/> (last accessed 20 April 2022); Julia Lalonde, “The Roots of Multiculturalism – Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the Third Force,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 38, no. 1 (2006): 47–64; Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919–1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), chs. 5–6; and the more critical Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 214–20; Kassandra Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians: Identity, Politics, and Power in Cold War Canada” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2021), ch. 4.
 - 13 See [chapter 10](#).
 - 14 Lee Blanding, “Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945–1974” (PhD diss., University of Victoria, 2003). The related work on academic advisers is referenced below.
 - 15 A tiny sample containing differing assessments include Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment*. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1978); William Kaplan, ed., *Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship* (Kingston/Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), esp. the essay by Paul Martin Sr. and part 4; Peter H. Russell, *Constitutional Odyssey: Can Canadians Become a Sovereign People?*, 2nd

- ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Manoly R. Lupul, *The Politics of Multiculturalism: A Ukrainian Canadian Memoir* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2005); Tierney, *Multiculturalism and the Canadian Constitution*.
- 16 A tiny sample includes Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000); Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); essays by Rinaldo Walcott, Glen S. Coulthard, and others in Chazan, *Home and Native Land*; Nadia Jones-Gailani, *Transnational Identity and Memory Making in the Lives of Iraqi Women in Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020); Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
 - 17 Evelyn Kallen, "Multiculturalism: Ideology, Policy and Reality," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17, no.1 (Spring 1982): 51–63; Michael Temelini, "Multicultural Rights, Multicultural Virtues: A History of Multiculturalism in Canada," in Tierney, *Multiculturalism*, 43–60; José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945–71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); Biles, "Canada's Multiculturalism Program"; Paolo Prosperi, "The Politics of Multiculturalism Reform in Canada: Institutions, Ideas and Public Agendas" (PhD diss., Université de Montréal, 2006), ch. 4.
 - 18 See, for example, Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998); Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001); Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992) and 1994 edition (with respondents) edited by Amy Gutmann.
 - 19 Besides Blanding, "Re-branding Canada," see Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic: Shaping Citizenship Policy* (Kingston/Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Leslie A. Pal, *Interests of State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism, and Feminism in Canada* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); N.F. Dreisziger, "The Rise of a Bureaucracy for Multiculturalism: The Origins of the Nationalities Branch, 1939–1941," in Norman Hillmer et al., eds., *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939–1945* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1988); Luciuk, "Making Ukrainian Canadians."
 - 20 Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto: Penguin, 1994, rev. ed. 2002); Kanishka Goonewardena and Stefan Kipfer, "Spaces of Difference: Reflections from Toronto on Multiculturalism, Bourgeois Urbanism and the Possibility of Radical Urban Politics," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 3 (2005): 670–8; Mackey, *House of Difference*. On this theme, see also [chapter 10](#) and conclusion.

- 21 Mackey, *House of Difference*, chs. 5–6.
- 22 John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Michael Ornstein, *Ethno-Racial Groups in Toronto, 1971–2001: A Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile* (Toronto: Institute for Social Research, York University, January 2006), 82–9.
- 23 Grace-Edward Galabuzi, *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2006), esp. preface, chs. 4–5; see also essays by Galabuzi, Rinaldo Walcott, and Glen Coulthard in Chazan, *Home and Native Land*; Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*, esp. ch. 4.
- 24 Nandita Sharma, “Canadian Multiculturalism and Its Nationalisms,” in Chazan, *Home and Native Land*; Nandita Sharma, *Home Economics: Nationalism and the Making of ‘Migrant Workers’ in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
- 25 Himani Bannerji, “On the Dark Side of the Nation: Politics of Multiculturalism and the State of Canada,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 103–30; Bannerji, *Dark Side of the Nation*; Richard J.F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
- 26 In addition to Kymlicka’s and Taylor’s many publications, see the following research projects: “Boundaries, Membership and Belonging,” <https://cifar.ca/research-programs/boundaries-membership-belonging/>; “Multiculturalism Policy Index,” <https://www.queensu.ca/mcp/>, and Global Centre for Pluralism (“we believe that societies thrive when differences are valued”), <https://www.pluralism.ca/> (all last accessed 15 April 2022).
- 27 For a recent example involving the angry fallout from a law professor’s accusations of racism in Quebec, see <https://montrealgazette.com/news/quebec/pq-leader-wants-university-to-tell-professor-to-stop-bashing-quebec> (last accessed 6 April 2021). On the commission, which recommended a model of interculturalism, see Gerard Bouchard, *Interculturalism: A View from Quebec*, trans. Howard Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2015).
- 28 See the discussion of Victoria Hayward, *Romantic Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1922), and Kate A. Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: Dominion Council of the Young Women’s Christian Association, 1926), in [chapter 10](#).
- 29 Such as lone woman commissioner Gertrude Laing (University of Manitoba) and sociologist Jean Burnet (Glendon College, York University), who was involved in the Canadian Ethnic Studies Research Program. Haque, *Multiculturalism*, 39–40, 257; Biles, “Canada’s Multiculturalism Program,” 14–16; Maxwell Yalden, “Forward: The B&B Commission 50 Years Later,” *Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens* (Fall 2013): 9.
- 30 Others were Beatrice Hayes (National Council of Women of Canada) and Ethel Brant Monture (National Indian Council). Haque, *Multiculturalism*, 99–100.
- 31 See especially [chapter 10](#).
- 32 Marlene Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008); Laurie Bertram, *The Viking Immigrants: Icelandic North*

- Americans* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019); Frances Swyripa, *Welded to the Cause: Ukrainian Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891–1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
- 33 Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010).
- 34 As in, respectively, Susan Bellay, “Pluralism and Ethnic/Race Relations in Canadian Social Science, 1880–1939” (PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 2001), and Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity*, which covers the period 1919 to 1971. Howard Palmer, “Mosaic Versus Melting Pot: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States,” *International Journal* 31, no. 3 (1976): 488–528, dates the origins of ethnic pluralism in the 1930s.
- 35 Chapter 10 contains a more detailed treatment of this theme, but on Gibbon, see, for example, Antonia Smith, “‘Cement for the Canadian Mosaic’: Performing Canadian Citizenship in the Work of John Murray Gibbon,” *Race/Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 2007): 37–60.
- 36 Robert C. Vipond, *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017); Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

3 Toronto Counsellors and International Institute Social Work Theory and Practice

- 1 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6424, File: Personnel Committee 1965, J.T. Seaman to Effie Tsatsos, Oct. 1965; Kathleen Rex, “The Swallows Mean Happiness,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 26 Feb. 70, in MU6406 (B280543), File: Clippings 1959–70.
- 2 MU6425, File: Szebeny, Letter from Streeruwitz and Szebeny to director Tine Stewart, 11 April 1972; MU6474, File: Monthly Reports and Reviews, Department of Individual Services, Annual Report, 1 Oct. 1956–1 Oct. 1957; MU6424, File: Executive Director Personnel 1956–62, West letter dated 4 July 57; Donna Dilschneider, “Metro grant cut could spell trouble for immigrant aid,” *Toronto Star* 13 June 1968.
- 3 On the polarized literature, see chapter 1.
- 4 On this point, see also Andrew Urban, “Social Work and Substantive Justice: The International Institutes’ Response to Discriminatory Immigration and Naturalization Laws, 1924–1945,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 37, no. 1 (Fall 2017): 5–29; Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 283.
- 5 A tiny sample includes Elise Franklin, “Defining Family, Delimiting Belonging: Algerian Migration after the End of Empire,” *Gender & History* 31, no. 3 (Oct. 2019): 681–98; Mark Peel, *Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse*:

- Social Work and the Story of Poverty in America, Australia, and Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Ellen Ross, ed., *Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Regina Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Karen Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Margaret Little, *No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit: The Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920–1977* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998); Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880–1960* (New York: Viking, 1988); Jaime Wadowiec, “Muslim Algerian Women and the Rights of Man: Islam and Gendered Citizenship in French Algeria at the End of Empire,” *French Historical Studies* 36, no. 4 (Fall 2013): 649–76.
- 6 Raymond Mohl, “The International Institute Movement and Ethnic Pluralism,” *Social Science* 56, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 14–21. On racialized social workers and managing diversity in the post-1945 era of decolonization, migration, and emerging multiculturalism in Britain, see Radhika Anita Natarajan, “Organizing Community: Commonwealth Citizens and Social Activism in Britain, 1948–1982” (PhD dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 2013); Radhika Anita Natarajan, “Public Intimacy: Pansy Jeffrey and the Politics of Migrant Welfare,” paper delivered at the Migration, Institutions, and Intimate Lives Symposium, University of Bristol, 13–14 April 2018.
 - 7 The discussion draws on personnel and staff list files contained in several volumes, including MU6424 and MU6438.
 - 8 Christopher Grafos, “Canada’s Greek Moment: Transnational Politics, Activists, and Spies during the Long Sixties” (PhD diss., York University, 2016); Noula Mina, “Homeland Activism, Public Performance, and the Construction of Identity: An Examination of Greek Canadian Transnationalism, 1900s–1990s (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2014); Gilberto Fernandes, *This Pilgrim Nation: The Making of the Portuguese Diaspora in Postwar North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020); Susana Miranda, “Not Ashamed or Afraid’: Portuguese Immigrant Women in Toronto’s Cleaning Industry, 1950–1995 (PhD diss., York University, 2010).
 - 9 Notes on Bojovic in MU6424, File: Executive Director, Personnel 1956–62, N.W. West reference letter for Bojovic, 16 Nov. 1960.
 - 10 Bojovic quotation from MU6474, File: Monthly Reports and Reviews, Department of Individual Services, Annual Report, 1 Oct. 1956–1 Oct. 1957; West quotation from MU6424, File: Executive Director Personnel 1956–62, West letter dated 4 July 57; Mary Jukes, “Once Over Lightly [on clients keen to see Streeruwitz],” *Toronto Star*, 14 Nov. 1960 in MU6406 (B280543), File: Clippings 1959–70.
 - 11 MU6475, File: Statistical and Activity Reports 1958–74, Individual Services Committee, Annual Report, 1960, by Chair, Institute Board (Mrs [J.S.] Margaret Hill).

- 12 *Intercom*, Dec. 1965; Peter C. Newman, “The Hungarians,” *Maclean’s*, 16 Feb. 1957, <https://archive.macleans.ca/article/1957/2/16/the-hungarians>; Nagy Obituary, <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/theglobeandmail/obituary.aspx?n=george-nagy-felso-eori&pid=189716720&fhid=17701> (both last accessed 11 Oct. 2021).
- 13 MU6424, File: Personnel 1960s, Director H.C. Forbell to Henry Weisback, Institute Board, Confidential, 28 May 1962; Bojovic resignation letter, 22 May 62; MU6425, File: John Henselmans, Notes.
- 14 Quotation by director Milton Philip in MU6425, File: Personnel 1960s, note on Henselmans.
- 15 Quotation by director Tine Stewart in MU6425, File: Szebeny, letter dated April 1974.
- 16 MU6424, File: Executive Director 1960s, Forbell’s comments on Justi’s resume, 29 Jan 1962 (Streeruwitz was a reference); MU6475, File: Statistical and Activity Reports 1958–74, Justi to R. Lederer, note for Annual Report, 27 March 1957.
- 17 MU6424, File: Executive Director Personnel, Vincent G. Castellano resume and notes.
- 18 MU 6425, File: Thanos Panagiotis, Director’s Report, 16 Aug. 1972.
- 19 MU6425, File: Maria Mota, notes on Mota; postcards and reply, 1970s; quotation from director Tine Stewart’s reference letter, 10 Nov. 1969.
- 20 MU6431 (B280568), File: Staff Minutes 1970, Minutes for Meeting, 7 May 1971; MU6425 (B280562), File: Royston C. Jones, Mrs Douglas Jennings, Acting President, Board, letter dated 4 April 1974; Resume; Consultant to Caribana, Jan. 1973.
- 21 On Lee, see [chapter 7](#).
- 22 Betty McBain and Betty Wangenheim are listed as reception centre supervisors. MU6475 (B436179), File: Reception Centre 1964, Monthly Reports; MU6474, File: Statistical and Activity Reports 1958–74, Reception Centre Annual Report 1961 (M. Streeruwitz); MU6389 (B280527), File: Special Committee Casework, Case Work Committee Meeting, 25 Nov. 1959; MU6410 (B280597), File: Executive Director 1964–66, J.T. Seaman reference letter for A. Garcia, 1 Sept. 1966.
- 23 MU6389 (B280527), File: Special Committee Casework, Case Work Committee Meeting, 25 Nov. 1959, Volunteers, Progress Report (N.S. Bojovic).
- 24 MU6474, File: Statistical and Activity Reports 1958–74, Reception Centre, Annual Report 1961 (M. Streeruwitz).
- 25 Tice, *Wayward Girls*, quotation on p. 34, and ch. 2, esp. 50–69; Kunzel, *Fallen Women*, ch. 2, esp. 48–52; Peel, *Miss Cutler*, chs. 2–3, 10, 12, 17, and *passim*.
- 26 Susan Bellay, “Pluralism and Race/Ethnic Relations in Canadian Social Science, 1880–1939” (PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 2001), 53–7, 108–21, 414–48. See also Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 213–29.
- 27 Quotation from John R. Graham, “A History of the University of Toronto School of Social Work” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1996), 217. On Schlesinger,

who also published on elder abuse, single-parent families, Jewish and Canadian families, and child abuse, see also 260–3, 279n11.

- 28 Benjamin Schlesinger, "Socio-Cultural Content in North American Social Work Journals 1956–1963, An Introduction and Bibliography," *International Social Work* 9, no. 1 (1966): 30–8.
- 29 Established in 1952, the membership of this professional body of social workers in the United States then included several Canadian social work programs.
- 30 Quoting Graham, "A History," 263. Schlesinger, "Socio-Cultural Content in North American Social Work Journals," cites Hertha Kraus, "The Newcomer's Orientation to the American Community," and Katherine Newkirk Handley, "Social Casework and Intercultural Problems," both in Family Service Association of America, *New Emphasis on Cultural Factors, Papers Reprinted from Journal of Social Casework, 1946–48*, and Handley, *4 Case Studies in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1961). His "The Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework: The Canadian Scene," *Social Worker* 30, no. 1 (Jan. 1962), cites Handley's *Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework: A Case Book of Seven Ethnic Case Studies* (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1959). On Kraus, see Beate Busiek, "Hertha Kraus: Quaker Spirit and Competence – Impulses for Professional Social Work," in Sabine Hering and Berteke Waaldijk, eds., *History of Social Work in Europe 1900–1960, Female Pioneers and the Development of International Social Work* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2003). On the Council, see entry by Ray J. Thomlinson in Francis J. Turner, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canadian Social Work* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 85–6.
- 31 Charles Fine, "Canadian and American Ethnic Viewpoints: A Study in Contrast," *Social Worker* 29 (4 Oct. 1961), which cites William Gioseffi, "The Relationship of Culture to the Principles of Casework," *Social Casework* 34 (July 1954), and Kraus, "The Newcomer's Orientation to the American Community."
- 32 Fine, "Canadian and American Ethnic Viewpoints."
- 33 For just one example, see MU6400, File: ACNS [American Council for Nationalities Service, an amalgamation (est. 1959) of the American Federation of International Institutes (AFII) and the educationally oriented American Council for Nationalities Services], Convention, Detroit, 21–24 May 1968, Cases Involving Cultural Factors for Discussion, May 1968 (William Bernard).
- 34 E.B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture* (vols. 1 and 2) (London: John Murray, 1871), and Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (with preface by Margaret Mead) (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946) were cited by Institute-linked social workers like Mary Hurlbutt and Morton Teicher as well as Schlesinger. Immigration History Research Center Archives, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota (hereafter IHRCA), American Council for Nationalities Service records, which contain the American Federation of International Institutes (AFII) collection (hereafter II), Box 275, File: 10, II San Francisco, Mary Hurlbutt, Minutes, "In-Service Training Program," 1–11 May 1945; Morton Teicher, "Concept

- of Culture,” 15 May 1958; Mary Hurlbutt, “Recognizing Cultural Differences and Using Them Constructively,” 29 January 1955, AFII, Convention Address, Detroit; Schlesinger, “Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework.”
- 35 Teicher, “Concept of Culture”; Hurlbutt, “Recognizing Cultural Differences.”
 - 36 Revealingly, the Toronto Institute collection contains “Canadianized” notes from Kraus’ “The Newcomer’s Orientation to the American Community” in MU6405, File: Case Histories, “Extracts” from Kraus, “The Newcomer’s Orientation to the “Canadian” Community.”
 - 37 Teicher, “Concept of Culture,” 15 May 1958; Hurlbutt, “Minutes, In-Service Training Program”; Hurlbutt, “Recognizing Cultural Differences.”
 - 38 IHRCA, II, Box 278b, File: 14, II Milwaukee, Frieda Heilberg, “Psycho-Cultural Factors in the Social Adjustment of Newcomers of Foreign Cultural Background,” National Conference on Social Welfare, Chicago, 13 May 1958. See also James Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).
 - 39 IHRCA, II, Box 2786, File: 14, Heilberg, “Psycho-Cultural Factors”; Boris Clarke, “Social Adjustment of Newcomers,” 13 May 1958; Bremer, “Development of Private Social Work.”
 - 40 On integrating anti-Communist refugees into American modern democratic life, see, for example, IHRCA, II, Box 271, File: 9, S.E. Peabody, Mission Statement, II Boston, 14 June 1950; “They Pour In ... and Family Shows Refugees Can Fit In,” *Life*, 7 Jan. 1957, 21, 24–5. On general context, see, for example, Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Geoffrey Smith, “National Security and Personal Isolation: Sex, Gender, and Disease in the Cold War United States,” *International History Review* 14, no. 2 (1992): 307–35; Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006); Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).
 - 41 IHRCA, II, Box 2786, File: 14, Bremer, “Development of Private Social Work.”
 - 42 See [chapter 8](#).
 - 43 IHRCA, II, Box 2786, File: 14, Frieda Heilberg, “Psycho-Cultural Factors in the Social Adjustment of Newcomers of Foreign Cultural Background,” National Conference on Social Welfare, Chicago, 13 May 1958.
 - 44 See, for example, AO, MU6447, File: Individual Services Department 1961–4, Report for 1 Oct. 1956–1 Oct. 1957; MU6400, File: International Institute Department, Annual Reports for 1961–2, 1964, 1967; MU6475, File: Statistical and Activity Reports 1958–74, Notes and Report for 1957–8, 1959, 1960; MU6475, File: Selected Special Cases, “Adjustment of Newcomers in Canada by a Social

- Worker” (N.S. Bojovic) c. 1960; MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, N.S. Bojovic, “International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto and Its Services,” presented to Forest Hill Collegiate, 11 Feb. 1960.
- 45 IHRCA, II, Box 275, File: 10, Hurlblutt, “Minutes of In-Service Training Program.”
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 IHRCA, II, Box 2786, File: 14, Heilberg, “Psycho-Cultural Factors.”
- 49 Hurlblutt, “Minutes, In-Service Training Program.”
- 50 IHRCA, II, Box 2786, File: 14, Pierce, “Patterns of Collaboration,” 1958.
- 51 Scholars of whiteness differ with respect to the emphasis placed on either the uncontested whiteness of European immigrants or their in-between status, marginalization, and eventual upward mobility. This is a large literature, but see the useful historiographical essays by Anna Pegler-Gordon, Allison Varzally, David Roediger, Eiichiro Azumo, and Mark Overmyer-Velázquez in the special theme issue, *The Racial Turn in Immigration and Ethnic History*, in *Journal of American Ethnic History* 36, no. 2 (Winter 2017): 40–93; David Roediger, “A Reply to Kaufmann,” *Ethnicities* 6, no. 2 (2006): 254–62.
- 52 Hurlblutt, “Minutes, In-Service Training Program”; Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions*, 3rd ed. (New York: Continuum, 2000), 171; bell hooks, *Ain’t I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End, 1981).
- 53 Like those in, for example, Karen Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).
- 54 A tiny sample that captures this trajectory within case file scholarship includes Joan Scott/Linda Gordon, Debate, *Signs* 15, no. 4 (1990): 848–60; Tice, *Wayward Girls*; Kunzel, *Fallen Women*; Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Peel, *Miss Cutler*. See also the other references above.
- 55 Scholars exploring US Institute social work practice have had to rely on summary reports and presentations rather than actual case files, though the reports, like the instruction materials, often reproduced all or parts of specific case files. See Urban, “Social Work and Substantive Justice.”
- 56 There is now a large literature on empathy in social work, but I found helpful Karen E. Gerdes and Elizabeth Segal, “The Importance of Empathy for Social Work Practice: Integrating New Science,” *Social Work* 56, no. 2 (2011): 141–8, and their “A Social Work Model of Empathy,” *Advances in Social Work* 1, no. 2 (2009): 114–27. For one front-line worker’s optimistic implementation of empathy, see Sharon Lacay, “Breaking Boundaries with Empathy: How the Therapeutic Alliance Can Defy Client/Worker Differences,” *The New Social Worker*, <https://www.socialworker.com/featurearticles/practice/>

- [Breaking_Boundaries_With_Empathy%3A_How_the_Therapeutic_Alliance_Can_Defy_Client-Worker_Differences/](#) (last accessed 17 April 2022).
- 57 Tice, *Wayward Girls*, ch. 2; Kunzel *Fallen Women*, ch. 5;
 - 58 Quotation from Tice, *Wayward Girls*, 201n3.
 - 59 Tice, *Wayward Girls*, 7; Peel also urges the use of our historical imagination in *Miss Cutler*, Introduction and dramatizations, cases 1–6.
 - 60 Tice *Wayward Girls*, quotation on p. 14 and ch. 5.
 - 61 This is a key theme in the studies cited above, and in Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), and Franca Iacovetta, “Women Pluralists Negotiate Children’s Health in an Era of Mass Migration,” *Journal of Migration History* 4 (2018): 161–86, among others. For my detailed treatment of this theme, see [chapters 3 and 6](#).
 - 62 Gordon, *Heroes*, 298. See also Peel, *Miss Cutler*, 8–9 and *passim*.
 - 63 Mary Louise Pratt developed the neocolonial concept of a contact zone in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), but feminist, anti-racist, and left scholars of multiculturalism, among others, speak in similar terms about interactions within contexts shaped by asymmetrical power relations. Examples include Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2000). On intermediate spaces, Leonore Davidoff, “Regarding Some ‘Old Husband’s Tales’: Public and Private in Feminist History,” in *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 227–76; Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, *Negotiating Identities in 19th and 20th Century Montreal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), esp. Introduction, and Myers, “On Probation: The Rise and Fall of Jewish Women’s Antidelinquency Work in Interwar Montreal,” 175–200. See also Ruth Sandwell, “The Limits of Liberalism: The Liberal Reconnaissance and the History of the Family in Canada,” *Canadian Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (September 2003): 423–50, and my discussion in [chapter 7](#).
 - 64 Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, ed. Colin Gordon (London: Harvester 1980); Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. I, *An Introduction*, trans. R. Hurley (London: Allan Lane, 1979), and for some examples of feminist critical engagements with Foucault, see Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby, eds., *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988). On the glance, see Franca Iacovetta, “Gossip, Contest and Power in the Making of Postwar Suburban Bad Girls: Toronto 1940s–1950s,” *Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (Dec. 1999): 608 (with thanks to Ellen Ross for the initial insight).
 - 65 Peel, *Miss Cutler*, 5, citing Eileen Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), 249.
 - 66 Davidoff, “Public and Private in Feminist History.”

4 Professionals, Narrative, and Gendered Middle-Class Subjectivities

- 1 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, contains original handwritten letter addressed to N.S. Bojovic (1959) and improved, typed version cited here.
- 2 MU6474, File: Statistical and Activity Reports, 1958–74, Reception Centre, Annual Report 1961 (M. Streeruwitz); on speaking stories, Mark Peel, *Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse: Social Work and the Story of Poverty in America, Australia, and Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 3–5, 153–5, 189–90, 267–8, and *passim*; Karen Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), Introduction and ch. 6, esp. 176–80.
- 3 Eileen Yeo cited in Peel, *Miss Cutler*, Introduction, 5n7, but see also Eileen Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996). See also Ellen Ross, *Slum Journeys: Lady Explorers in Darkest London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
- 4 Trish Luker, “Performance Anxieties: Interpellation of the Refugee Subject in Law,” *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 30, no. 1 (2015): 91–107; Stephen Paskey, “Telling Refugee Stories: Trauma, Credibility and the Adversarial Adjudication of Claims for Asylum,” *Digital Commons@University at Buffalo School of Law* 56 (2016); Shulamit Almog, “Healing Stories in Law and Literature,” in Austin Sarat et al., eds., *Trauma and Memory: Reading, Healing and Making Law* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007). See also Canadian Council for Refugees, “Raising Refugee Voices,” <https://ccrweb.ca/en/refugee-voices> (last accessed 14 April 2022).
- 5 For just two examples involving recent newcomers, see Nadia Jones-Gailani, *Transnational Identity and Memory Making in the Lives of Iraqi Women in Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020); Stéphane Martelly, “‘This thing we are doing here’: Listening and Writing within Montreal’s Haitian Community,” in Katrina Srigley, Stacey Zembrzycki, and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Beyond Women’s Words: Feminisms and the Practices of Oral History in the Twenty-first Century* (London/New York: Routledge, 2018), 184–91.
- 6 For example, Irwin Cotler, “Bringing Nazi War Criminals in Canada to Justice: A Case Study,” *American Society of International Law Proceedings* 91 (April 1997): 262–9.
- 7 See also [chapter 3](#).
- 8 A tiny sample includes Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherford, eds., *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018); Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999); Joan Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1985): 1053–75; and her

- reassessment, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis," *Diogenes* 57, no. 1 (2010): 7–14; Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," *Canadian Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (1995): 354–76; R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005); R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 829–59; John Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity?" in *Manliness and Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2005); Sonya O. Rose, *What Is Gender History?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010).
- 9 Such as Karen Flynn, *Moving beyond Borders: A History of Black Canadian and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); C. Meares, "A Fine Balance: Women, Work and Skilled Migration," *Women's Studies International Forum* (2010): 473–81. See also Naila Meraj, "A Scoping Review of Settlement Experiences of Professional Immigrant Women in Canada, USA, UK and Australia and Their Influence on Health and Well Being" (MA thesis, Western University, 2015).
 - 10 Shibao Guo, "Difference, Deficiency, and Devaluation: Tracing the Roots of Non-Recognition of Foreign Credentials for Immigrant Professionals in Canada," *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* 22, no. 1 (2009): 37–52; Rosalie K. Hilde and Albert Mills, "Making Critical Sense of Discriminatory Practices in the Canadian Workplace: Case Study of Hong Kong Chinese Professional Immigrants, Experience, Voice and Reflection," *Critical Perspectives on International Business* 11, no. 2 (2015): 173–88; Gurcharn S. Basran and Li Zong, "Devaluation of Foreign Credentials as Perceived by Visible Minority Professional Immigrants," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 30, no. 3 (1998): 7–23; Judith T. Shuval, "The Reconstruction of Professional Identity among Immigrant Physicians in Three Societies," *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* 2, no. 4 (2000): 191–202; Maitra Srabani, "Creating Enterprising Workers through Career Training among Canada's South Asian Professional Immigrants," *Studies in Education of Adults* 49, no. 2 (2017): 196–213; Mai B. Phan et al., "Family Dynamics and the Integration of Professional Immigrants in Canada," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 14, no. 13 (2015): 2061–80.
 - 11 Milda Danys, *DP: Lithuanian Immigration to Canada after the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986), chs. 13–14 (quotation p. 254); Jan Raska, *Czech Refugees in Cold War Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018).
 - 12 Danys, *DP*, 273; Raska, *Czech Refugees*.
 - 13 Guo, "Difference, Deficiency"; Hilde and Mills, "Discriminatory Practices"; Srabani, "Creating Enterprising Workers"; Basran and Zong, "Devaluation." See also Grace-Edward Galabuzi, *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2006), chs. 3–5.

- 14 Shezan Muhammedi, “‘Gifts from Amin’: The Resettlement, Integration, and Identities of Ugandan Asian Refugees in Canada” (PhD diss., Western University, 2017). Julie Gilmour, “The kind of people Canada wants: Canada and the Displaced Persons, 1943–53 (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2006),” and Laura Madokoro’s *Elusive Refuge: Chinese Migrants in the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), contain material on professionals, although that is not their primary focus. Marlene Epp, *Refugees in Canada: A Brief History* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2017).
- 15 H. Bauder, “Brain Abuse, or the Devaluation of Immigrant Labour in Canada,” *Antipode* 35, no. 4 (2003): 699–717; Tara Kennedy and Charles P. Chen, “Career Counselling and New and Professional Immigrants: Theories into Practice [Canada],” *Australian Journal of Career Development* 21, no. 2 (Winter 2012): 36–45; Hilde and Mills, “Discriminatory Practices,” 179–81.
- 16 Quotation from MU6419 (B280556), File: Human Interest Stories, Individual Services Department document (n.d.).
- 17 MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, N.S. Bojovic, Notes for Conference on Employment, 27 Jan. 1960, and “Observation of Effect of Mass Unemployment on Immigrant Worker,” both for *Toronto Star* editor Ron Lowman, 9 Feb. 1961; A.G. Gilham, Toronto Employment Committee, to W.E. West, 15 Jan. 1961; MU6474, File: Reports to Director 1959–60, Further Programme Planning as indicated n.d. (c. 1960).
- 18 MU6474, File: Statistical and Activity Reports 1958–74, Reception Centre, Annual Report 1961 (M. Streeruwitz).
- 19 Quotations from Peel, *Miss Cutler*, 4, 133, and 45.
- 20 Some two dozen speaking stories are in MU6405, File: Case Histories and MU6419 (B280556), File: Human Interest Stories. Additional stories appear or are referenced in other files.
- 21 In MU6405, File: Case Histories, n.d.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 In MU6419 (B280556), File: Human Interest Stories, n.d.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 In MU6405, File: Case Histories, n.d.
- 26 In MU6419 (B280556), File: Human Interest Stories, n.d. On humour, Tice, *Wayward Girls*, 176–7.
- 27 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Sub-series E-3, MU6507–MU6567 (case files); on 7,000 case-file database, see Appendix. Of the total number of 2,310 professional cases in the 7,000-file database, men and Eastern Europeans dominate overall, and Eastern Europeans dominate the most prestigious occupations, such as law and medicine.
- 28 The national/ethnic group and gender breakdown for the subset of 335 files (composed of 197 men and 138 women): German (M40, F28); Hungarian (M37, F27); Czechoslovakian (Czech M32, F25, Slovak M18, F11); Polish (M14, F11); Ukrainian (M10, F5); Yugoslavian (Yugoslav M13, F8, Serbian M6, F5); Lithuanian (M6,

- F4); Latvian (M3, F5); Bulgarian (M4, F3); Dutch (M3, F2); Ugandan Asian (M4, F0); Chinese (M3, F2); Chilean (M2, F2); Indian (M2, F0).
- 29 For more on these groups, see Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), ch. 9; Julie Gilmour, “The kind of people Canada wants”; Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006); Lubomyr Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Raska, *Czech Refugees*, chs. 5–7; Laura Madokoro, “Good Material: Canada and the Prague Spring Refugees,” *Refuge* 26, no. 1 (2009): 161–71; Jeremi Suri, “The Promise and Failure of ‘Developed Socialism’: The Soviet Thaw and the Crucible of the Prague Spring, 1964–1972,” *Contemporary European History* 15, no. 2 (2006): 133–58; Gerhard P. Bassler, “German Immigration to Canada,” <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/german-canadians> (last accessed 9 Oct. 2020); Alex Freund, “Troubling Memories in Nation-building: World War II Memories and Germans’ Inter-ethnic Encounters in Canada after 1945,” *Histoire sociale/ Social History* 39, no. 77 (2006): 129–55.
- 30 Quotation from MU6475, File: Statistical and Activity Reports 1958–74, A.D. Justi to Mrs Jennings, 1972, Report on Help Program for Chilean Refugees, Reception Centre Report, 12 Jan. 1974. On the main group of 1973 coup refugees, Francis Peddie, *Young, Well-Educated, and Adaptable: Chilean Exiles in Ontario and Quebec, 1973–2010* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018); Reg Whittaker, *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987), 255–61; Jan Raska, “1973: Canada’s Response to Chilean Refugees,” *Pier 21*, <https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/canada-s-response-to-the-1973-chilean-crisis> (last accessed 15 May 2021).
- 31 Muhammedi, “Gifts from Amin.”
- 32 Kelley and Trebilcock, *Making the Mosaic*, ch. 9; Jin Tan and Patricia E. Roy, *The Chinese in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985), 15–16; Norman Buchignani et al., *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), part 3; Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Sheyfali Saujani, “Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony: Feminist Debates, Multicultural Mandates, and Reassessing the Interviewer and Her ‘Disagreeable Subjects,’” *Histoire sociale/Social history* 45, no. 90 (2012): 361–91.
- 33 The occupational breakdown for the 197 men: engineer (21%); university academic (10%); doctors/radiologist (7%); lawyers/judge (7%); architect (6.5%); draftsperson (6.5%); teacher (5.5%); university graduate (5%); agricultural and forestry expert (4.5%); artist (4%); dentist (4%); accountant (3.5%); veterinarian (3.5%); journalist (3%); pharmacist (2.5%); banker (2.5%); other (4.5%).

- 34 Raska, *Czech Refugees*, 157–9, esp. 160.
- 35 The occupational breakdown for the 138 women: teacher (27.5%); nurse (23%); lawyer/doctor/academic/dentist (11%); pharmacist/technician (7%); engineer (6%); artist (5%); draftsperson (5%); agricultural/forestry/economics expert (4%); university graduate/student (5%); other (geologist/psychologist/librarian/social worker/business person) (6.5%).
- 36 MU6382 File: Board and Committee Minutes: 1958 Correspondence, First Annual Report, Counselling Service, 1 Oct. 1956–1 Oct. 1957.
- 37 Case #391.
- 38 Case #2738.
- 39 See also [chapter 7](#).
- 40 Quotation from MU6474, File: Reports to the Director 1959–60, Further Programme Planning n.d. (circa 1960); Minutes of Meeting, Professional & Skilled Immigrant-Volunteer Committee 1956 Report (chair Elizabeth Szalowski).
- 41 MU6419 (B280556), File: Human Interest Stories, Individual Services Department document (n.d.); MU6474, File: Monthly Reports and Reviews, Individual Services, Annual Report, Oct. 1956–Oct 1957; letter in case #3061 sent to a charitable foundation.
- 42 MU6382, File: Board and Committee Minutes 1958 Correspondence, Annual Report – Counselling Service, Oct. 1956–Oct. 1957.
- 43 Case #918 (he suggests over \$30 per week); case #3043.
- 44 Case #2980.
- 45 Quotation from Case #940 (German). On narrative traces, see [chapter 3](#).
- 46 Case #681.
- 47 Case #3001.
- 48 Case #2133. Case #307. An example includes Ukrainian immigrant Jaroslav Rudnycky, who became a Slavic studies professor at the University of Manitoba and an influential commissioner on the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. See https://www.slideshare.net/ThomasMPrymak/j-b-rudnycky-and-canada?qid=3d0b3213-3158-473a-855b-c2c82b34e242&v=&b=&from_search=1 (last accessed 22 May 2021); Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 56–205; Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919–1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 157–70.
- 49 Case #3043. On nationalist Ukrainians who mobilized in support of a Ukrainian homeland rid of Soviet control, see Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, ch. 5; Luciuk, *Searching for Place*, chs. 6–8; Kassandra Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians: Identity, Politics, and Power in Cold War Canada” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2021).
- 50 Case #346.
- 51 Case #6368. MU6467 (B280604), Newspaper Clippings, Lois Wallace, “Hydro solicitor aids Ugandan new Canadians,” *Toronto Star*, 2 Feb. 1973, and Final Report

- on Uganda Committee of Toronto and Toronto Institute, Mrs K.M. Fletcher, 20 March 1973; MU6411, File: Executive Director Correspondence 1972, Mrs M.D. Stewart to *Toronto Star*, letter “Love for Immigrants”; on Freda Hawkins, one of the “architects” of the Ugandan refugee operation, MU6419 (B280556), File: 13 Immigration Program Development, clipping, Norman Hartley, “Immigration expert favors orientation for new Canadians,” n.d.; Muhammedi, “Gifts from Amin,” 183–230. On Institute efforts to counter racism, see also [chapter 7](#).
- 52 Kennedy and Chen, “Career Counselling,” which draws on social cognitive career theory developed in R. Lent et al., “Social Cognitive Career Theory,” in D. Brown, ed., *Career Choice and Development*, 4th ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002), 255–311, and narrative career-counselling approach developed in L. Cochran, “Career Counseling: A Narrative Approach,” in R. Sharf, ed., *Applying Career Development Theory to Counseling*, 5th ed. (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1997), 315–45.
- 53 MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, N.S. Bojovic, “International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto and Its Services,” Forest Hill Collegiate, 11 Feb. 1960. Points repeated elsewhere, including in letters written on behalf of a client. On immigrant stories circulated through the Institute newsletter, see [chapter 7](#).
- 54 My discussion of client types (see [chapter 3](#)) draws on 51 cases and is informed by such studies as Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” 836–8, 847–52; Danys, *DP*; Luciuk, *Searching for Place*, chs. 6–8; Raska, *Czech Refugees*; Suri, “Promise and Failure of Developed Socialism.”
- 55 Case #2267; on male breadwinning see discussion below.
- 56 Case #2967; case #2957.
- 57 Twenty-one cases.
- 58 In the first instance, 62 per cent of total (42) engineer cases; in the second, 9 cases involving engineers of European (5), Indian (2), and Chinese (1) origin.
- 59 Christopher Dummitt *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), but see also Magda Farhni’s more nuanced essay on “expert” masculinities in post-1945 Quebec in Gossage and Rutherford, *Making Men*. Written before the “masculinity turn,” valuable information on refugee engineers and others is contained in Danys, *DP*, ch. 13.
- 60 Case #2996; three cases involving engineers. Freund, “Troubling Memories.”
- 61 Case #3027 of seven files.
- 62 Case #2948. On the IRC, <https://www.rescue.org/page/history-international-rescue-committee>. (last accessed 9 Oct. 2020).
- 63 Case #3061.
- 64 Newspaper clipping in Case #3061; https://www.heliconsociety.com/html/about_us.html (last accessed 9 Oct. 2020).
- 65 Letter in case #3061.
- 66 Case #3061.
- 67 Case #3068. On stories as a rhetorical act, James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz, “Narrative as Rhetoric,” in David Herman et al., eds., *Narrative Theory: Core*

- Concepts and Critical Debates* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2012); Natalie Davis, *Fiction in the Archives* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).
- 68 Case #2366.
- 69 Case #2321. A recent example of the “human capital” argument applied to post-1991 Eastern European professionals in North America is Nina Michalikova, “Segmented Socioeconomic Adaptation of New Eastern European Professionals in the United States,” *Comparative Migration Studies* 6, no. 8 (2019): 1–27. For a critique of how the approach neglects the impact of gendered social roles in post-migration outcomes, see Bandana Purkayastha, “Skilled Migration and Cumulative Disadvantage: The Case of Highly Qualified Asian Indian Immigrant Women in the U.S.,” *Geoforum* 36, no. 2 (2005):181–96.
- 70 Case #2750 of four cases.
- 71 Case #2268.
- 72 Case #2975.
- 73 Case #2195.
- 74 Case #102 and case #929.
- 75 Case #899.
- 76 Case #5546; case #6875. I found no reference to female staff identifying as a feminist, but counsellors referred clients to feminist-organized clinics and agencies. On Planned Parenthood – the Toronto clinic was founded in 1961 see Percy Skuy, “Canadian Pioneers in Family Planning,” *History of Medicine Blog*, 1998, [https://www.jogc.com/article/S0849-5831\(16\)30075-1/pdf](https://www.jogc.com/article/S0849-5831(16)30075-1/pdf) (last accessed 15 May 2021).
- 77 Case #300. Canadian Council for Refugees, “A Hundred Years of Immigration to Canada, 1900–1999 (Pt 2),” <https://ccrweb.ca/en/hundred-years-immigration-canada-part-2> (last accessed 22 May 2021).
- 78 The respective totals are four and three.
- 79 Case #3024.
- 80 Case #2160 (of five employment letters).
- 81 Case #2958.
- 82 Case #2286.
- 83 Case #3030; case #976; case #398.
- 84 Case #2959.
- 85 Case #286; case #995.
- 86 Note, too, that, though limited, the gender analysis in such studies as Danys, *DP*; Raska, *Czech Refugees*; Peddie, *Young, Well-educated, Adaptable* distinguishes them from the treatment of professionals in the books in the Generation Series on the *Peoples of Canada* publications funded by the federal Department of the Secretary of State, such as Henry Radecki and Benedykt Heydenkorn, *A Member of a Distinguished Family: The Polish Group in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).
- 87 Phan et al., “Family Dynamics,” 2063–75.
- 88 Nine of fifteen case files; Raska, *Czech Refugees*, 160. See also Jarmila L.A. Horna, “The Entrance Status of Czech and Slovak Immigrant Women,” in Jean Leonard

Elliott, ed., *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 1979); on feminist daycare lobbies, Susan Prentice, “Workers, Mothers, Reds: Toronto’s Postwar Daycare Fight,” *Studies in Political Economy* 30, no. 1 (1989): 115–41; *Day Care for Everyone* (Daycare Organizing Committee, Toronto, 1973–4), and *Good Daycare* (Daycare Reform Action Alliance), both in *Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, <https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/> (last accessed 9 Oct. 2020).

- 89 Case #4911; general observation drawn from 82 files in the female professional group.
- 90 Case #337.
- 91 Case #3054.
- 92 Case #3054; case #315.
- 93 Flynn, *Moving beyond Borders*; Danys, DP 252; cluster of 21 cases.
- 94 Case #813.
- 95 MU6472, Files: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, Letter, Olga Fedeyko, 20 March 1960.
- 96 Alas, these files shed little light on how women maintained a sense of professionalism and dignity in work contexts where they were devalued and belittled. On this theme, and how racism significantly shaped the context, see Flynn, *Moving Beyond Borders*.
- 97 Case #4746.
- 98 Case #1857.
- 99 Case #4894.

5 Marital Conflict, Emotions, and “De-culturalizing” Violence

- 1 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, Sub-series E-3, MU6507-MU6567 (case files), case #4263 of a 7,000-casefile database (see Appendix). Dorothy Chunn, “Reshaping Deviant Families through Family Courts: The Birth of ‘Socialized Justice’ in Ontario, 1920–40,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 16 (1988): 137–58.
- 2 Case #4263. On Greek immigrants, who, like other Southern Europeans, were mainly humble rural people with some primary schooling, see [chapter 8](#).
- 3 Shahrzad Mojab, “The Politics of Culture, Racism, and Nationalism in Honour Killing,” *Canadian Criminal Law Review* 16, no. 2 (2012): 115–34, esp. 127–30. See also her “The Particularity of ‘Honour’ and the Universality of ‘Killing’: From Early Warning Signs to Feminist Pedagogy,” in S. Mojab and N. Abdo, eds., *Violence in the Name of Honour: Theoretical and Political Challenges* (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2004), 15–37.
- 4 There are many histories that document social welfare encounters, but among the few examples that relate to the material at hand are Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880–1960*

- (New York: Viking, 1988); Mark Peel, *Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse: Social Work and the Story of Poverty in America, Australia, and Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); essays by Margaret Little and others in Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); David Peterson del Mar, *What Troubles I Have Seen: A History of Violence against Wives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Joan Sangster, *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family, and the Law in Ontario, 1920–1960* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001); Margaret Little, *No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit: The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920–1997* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- 5 Peel, *Miss Cutler*, 8–9 and *passim*. See also Gordon, *Heroes*, 298.
 - 6 See Sarah Pinto, “The History of Emotions in Australia,” *Australian Historical Studies* 48 (2017): 103–14 and references below.
 - 7 Peel, *Miss Cutler*, 5, citing Eileen Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), 249.
 - 8 For example, for *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), I drew on one dozen mostly wife-assault cases involving mostly Eastern Europeans, particularly Hungarian “1956ers” from a set of 1,105 files (222–31; 252–5). A preliminary article in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), drew on only 320 files across a six-year period (1956–62).
 - 9 On the more specific debate over whether to view honour-based violence as distinct from domestic violence but in alignment with violence against women more broadly, or as falling within the spectrum of domestic violence, see, in the first instance, Shahrzad Mojab, “Politics of Culture”; Mohammad Mazher Idriss, “Not Domestic Violence or Cultural Tradition: Is Honour-based Violence Distinct from Domestic Violence?” *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law* 39, no. 1 (2017): 3–21; and, in second, Wendy Aujla and Aisha K. Gill, “Conceptualizing ‘Honour’ Killings in Canada: An Extreme Form of Domestic Violence?” *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences* 9, no. 1 (2014): 153–66; Aruna Papp, *Culturally Driven Violence against Women: A Growing Problem in Canada’s Immigrant Communities* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Frontier Centre for Public Policy, 2010).
 - 10 See, for example, *Learning Network*, issue 26, *Intimate Partner Violence against Immigrant and Refugee Women*, <https://www.vawlearningnetwork.ca/issue-26-intimate-partner-violence-against-immigrant-and-refugee-women> (last accessed 30 May 2021), and discussion below.
 - 11 This discussion draws on several sources, including N. Eustace et al., “AHR Conversations: The Historical Study of Emotions,” *American Historical Review* 117 (2012): 1487–531; Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 821–45; Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions,” *Passions in Context* 1

- (2010): 1–32; Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, “Emotionology”: Clarifying the History of Emotion and Emotional Standards,” *American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (Oct. 1985): 813–36; Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); William M. Reddy, “Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnology of Emotions,” *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997): 327–51.
- 12 Ann Laura Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 829–65 and responses, 893–897; Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, “Mothering from a Distance: Emotions, Gender, and Intergenerational Relations in Filipino Transnational Families,” *Feminist Studies* 27 no. 2 (Summer 2001): 361–90.
 - 13 Eustace et al., “AHR Conversations,” 1525–6.
 - 14 As in Joan Scott’s position in the debate with Linda Gordon over *Heroes* in *Signs* 15 (1990). See also [chapter 3](#).
 - 15 Reddy, “Against Constructionism”; Frank Biess, “‘Everybody Has a Chance’: Nuclear Angst, Civil Defense, and the History of Emotions in Postwar West Germany,” *German History* 27, no. 2 (2009): 215–43.
 - 16 As in “social groups whose members adhere to the same valuations of emotions and their expression.” Rosenwein, “Problems and Methods,” 1.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, 10–24; Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What Is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018).
 - 18 A tiny sample of the large body of multidisciplinary work on immigrant women and violence includes Mojab, “Politics of Culture”; Shahrzad Mojab, “‘Honor Killing’: Culture, Politics and Theory,” *Middle East Women’s Studies Review* 17, no. 1 (2002): 1–7; Aisha K. Gill et al., eds., *“Honour” Killing and Violence: Theory, Policy and Practice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Papp, *Culturally Driven Violence*; Gordon, *Heroes*; Karen Dubinsky and Franca Iacovetta, “Murder, Womanly Virtue and Motherhood: The Case of Angelina Napolitano, 1911–22,” *Canadian Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (Dec 1991): 505–31; Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000), ch. 5; and references below.
 - 19 These are Hungarians (26), Portuguese (11), Greeks (10), Italians (7), Yugoslavians (7), and Germans (5). Other groups represented include Polish, Ukrainian, Spanish, Dutch, Czech, Slovak, Belgian, Austrian, French, Indian, Jamaican, Colombian, and Filipino.
 - 20 The breakdown is Hungarian (21), Greek (9), Portuguese (7), Yugoslavian (7), Italian (5), German (5), Polish (3), Ukrainian (3), Slovak (3), Dutch (2), Czech (2), and 1 each of Austrian, Belgian, Colombian, French, Indian, Jamaican, Filipino, Spanish. Those from better-off backgrounds (56%) slightly outnumber those of plebian origin (44%).
 - 21 The breakdown is Hungarian (5), Portuguese (4), Italian (2), Ukrainian (2), Czech (2), Yugoslavian (2), Greek (2), and 1 each of Austrian, Dutch, French, Indian,

Polish, Slovakian. Those of better-off origins (58%) outnumber those of plebeian backgrounds (42%).

- 22 A sample of the extensive literature includes Katharine Harvey, “To Love, Honour and Obey: Wife Battering in Working Class Montreal, 1869–79,” *Urban History Review* 19 no. 2 (Oct. 1992): 128–40; Carolyn Strange, “Historical Perspectives on Wife Assault,” in Mariana Valverde et al., eds., *Wife Assault and the Canadian Criminal Justice System* (Toronto: Centre for Criminology, University of Toronto, 1995): 293–304; Annalee Goltz, “Uncovering and Reconstructing Family Violence: Ontario Criminal Case Files,” in Iacovetta and Mitchinson, *On the Case*; Judith Fingard, “The Prevention of Cruelty, Marital Breakdown and the Rights of Wives, 1880–1920,” *Acadiensis* 22, no. 2 (1993): 131–48; Dubinsky and Iacovetta, “Murder, Womanly Virtue, and Motherhood”; Sangster, *Regulating Girls and Women*; Tracy Chapman, “‘Till Death Do Us Part: Wife Beating in Alberta, 1905–20,” *Alberta History* 36, no. 4 (1998); James Snell, “Marital Cruelty: Women and the Nova Scotia Divorce Court, 1900–39,” *Acadiensis* 18 (Autumn 1988): 3–32.
- 23 Besides Gordon, *Heroes*, see, for example, Lynn Abrams, “Whores, Whore-Chasers, and Swine: The Regulation of Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century German Divorce Court,” *Journal of Family History* 21, no. 3 (1996): 267–80; Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); del Mar, *What Troubles I Have Seen*; Ellen Ross, “Fierce Questions and Taunts: Married Life in Working-Class London, 1870–1914,” *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 3 (Fall 1982): 575–602; Nancy Tomes, “A Torrent of Abuse: Crimes and Violence between Working-class Men and Women in London, 1840–75,” *Journal of Social History* 11, no. 3 (1978): 328–45; Jeffrey S. Adler, “‘We’ve got a right to fight; we’re married’: Domestic Homicide in Chicago, 1875–1920,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34, no. 1 (2003): 27–48.
- 24 On this theme, Roxanna Ng, “Gendering Policy Research on Immigration,” in *Gendering Immigration/Integration Policy Research* (Ottawa: Status of Women, 1998); Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 264–70; Ju Hui Judy Han, “Safety for Immigrant, Refugee and Non-status Women: A Literature Review,” in *Immigrant Women’s Project: Safety of Immigrant, Refugee, and Non-status Women* (Vancouver: Ending Violence Association of British Columbia, Vancouver, Mosaic, & Lower Mainland Multicultural Family Support Services Society, 2011), https://endingviolence.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/IWP_Resource_Guide_FINAL.pdf, 11–15 and passim (last accessed 6 Aug. 2020).
- 25 Besides *Gatekeepers*, see Franca Iacovetta, “The Sexual Politics of Moral Citizenship and Containing Dangerous Foreign Men in Cold War Canada,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 33, no. 66 (2002): 361–81.
- 26 Case #2174; case #458.
- 27 Case #147; case #5440.
- 28 Case #146; case #4351.
- 29 Case #5981.

- 30 Case #1459.
- 31 Case #325. For one example, see Immigration History Research Center Archives, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota, American Council for Nationalities Service records, which contain the American Federation of International Institutes collection, Box 2786, File: 14, Peter Sandi, “Contrasts and Comparisons in American and Italian Concepts and Practices in Social Work,” 15 May 1958.
- 32 Case #325.
- 33 Case #4297.
- 34 Case #4093.
- 35 Case #2897.
- 36 Case #3887. A reference to the Ontario Medical Services Insurance Plan, or OM-SIP, Ontario’s first government-run health plan, established in 1966, and precursor to today’s medicare plan.
- 37 Only one man, a Czech tradesman, 37, admitted that his refusal to change his “bachelor” ways had driven his wife away, though he claimed they remained friends and he visited his son. An artist, he had come to the Institute for help in registering in an art school. Case #837.
- 38 Case #2747; case #1654.
- 39 Case #2355.
- 40 Case #2168. On the rarity of mother’s sexual abuse of children, especially daughters, see, for example, David Finkelhor, *Sexually Victimized Children* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 93–4; Gordon, *Heroes*, ch. 7.
- 41 These cases – #2911 and #4577 – attracted media attention, and are also discussed below.
- 42 Golz, “Family Violence,” 300.
- 43 Case #4482 of four cases.
- 44 Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart, Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). See also Paul Brook, “In Critical Defence of ‘Emotional Labor’: Refuting Bolton’s Critique of Hochschild’s Concept,” *Work, Employment and Society* 23, no. 3 (2009): 531–48.
- 45 Front-line female social workers also perform caring labour, which involves a “care penalty” that takes various forms, including a loss of personal time and missed-out experiences. Nancy Folbre, *The Invisible Heart: Economics and Family Values* (New York: The New Press, 2012).
- 46 Brian E. Bride, “Prevalence of Secondary Traumatic Stress among Social Workers,” *Social Work* 52, no. 1 (2007): 63–70; April Naturale, “Secondary Traumatic Stress in Social Workers Responding to Disasters,” *Clinical Social Work Journal* 35 (2007): 173–81; Nicky James, “Care = organisation + physical labour + emotional labour,” *Sociology of Health & Illness* 14, no. 4 (1992): 488–509.
- 47 Case #3059.
- 48 See [chapters 3 and 7](#).

- 49 Together, they handled 14 of the 19 cases handled by women counsellors in the minority group of 25 cases.
- 50 As I explain in the Appendix, for privacy reasons, I do not reveal the identity of the counsellor whose case file I am examining, but a general profile of the counselling staff is in [chapter 3](#).
- 51 Case #4078 and case #301 of 10 cases.
- 52 Case #4184 of 4 cases. Migration scholars have interpreted the term or idea of emotional transnationalism in different ways, but my meaning parallels that of Parreñas, “Mothering from a Distance.”
- 53 Case #4196.
- 54 Case #4115. On this theme, see, for example, Karen Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 129–34.
- 55 Case #2477. On this theme, see also Little, *No Car, No Radio*.
- 56 Case #2815.
- 57 On this theme, see [chapter 4](#).
- 58 Case #4292.
- 59 The cluster of 14 cases includes 6 lengthy cases.
- 60 For a detailed treatment of these patterns and themes, see Iacovetta, “Sexual Politics of Moral Citizenship.”
- 61 Case #3653.
- 62 Case #3095.
- 63 Case #2918.
- 64 On professional relationships, see, for example, Tice, *Wayward Girls*, ch. 5, which, like most social work histories, focuses on cross-class relationships.
- 65 Case #2233. The case ends on that point.
- 66 One example is Papp, *Culturally Driven Violence*, esp. 15–16. See also the discussion of the debate in Aujla and Gill, “Conceptualizing ‘Honour’ Killings.”
- 67 Mojab, “Politics of Culture”; Idriss, “Not Domestic Violence or Cultural Tradition.”
- 68 Case #2911; case #4577 (both case files contain newspaper clippings but I have not cited them here for privacy reasons). See also Adler, “‘We’ve got a right to fight.’”
- 69 This discussion draws on a range of sources, including Maria Kalogeropoulou, “Columns of the House, Proud Workers, Greek Immigrant Women in Vancouver, 1954–1975” (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 2015), esp. chs. 1–3; Efi Avdela, “‘Corrupting and Uncontrollable Activities’: Moral Panic about Youth in Post-Civil-War Greece,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 1 (2008): 25–44; Noula Mina, “Taming and Training Greek ‘Peasant Girls’ and the Gender Politics of Whiteness in Postwar Canada: Canadian Bureaucrats and Greek Domestic, 1950s–1960s,” *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 4 (2013): 514–39; Donna Gabaccia, “Honor and Shame in a Mobile World,” unpublished paper, 2003, and

- subject of a 2009 conference at the Rockefeller Center in Bellagio, Italy, in 2009; Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italians in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), ch. 5; Loretta Baldassar, "Marias and Marriage: Ethnicity, Gender and Sexuality among Italo-Australian Youth in Perth," *Journal of Sociology* 35, no. 1 (1999): 1–22; Wenona Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 10–11, 39–40; 58–61, 73–4.
- 70 Janet Elise Johnson, "Contesting Violence, Contesting Gender Crisis Centers: Encountering Local Government in Barnaul, Russia," in Janet Elise Johnson and Jean C. Robinson, eds., *Living Gender after Communism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 40–1; L. Shelley, "Inter-personal Violence in the USSR," *Violence, Aggression and Terrorism* 1, no. 2 (1987): 41–67; V. Sperling, "Rape and Domestic Violence in the USSR: Response to the Victimization of Women and Children," *Journal of the Center for Women Policy Studies* 13, no. 3 (1990): 16–22. See also the Introduction and the essay on multiculturalism and honour killings by Marlou Schrover in Marlou Schrover and Deirdre M. Moloney, eds., *Gender, Migration and Categorisation: Making Distinctions between Migrants in Western Countries, 1945–2010* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013).
- 71 Case #3653; case #985; and case #239.
- 72 Papp, *Culturally Driven Violence*; <https://www.vawlearningnetwork.ca/issue-26-intimate-partner-violence-against-immigrant-and-refugee-women> (last accessed 30 May 2021).
- 73 Papp, *Culturally Driven Violence*, 8–10. See also Holly Maguigan, "Cultural Evidence and Male Violence: Are Feminists and Multicultural Reformists on a Collision Course in Criminal Courts?" *New York University Law Review* (1995): 36–99 (on South East Asian cases in the United States). For a comprehensive report that draws on studies from across Canada, see *The Safety of Immigrant, Refugee, and Non-Status Women Project: Ending Violence* (Vancouver: Association of BC, MO-SAIC, & Vancouver & Lower Mainland Multicultural Family Support Services Society, 2014), https://endingviolence.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/TWP_Resource_Guide_FINAL.pdf (last accessed 30 May 2021).
- 74 <https://www.vawlearningnetwork.ca/issue-26-intimate-partner-violence-against-immigrant-and-refugee-women> (last accessed 30 May 2021).
- 75 Papp, *Culturally Driven Violence*, 10, 17–18.
- 76 Sharzad, "Politics of Culture," 124.
- 77 <https://www.vawlearningnetwork.ca/issue-26-intimate-partner-violence-against-immigrant-and-refugee-women> (last accessed 30 May 2021).

6 Generational Conflict: Intimacy, Money, and "Miniskirt" Feminism

- 1 The OEC (1968–85) advised the cabinet of the Ontario government on raising public awareness in regard to major socioeconomic issues. See <https://>

- thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ontario-economic-council/ (last accessed 28 Aug. 2020).
- 2 Cited in Chris Braithwaite, “Somewhere between Mosaic and Melting Pot: Program to Help Immigrants Adjust to Canadian Ways Urged,” Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6406, File: Clippings, Immigration.
- 3 *Toronto Telegram*, 24 July 1970, editorial, “Immigrant policies condemned,” in MU6406, File: Clippings, Immigration.
- 4 Cited in “Report’s author a ‘middle-roader,’” no author, in MU6406, File: Clippings, Immigration.
- 5 On this theme, see [chapter 2](#) and part 4.
- 6 Braithwaite, “Somewhere between Mosaic.”
- 7 Braithwaite, “Somewhere between Mosaic.” See also Michael Cobden, “Pretty twins feel stifled at home,” *Toronto Star*, in MU6406, File: Clippings, Immigration.
- 8 Many studies of juvenile delinquency and child protection agencies, including those cited in this chapter, make similar points, but on redemption and detective tales, and on gossip and hearsay evidence, see Karen Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), ch. 4; Mark Peel, *Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse: Social Work and the Theory of Poverty in America, Australia, and Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), ch. 4 and passim; Franca Iacovetta, “Gossip, Contest and Power in the Making of Postwar Suburban Bad Girls: Toronto 1940s–1950s,” *Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (1999): 585–623.
- 9 On this theme, see also Abril Liberatori, “‘Family Is Really All Over the Place’: Ethnic Identity Formation within a Transnational Network” (PhD diss., York University, 2017), ch. 3.
- 10 This admittedly eclectic list includes Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, *Women, Work and Family* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978); David L. Kertzer and Mario Barbaglia, eds., *The History of the European Family*, vol. 2, *Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century 1789–1913* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 2002); Enrico T. Carlson Cumbo, “As the Twig Is Bent, the Tree’s Inclined”: Growing Up Italian in Toronto, 1905–1940” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1996); Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880–1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- 11 Examples include Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890–1925* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985); Judith E. Smith, *Family Connections: A History of Italian and Jewish Immigrant Lives in Providence, Rhode Island 1900–1940* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985); Donna Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S., 1820–1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Loretta Baldassar and Donna Gabaccia, eds., *Intimacy and Italian*

Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011); M. Gail Hickey, “‘Go to College, Get a Job, and Don’t Leave the House without Your Brother’: Oral Histories with Immigrant Women and Their Daughters,” *Oral History Review* 23, no. 2 (1996): 63–92; Cumbo, “Twig Is Bent.”

- 12 A few North American examples include Dorothy Chunn, *From Punishment to Doing Good: Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario, 1880–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Ellen Ryerson, *The Best-Laid Plans: America’s Juvenile Court Experiment* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Iacovetta, “Gossip, Contest and Power”; Joan Sangster, *Girl Trouble: Female Delinquency in English Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002); Bryan Hogeveen, “‘The Evils with Which We Are Called to Grapple’: Elite Reformers, Eugenicists, Environmental Psychologists, and the Construction of Toronto’s Working-Class Boy Problem, 1860–1930,” *Labour/LeTravail* 55 (Spring 2005): 37–68; Michael Boudreau, “‘Delinquents Often Become Criminals’: Juvenile Delinquency in Halifax, 1918–1935,” *Acadiensis* 39, no. 1 (2010): 108–32.
- 13 Mary Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). An important correction to the valuable but heavily Protestant-skewed English Canadian literature is Tamara Myers, *Caught: Montreal’s Modern Girls and the Law* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), which also makes effective use of a large number of case files.
- 14 Besides those already noted, see, for example, Regina K. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890 to 1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1993); Sharon Wall, “Some thought they were ‘in Love’: Sex, White Teenagehood, and Unmarried Pregnancy in Early Postwar Canada,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 25, no. 1 (2014): 207–41.
- 15 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, Sub-series E-3, MU6507-MU6525 (case files), on 7,000–case file database see Appendix. The ethnic breakdown for the 150 cases is Italians (20%), Portuguese (18%), Hungarian (17%), Greek (15%), German (5%), Yugoslavian (5%), Czech (3%), Slovak (3%), Russian (2%), Polish (2%), 1% for Armenian, Spanish, Ukrainian, Jamaican; and just under 1% for Austrian, Croatian, Serb, Estonian, Egyptian, Colombian, Korean, and British.
- 16 Adult defined as 25 years and over for singletons; 21 and over for married children.
- 17 Case #4919; case #7; case #222 of 12 cases. For a widow’s pension, the residency requirement was five years.
- 18 Case #85.
- 19 Case #865; case #4814.
- 20 Case #3990. On my use of an emotions approach, see [chapter 5](#).

- 21 Case #2143.
- 22 On the centre's history, https://masaryktown.ca/?page_id=231 (last accessed 22 Sept. 2020).
- 23 Case #728. The OHC was established in 1964 to provide socialized housing. C. Valkii-Zad, "Privatizing Public Housing in Canada, A Public Policy Agenda," *Housing and the Built Environment* 11, no. 1 (1996): 47–68.
- 24 Case #896.
- 25 Case #2813.
- 26 For just two Canadian examples, Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), ch. 7. See also [chapter 5](#).
- 27 Case #190. [chapter 3](#) discusses Institute applications of social-cultural analyses.
- 28 Case #4044.
- 29 Case #2829. On male social workers, see Peel, *Miss Cutler*, part 6, chs. 27–30.
- 30 Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, ch. 5, esp. 195–99; Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities: Morality, Gender, and Generation in the City," in Joy Parr, ed., *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945–80* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).
- 31 Benjamin Schlesinger, "The Social Cultural Elements in Casework: The Canadian Scene," *Social Worker* 30, no. 1 (1962); Edith Ferguson, *Newcomers and New Learning* (hereafter *NNL*) (Toronto: International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, 1964–6), 2–4, 33–8, 50, 68–70. On the multicultural programming, see part 4.
- 32 "Idiot's Machine or Educational Split over TV," *Globe and Mail*, 8 July 1965.
- 33 "Boy needs interpreter in own home," *Toronto Star* (photo of Victor and parents), in MU6406, File: Clippings, Immigration. They would have been among the small number of Hong Kongers who immigrated to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s.
- 34 Costa and Katz in Sidney Katz, "Canadian way of life splits the generations in immigrant families," *Toronto Star*, 4 July 1970; Christie Blatchford, "Generation Gap Splitting Greeks," *Globe and Mail*, 27 Feb. 1973, and critical letter by George Papadatos, 7 March 1973. On this theme, see also Cumbo, "Twig Is Bent," ch. 1. Beginning in the mid-1970s, daughter/mother relations were attracting the attention of social scientists. See Kurt Danziger, "The Acculturation of Italian Immigrant Girls in Canada," *International Journal of Psychology* 9, no. 2 (1974): 129–37; Giuliana Colalillo, "Patterns of Socialization among Italian Adolescent Girls," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 43–50; Wenona Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto: Gender, Immigration, and Nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Judith Nagata, "Adaptation and Integration of Greek Working-Class Immigrants in Toronto, Canada: A Situational Approach," *International Migration Review* 4, no. 1 (1969): 44–70.

- 35 Cited in Katz, “Canadian way of life”; Serge, “Immigrants’ mental ills.”
- 36 City of Toronto Archives, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, SC40, Box 56, File 13 I/M/E/G: Newcomers’ Research: Experiment in Bringing Services [1960–6], Edith Ferguson, Notes on Interview with Chief Attendance Officer, Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board, 1 Sept. 1960.
- 37 These 80 cases involved 42 girls and 38 boys. The ethnic breakdown is Italian (36), Portuguese (23), Greek (16), and one each for Polish, Hungarian, Russian, German, and Ukrainian. The age breakdown is 14–15 (20) and 16–19 (60).
- 38 Mona Gleason, “Avoiding the Agency Trap: Caveats for Historians of Children, Youth and Education,” *History of Education* 45, no. 4 (2016): 448.
- 39 See Peel, *Miss Cutler*, part 3, esp. case 3 and ch. 15; Tice, *Wayward Girls*, 66–7.
- 40 Case #1624. Twenty-five per cent of the wage-earning teens were under 16. On homeownership, see also [chapter 8](#); for other groups, John Bodnar, “Immigration and Modernization: The Case of Slavic Peasants in America,” *Journal of Social History* (Fall 1974): 44–71.
- 41 Case #4113, case #4731, and case #1624 of five cases. On these themes, see also Miriam Cohen, *Workshop to Office: Two Generations of Italian Women in New York City, 1900–1950* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), chs. 4–5; Bodnar, “Immigration and Modernization; Peel, *Miss Cutler*, chs. 15–19.
- 42 Case #4692; case #4702. On emotional descriptors, see [chapter 5](#).
- 43 Case #4178. See also Cumbo, “Twig Is Bent,” 100, 170, 288.
- 44 Case #4537 and case #4151; case #1916 of 17 cases. See also Cohen, *Workshop to Office*, 161–3, 178–82.
- 45 Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto*, 37, 81–5; author conversation with three Italian Canadian informants.
- 46 Case #4526.
- 47 Case #4168 of five cases.
- 48 Case #1145.
- 49 Seven such cases.
- 50 Case #51. Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Margaret Walsh, “Gender and the Automobile in the United States,” https://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Gender/Walsh/G_Overview3.htm (last accessed 22 Sept. 2020); Steve Penfold, “Are we to go literally to the hotdogs’: Parking Lots, Drive-ins, and the Critique of Progress in Toronto’s Suburbs, 1965–1975,” *Urban History Review/Revue d’histoire urbaine* 33, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 8–16; Christopher Dummitt, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 125–31; Catherine Genovese, “T-Bucket Terror to Respectable Races in Vancouver, B.C., 1948–1965,” in Jim Conley and Arlene Tigar McLaren, eds., *Car Troubles: Critical Studies of Automobility and Auto-mobility* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 21–36. On cars in the delinquency literature, see, for example, Iacovetta, “Gossip, Context, and Power”; Wall, “Some thought they were ‘in Love.’”

- 51 Liberatori, “Family Is Really All Over the Place,” ch. 3; Karen Elizabeth Ross, “Deconstructing the ‘Good Catholic Girl’: A Critique of Sexual Pedagogies for Young Women in Catholic Ethics” (PhD diss., Loyola University, Chicago, 2018), ch. 3.
- 52 See, for example, Martin Schiff’s series on marginalized teens, “The Long Wait for Development,” parts 2 and 3, *Globe and Mail*, 11 and 12 July 1961.
- 53 Gilberto Fernandes, *This Pilgrim Nation: The Making of the Portuguese Diaspora in Postwar North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), ch. 7; Vienna Paolantonio, “Good Friday on College Street: Urban Space and Changing Italian Identity” (PhD diss., York University, 2020), 132, 182–4; Marcel Danesi and Alberto Di Giovanni, “Italian as a Heritage Language in Ontario: A Historical Sketch,” *Polyphony* 11, nos. 1–2 (1989): 91–4. See also Clifford Jansen, *Factbook on Italians in Canada* (Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, 1981); Nagata, “Greek Working-Class Immigrants.” On folk culture ethnic revivalism, see part 4.
- 54 Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto*, 9–10.
- 55 Fernandes, *Pilgrim Nation*, 280–5; Susana Miranda, “Not Ashamed or Afraid’: Portuguese Immigrant Women in Toronto’s Cleaning Industry, 1950–1995 (PhD diss., York University, 2010), ch. 4, esp., 195–261.
- 56 Case #3993; case #4091.
- 57 See, for example, “Downtown children aren’t dumb – they need a better program (Park School Parents’ Brief),” *Toronto Star*, 16 Nov. 1971; Harvey Schachter, “Why poor kids never catch up with the wealthy,” Special Report, *Toronto Star*, 25 Feb. 1978; James Royson and Leslie Papp, “School system fails to educate black children, parents charge,” *Toronto Star*, 17 Jan. 1989.
- 58 Sandro Contenta, *Rituals of Failure: What Schools Really Teach* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993). In summer 1990, the Ontario government pledged to phase out Grade 9 streaming of students into academic and applied tracks in 2021, but it remains to be seen. See <https://toronto.ctvnews.ca/ontario-to-begin-phasing-out-grade-9-applied-and-academic-streaming-in-2021-1.5017071> (last accessed 13 Nov. 2021).
- 59 Joseph Hall, “Marchese tries to meet needs of immigrants,” *Toronto Star*, 24 Sept. 1990.
- 60 Aaron Benavot, “The Rise and Decline of Vocational Education,” *Sociology of Education* 56, no. 2 (1983); a play on Owram, *Born at the Right Time*; Gillian Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival: Nation and Identity in the United States and Canada, 1945–1980*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). On vocational training for immigrant adults, see [chapter 8](#).
- 61 Joe Serge, “Immigrants’ mental ills blamed on pace,” *Toronto Star*, 23 May 1970. See also Leslie Scrivener, “Immigrant kids in cultural clash,” *Toronto Star*, 23 Aug. 1980. Such images long predated this period; see, for Toronto, Cumbo, “Twig Is Bent,” ch. 2.

- 62 Costa in Katz, “Canadian way of life.” See also Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto*, 39–41, 57–8.
- 63 The ethnic breakdown of the 20 cases in question is Hungarian (3), Italian (3), Portuguese (3), Greek (2), and 1 each for Czech, German, Jamaican, Korean, Polish, Serbian, Slovakian, Ukrainian, Yugoslavian. There are 13 girls and 7 boys. Most cases are very brief.
- 64 Conversation with three Italian Canadian informants; see also Cumbo, “Twig Is Bent,” ch. 1. Similar points are made in the delinquency literature cited above.
- 65 Case #2465. For a detailed treatment of equally revealing cases involving an Italian and a Mexican mother and their “delinquent” daughters discussed during a 1945 training session at the International Institute of San Francisco, see Franca Iacovetta and Erica Toffoli, “A Double-Edged Pluralism: Paradoxes of Diversity in the International Institute Movement, 1945–1965,” *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 3 (2021): 897–919.
- 66 Case #2465.
- 67 Ibid., Probation officer to Institute, 29 Sept. 60. See also MU6472, Files: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, excerpts on work of Department of Individual Services (Dec. 1960). See also Cumbo, “Twig Is Bent,” ch. 3.
- 68 Case #856; case #6725.
- 69 Allyson D. Stevenson, *Intimate Integration: A History of the Sixties Scoop and the Colonization of Indigenous Kinship* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020). On the now widely denounced form of child apprehension – the residential school system – see J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Royal Commission on Indigenous Peoples, *Report of the Royal Commission on Indigenous Peoples*, vol. 1, *Looking Forward, Looking Back*, ch. 10 on “Residential Schools” (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1996).
- 70 Case #4371 of seven cases.
- 71 Case #4220.
- 72 See [chapter 5](#).
- 73 Case #4191. Although the client was in her early twenties, I included this case because of the social-cultural issues it illuminates. On immigrant advice columns, see Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 174–84.
- 74 Case #3859.
- 75 Case #4974 (and newspaper clipping not cited for privacy reasons).
- 76 Case #1435. Many female delinquency studies note the cruel irony of sexual abuse victims being dubbed delinquents, but an analysis that highlights immigrants is Odem, *Delinquent Daughters*, ch. 2.
- 77 Odem, *Delinquent Daughters*, ch. 2.
- 78 Case #2733.
- 79 Paolantonio, “Good Friday on College Street,” chs. 4–5.
- 80 Joe Serge, “She’s 16, pretty, but can’t go on dates,” *Toronto Star* in MU6406, File: Clippings, Immigration.

- 81 Yvonne Crittenden, “Communication Gap: YWCA Aids Immigrants,” *Toronto Telegram*, 26 June 1970. On this theme among forties-era Italian Americans, see Cohen, *Workshop to Office*, 178–82.
- 82 Gabaccia, *From the Other Side*, 120–5; Colalillo, “Patterns of Socialization”; Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto*, 9–10, 68–78.
- 83 Nadia Jones-Gailani, “Feminist Oral History and Assessing the Duelling Narratives of Iraqi Women in Diaspora,” in Marlene Epp and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 584–602; Nadia Jones-Gailani, *Transnational Identity and Memory Making in the Lives of Iraqi Women in Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), which also addresses the issue of female modesty in relation to recent and contemporary Iraqi women in North America.
- 84 Helen Singer, “Courage takes root in a strange land,” *Toronto Telegram*, 17 July 1971. On immigrant daughters challenging traditional stereotypes in new urban contexts, see also Ewen, *Immigrant Women*; Smith, *Family Connections*; Hickey, “Go to College”; Odem, *Delinquent Daughters*, ch. 6.
- 85 Giles, *Portuguese Women in Toronto*, quotation on p. 61, interviews in ch. 3, esp. 48–65.
- 86 Werner Sollors, “Introduction,” in *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Kathleen Neils Conzen et al., “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 3–41.

7 Making Multicultural Community at the Institute

- 1 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6442 (B280559), File: Members Council [hereafter MC] 1960–65, Minutes of MC Meeting, 17 Aug. 1961.
- 2 Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, eds., “Introduction,” in *Negotiating Identities in 19th and 20th Century Montreal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 1–21; Leonore Davidoff, “Regarding Some ‘Old Husband’s Tales’: Public and Private in Feminist History,” in *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 257–8. See also Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherford, “Introduction,” in *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 3–25.
- 3 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- 4 Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. R. Hurley (London: Allan Lane 1979); Bradbury and Myers, *Negotiating Identities*, 7. See also part 2.

- 5 Sympathetic studies include Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890–1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) and Judith Ann Trolander, *Professionalism and Social Change from the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centres, 1886 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987). Critical studies include Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1880–1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), which labels Jane Addams an assimilationist and Hull House a failure, despite offering examples of their successes; and Elizabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1880–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), which documents the movement’s failure to engage African Americans and reclaims Black community organizing as settlement work.
- 6 See my discussion of these themes in part 1 and conclusion.
- 7 Examples include Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Kanishk Goonewardena and Stefan Kipfer, “Spaces of Difference: Reflections from Toronto on Multiculturalism and the Possibility of Radical Urban Politics,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 3 (Sept. 2005): 670–8; Helen F. Wilson, “Collective Life: Parents, Playground Encounters and the Multicultural City,” *Social and Cultural Geography* 14, no. 6 (2013): 625–48.
- 8 Iris Marion Young, “The Ideal of Community and the Politics of Difference,” in Linda J. Nicholson, ed., *Feminism/Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 1990), 300–23. On the ironic silencing of women and ethnic minorities within some postmodernist radical geography, see Liz Bondi, “Feminism, Postmodernism, and Geography: Space for Women?” *Antipode* 22, no. 2 (1990): 156–67.
- 9 MU6422 (B280579), File: Intercom Copies 1957, *Intercom*, April 1957, Richard Kolm “Purpose through Programme.” Note that *Intercom* copies cited in this chapter are contained in marked files in MU6442 and MU6442 (B280579).
- 10 MU6382 (B280521), File: Board and Committee Minutes 1958, Richard Kolm, Evaluation of Department Work, Oct. 1956–Oct. 1957.
- 11 *Intercom*, April 1957, Nell West, “What Is the Institute?”; Immigration History Research Center Archives (hereafter IHRCA), Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota, American Council for Nationalities Service records, which contain the American Federation of International Institutes Collection (hereafter II), Box 275, Folder: 12, Survey of Need of Service; IHRCA; II, Box 271, File: 9, Edith Terry Bremer, “Why an International Institute?”
- 12 On liberal internationalism, see [chapter 11](#).
- 13 AO, *Intercom*, April 1957, Kolm, “Purpose through Programme.” See also *Intercom*, June 1957, Kolm “Purpose through Programme.”
- 14 MU6525 (B280562), File: Tom Robertson, “The Need for Programs,” n.d.
- 15 O.W. Farley et al., *Introduction to Social Work*, 10th ed. (Boston: Pearson Education, 2006), 5–8; R. Ambrosino et al., *Social Work and Social Welfare: An*

- Introduction*, 7th ed. (Canada: Brooks/Cole, 2012); N. Chukwu et al., “Methods of Social Practice,” in U. Okoye et al., eds., *Social Work* (Nsukka: University of Nigeria Press Ltd.), ch. 4.
- 16 MU6425 (B2800562), File: Robert Kreem, “Social Work: Renewed Focus upon the Social Environment.”
- 17 C. Das et al., “Re-engaging with Community Work as a Method of Practice in Social Work: A View from Northern Ireland,” *Journal of Social Work* 18, no. 4 (2018): 376–7.
- 18 For the argument that state welfarism blunts social work’s radical potential see Das, “Re-engaging with Community Work.”
- 19 Kolm, Evaluation of Department Work, Oct. 1956–Oct. 1957; *Intercom*, Feb. 1967, Dec. 1968.
- 20 The individual fee increased from \$2 to \$3 and later to \$5.
- 21 *Intercom*, April 1957.
- 22 Such as Paul Newman in *The Young Philadelphians* and Cary Grant and Ingrid Bergman in *Indiscreet*. *Intercom*, Oct. 1960, Nov. 1960.
- 23 MU6438, File: Correspondence, film lists (I found no record of the discussions); Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Ottawa: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015), 1–2 and passim.
- 24 For example, *Intercom*, Sept. 1963, Dec. 1965, Jan. 1967, April 1968.
- 25 *Intercom*, Dec. 1963.
- 26 David A. Stewart (Services Supervisor), Annual Report, 1958–9.
- 27 On artists, see chapter 11.
- 28 Ash Amin, “Ethnicity and the Multicultural City: Living with Diversity,” *Environment and Planning A*, 34 (2002): 959–80, esp. 967.
- 29 Raymond A. Mohl, “The International Institute Movement and Ethnic Pluralism,” *Social Science* 56, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 14–21, ch. 1.
- 30 Paula Schriefer, “What’s the Difference between Multicultural, Intercultural, and Cross-cultural Communication?” *Spring Institute*, 18 April 2016, at <https://springinstitute.org/whats-difference-multicultural-intercultural-cross-cultural-communication/> (last accessed 11 Oct. 2021). On tensions between promoting multiculturalism within state institutions and promoting interculturalism between individual citizens, see Will Kymlicka, “Multicultural States and Intercultural Citizens,” *Theory and Research in Education* 1, no. 2 (2003): 147–69. The Bouchard-Taylor Commission’s model of interculturalism focuses more particularly on how to maintain Quebec’s distinctive francophone culture while being open to the cultural contributions of ethnic and religious minorities. See Gerard Bouchard, *Interculturalism: A View from Quebec*, trans. Howard Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).
- 31 MU6425 (B280562), File: Robert Kreem, profile in *Intercom*, Oct. 1965; resignation letter, 14 May 1966.

- 32 Other short-lived supervisors included social worker A. Sandberg and Gordon Row, a former YMCA worker from Montreal and Sault Ste Marie. MU6431 (B280568), File: Staff Lists 1960–8; Staff Salaries 1968, Personnel Files.
- 33 MU6410, File: Executive Director Correspondence 1961–2, H.C. Forbell to Julia Kay, 15 Aug. 1962.
- 34 Kolm, Evaluation of Department Work, Oct. 1956–Oct. 1957; MU 6424, File: Executive Director Personnel, 1956–62, Jean Sheck to Nell West, 22 June 1959; *Intercom*, Nov. 1962, Sept. 1963.
- 35 Details from files on Executive Director, on Personnel, and on Correspondence regarding group work staff in MU6424, MU6410, and MU6438.
- 36 MU6425 (B280562), File: Lucy Gitow, Evaluation by C. Lee, 8 Aug. 1972; Gitow Self-evaluation, 27 July 1972. On empathy, see also [chapter 3](#).
- 37 Files on Kinnee and on group workers in MU6425 (B280562).
- 38 The classes were offered under the auspices of the Citizenship Division of the Ontario government. They used a rotating system that allowed students to enrol in a class at a time during the year when they could so. For hosting the classes, the Institute received \$3 for the initial class and \$1.50 for each additional class. See designated files in MU6458 (B280595), MU6412, and MU6447 (B280584).
- 39 Observations based on club and house program statistics in various files in MU6444 (B280581) and MU6430 (B280567).
- 40 The one Black woman teacher identified in the *Intercom* is Joan Cumberbatch. *Intercom*, Oct. 1968 (photo); “A Tribute to Our Volunteer Teachers” (list of names), *Intercom*, June–July 1971.
- 41 Estimates based on statistics in files in MU6444 (B280581) and MU6430 (B280567), and in club reports in *Intercom*, 1957–72.
- 42 *Intercom*, May–June 1966; *Intercom*, March 1962, “To Dance Is to Integrate.”
- 43 For example, *Intercom*, Oct. 1968.
- 44 MU6438, File: Correspondence, notes regarding staff; MU6425 (B280562), File: Lloyd Kinnee, reference letter for Varadaraja, 27 March 1969.
- 45 *Intercom*, Sept. 1968 and Summer Edition 1969. In the sixties, the numbers appear to hover between 40 and 60 volunteers in a given year.
- 46 List from MU6438, File: Correspondence, regarding group work staff.
- 47 *Intercom*, Oct. 1965 and March 1969.
- 48 *Intercom*, March 1962, “Building a Bridge” (S. Bunker).
- 49 *Intercom*, Summer Edition 1969 (N. Basco); Minutes of MC Meeting, 19 May 1960.
- 50 *Intercom*, May–June 1966. The unnamed correspondent also thanked Stoian for her friendly support; on photos showing a mixed-race group, see *Intercom*, Feb. 1966.
- 51 *Intercom*, July 1962 (Patamia); *Intercom*, June 1961 (H. Albrecht).
- 52 *Intercom*, June 1957, “A Day at Dagmar” (near Peterborough).
- 53 *Intercom*, June 1957, “Outdoors-Ho!” On food, see [chapter 9](#).

- 54 *Intercom*, June 1957 “Outdoors-Ho!” and “Dagmar” and regular reports in *Intercom*, June 1961 (G. Fitzpatrick), May–June 1963 (A. Godschalk); Oct. 1961, Sept. 1962 (no author). On the supper club, see [chapter 9](#).
- 55 *Intercom*, Outdoor Group, June 1961 (G. Fitzpatrick).
- 56 Brandon M. Savage et al., “Humor, laughter, learning, and health!” *Advances in Physiology Education* 41 (2017): 341–7; Janet M. Gibson, “Getting Serious about Funny: Psychologists see Humor as a Character Strength,” <https://theconversation.com/getting-serious-about-funny-psychologists-see-humor-as-a-character-strength-61552>; Peter McGraw, “The Importance of Humor Research: A Serious Non-serious Research Topic,” *Psychology Today*, 14 Sept. 2011, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/the-humor-code/201109/the-importance-humor-research>; Disa A. Sauter et al., “Cross-cultural Recognition of Basic Emotions through Nonverbal Emotional Vocalizations,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107, no. 6 (Feb. 2010): 2408–12, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0908239106> (all last accessed 10/11/2021).
- 57 *Intercom*, March 1962.
- 58 *Intercom*, June 1957, June 1961, Sept. 1962, and Oct. 1962 (D. Viereck).
- 59 *Intercom*, June 1957, “English Is Tough Stuff”
- 60 *Intercom*, May–June 1966 (C.W. Martin).
- 61 *Intercom*, April 1962, “Impressions of an Amateur Language Teacher” (unnamed).
- 62 Letter in *Intercom*, May–June 1966.
- 63 *Intercom*, Nov. 1960, Oct. 1962, April 1962 (M. Franzen).
- 64 Both in *Intercom*, May–June 1966.
- 65 *Intercom*, March 1962; Eliza Berman, “The Italian Bombshell Who Proved That Life is about Much More Than Curves,” *Time Life Magazine*, 22 July 2015, <https://time.com/3957219/gina-lollobrigida/>. Peter Stackpole’s 1960 photographs at <https://fromthebygone.wordpress.com/2018/03/13/gina-lollobrigida-in-toronto-1960/> (both last accessed 11 Oct. 2021).
- 66 *Intercom*, June 1957.
- 67 MU6419 (B280556), File: Human Interest Stories, “The Looker”; Naomi Klein, *The Beauty Myth* (New York: Perennial, 2002 [1990]). On publicity narratives, see [chapter 4](#).
- 68 A. Celeste Gara, “Understanding Emotional Intimacy: A Review of Conceptualization, Assessment and the Role of Gender,” *International Social Science Review* 77, nos. 3–4 (2002): 151–70.
- 69 Anne Milan, Hélène Maheux, and Tina Chui, “A Portrait of Couples in Mixed Unions,” *Statistics Canada*, 2006, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-008-x/2010001/article/11143-eng.htm#a6> (last accessed 11 Oct. 2021); Hill Kulu and Tina Hannemann, “Mixed Marriage among Immigrants and Their Descendants in the United Kingdom,” *Population Studies* 73, no. 2 (2019): 181–4; Leo Lucassen and Charlotte Laarman, “Immigration, Intermarriage and the Changing Face of Europe in the Post War Period,” *History of the Family* 14, no. 1

- (2009): 52–68; Will Kymlicka, *The Current State of Multiculturalism in Canada and Research Themes on Canadian Multiculturalism, 2008–2010* (Ottawa, Government of Canada, 2010), 21.
- 70 Ten of the 23 cases drawn mostly from the *Intercom* (1957–72), but also staff reports and counselling files, involved partners who belonged to a different ethnic group.
- 71 *Intercom*, Oct. 1960. Contemporary studies cited above indicate that a shared religious identity can be a positive factor influencing mixed unions.
- 72 Outdoor group marriages such as Jos Ansems and Stanley Trochonowicz speak to the opportunities for intimacy during weekend trips.
- 73 *Intercom*, Dec. 1962.
- 74 Rachel Cassandra, “Falling in Love on the Dance Floor,” <https://socialdancecommunity.com/falling-in-love-on-the-dance-floor/> (last accessed 11 Oct. 2021). See also Judith Lynne Hanna, “Dance and Sexuality: Many Moves,” *Journal of Sex Research* 47, nos. 2–3 (2010): 212–41.
- 75 *Intercom*, Dec. 1962; Cassandra, “Falling in Love on the Dance Floor.” Many English class students also came from outside the immediate neighbourhood.
- 76 On this theme, see also [chapters 5–6](#).
- 77 *Intercom*, Dec. 1967, Olga Stoian, International Group report (photos).
- 78 Loretta Baldassar and Donna R. Gabaccia, eds., “Introduction,” in *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 1–24; Gabaccia, “Honor and Shame in a Mobile World” (unpublished paper, 2003, and subject of a 2009 conference at the Rockefeller Center in Bellagio, Italy); Abril Liberatori, “‘Family Is Really All Over the Place’: Ethnic Identity Formation within a Transnational Network” (PhD diss., York University, 2017), 105–8. See also Davar Ardalan, “How a Persian-American Love Story Got Its Start in Harlem, in *Code Switch: Race and Identity Remixed*, <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2014/05/09/310094118/how-a-persian-american-love-story-got-its-start-in-harlem> (last accessed 11 Oct. 2021).
- 79 *Intercom*, June 1957. On South Asians see Kulu and Hannemann, “Mixed Marriage,” which cites several other contemporary studies.
- 80 *Intercom*, April 1961; on Hanen, see discussion below.
- 81 *Intercom*, Nov. 1960.
- 82 As in reports in *Intercom*, Oct. 1960 (on a folk-dancing series); *Intercom*, Oct. 1961 (on the outdoor group); *Intercom*, Oct. 1968 (on a recent Open House).
- 83 *Intercom*, Sept. 1961, Oct. 1961, April 1962, Sept. 1962; on Lila, *Intercom*, Oct. 1961. My thanks to Michael Akladios for helping me to situate the El-Laboudy couple. See his “Heteroglossia: Interpretation and the Experiences of Coptic Immigrants from Egypt in North America, 1955–1975,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 53, no. 109 (2020): 646–7.
- 84 *Intercom*, April 1962, Sept. 1962, Dec. 1963.
- 85 *Intercom*, Nov. 1960, April 1961.

- 86 Both in *Intercom*, April 1962.
- 87 MU6444 (B280581), File: Groups: Bylaws and Special Memorandum on Relationship of Groups to the Institute, August 1958, and “Constitution” form filled out by members; Minutes of MC Meeting, Feb. 1963 on managing group finances.
- 88 MU6382 (B280521), File: Board and Committee Minutes [1958], Minutes of Board Meeting, 14 Dec. 1959, 9 May 1960, 18 Aug. 1960, 20 April 1961; *Intercom*, Sept. 1960, Nov. 1960; Minutes of MC Meeting, 18 Aug. 1960.
- 89 Minutes of MC Meeting, 26 Dec. 1962. On internationalism, see [chapter 11](#).
- 90 MU6442 (B280559), File: Membership Council 1960–5, Minutes of MC Meeting, Feb. 1963, 16 May 1963, 18 April 1963; File: General Membership Meeting, 15 Nov. 1964, Report to PC from MC, 28 May 1964; *Intercom*, May 1964.
- 91 MU6425 (B280562), File: Group Services Staff, Evaluation of Buyers, 28 Feb. 1966; Joan Buyers to David Jones (board), 19 April 1966. She named the current director, J.T. Seaman, Kreem, and his replacement as group services supervisor (Row).
- 92 MU6410 (B280547), File: Executive Director Correspondence 1961–2, H.C. Forbell to C.D. Milani (board), 11 April 1962; Mike Sosaszny to H.C. Forbell, 28 Oct. 1962; Forbell to Sosaszny, 2 Nov. 1962; MU6410, File: Executive Director Correspondence 1961–2, Forbell to Henry Weisbach (Personnel Committee), 26 June 1962.
- 93 MU6442 (B280559), File: Members Council 1960–5, Minutes of MC Meetings, 19 May 1960, 18 Jan. 1962, 19 April 1962, 15 Nov. 1962; MU 6410 (B280597), File: Executive Director Correspondence 1964–6, J.T. Seaman to Fred Brett, 22 Aug. 1966, blaming “the odd Italian or Yugoslavian male.”
- 94 MU6410 (B280547), File: Executive Director Correspondence 1961–2, Ahmed Shanty to T.M. West, Chair, Board of Directors, 11 Oct. 1961, Forbell to Shanty, 16 Oct. 1962.
- 95 MU6442 (B280559), File: General Membership Meeting 1964, Report to Programming Committee from MC, 28 May 1964.
- 96 Ibid. On mediating difference, G. Valentine, “Living with Difference: Reflections on Geographies of Encounter,” *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no. 3 (2008): 323–37.
- 97 The literature on moral geographies is extensive, but studies relevant to this discussion include Sarah Miller’s “Jives, Jeans and Jewishness: Moral Geographies, Atmospheres, and the Politics of Mixing at the Jewish Lads’ Brigade Club, 1954–1969,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 34, no. 6 (2016): 1098–112; Valentine, “Living with Difference”; Matt Finn, “Atmospheres of Progress in a Data-based School,” *Cultural Geographies* 23, no. 1 (2016): 29–49, esp. 32–3.
- 98 Amin, “Ethnicity and the Multicultural City.” The relevant social histories are too numerous to mention, but see Bradbury and Myer’s Introduction to *Negotiating Identities*.
- 99 The men included a few Italians and Canadians and one Franco-Ontarian man; the women included the chair, a Dutch woman, and the wife of bridge club veteran Bunker. Minutes of MC Meetings, January 1964–May 1964.

- 100 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), ch. 6, esp. 133–9.
- 101 *Intercom*, June–July 1971, Martin Weiland, “Country of Promise Becomes Home.”
- 102 *Intercom*, Sept. and Oct. 1970, O. Koepke, “Unknown Shores.”
- 103 *Intercom*, Nov. 1970, Wilhelm Pilz, “High Priority.”
- 104 On VOA, see <https://www.insidevoa.com/a/history-voa-75th-anniversary/3700428.html>; on Külvet, see Aarne H. Vahtra, “Man of Letters Ilmar Külvet 85,” *Estonian World Review*, 28 Oct. 2005, <https://www.eesti.ca/man-of-letters-ilmar-kulvet-85/article11540> (both last accessed 18 April 2022).
- 105 *Intercom*, Oct. 1965, Ilmar Kulvet, “An Honest Face in the Jungle.”
- 106 *Intercom*, March 1971, Madzi Brender a Brandis, “A Real Surprise”; *Intercom*, Dec. (Christmas issue) 1965, Dr Nadine Hradsky, “Our First Christmas.”
- 107 *Intercom*, April and May 1971, “The Institute Did the Trick,” by Corrado as told to Isabel Jemsen; on the Trade English Programme, see [chapter 8](#).
- 108 MU6444 (B280581), File: Programme Report 1969, Kay Brown, Group Services Report, Programme Evaluation, May 1969.
- 109 See my reference to an Institute spokeswoman in [chapter 6](#).
- 110 Brown, Programme Evaluation, May 1969.
- 111 IHRCA, II, Box 278b, File: 14, II Milwaukee, May 1958, Pierce, “Patterns of Collaboration in the Practice of Group Work, Casework and Community Organization”; *ibid.*, Box 271, File: 9, American Federation of International Institutes, Edith Terry Bremer, “Forecast of Post War Problems of the Nationality Communities,” June 1945.
- 112 Quotation from IHRCA, II, Box 275, Folder 12, II Toledo, Steven Markowski to Merwyn Leatherman, 1 Sept. 1953.
- 113 AO, MU6382 (B280521), File: Board and Committee Minutes 1958, Richard Kolm, Evaluation of Department Work, Oct. 1956–Oct. 1957.
- 114 *Intercom*, Feb. 1963, Precis of “Psychology and the Immigrant” by Very Reverend Georges de Rochau in recent *Migration News*. On the US Institutes as delayed assimilationists, see part 1 and *passim*.
- 115 *Intercom*, May 1964, “Japanese Canadian Workers’ Contribution to the Labor Movement in Vancouver”; Gillian Creese, “Exclusion or Solidarity? Vancouver Workers confront the ‘Oriental Problem,’” *BC Studies* 80 (Winter 1988–9): 24–51.
- 116 *Intercom*, Nov. 1960 (chair Ken Marshall); *Intercom*, July 1962; <https://highparknaturecentre.com/2/cherry-blossom-history> (last accessed 11 Oct. 2021); *Globe and Mail*, 26 April 1957.
- 117 Gilberto Fernandes, *This Pilgrim Nation: The Making of the Portuguese Diaspora in Postwar North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 235–42 (quotation p. 240).
- 118 Quotation from *Intercom*, July 1962; *Intercom*, July 1961, with photo of “Calypso Capers” night, 24 June 1961, featuring Roach’s West Indian Band. The caption read in part: “A record crowd of 250 including many new faces participated

in some live dancing and enjoyed the music and songs of C. Roach and D. Campbell.”

- 119 On Roach, see obituaries at <https://nowtoronto.com/news/remembering-charlie-roach/>; https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2012/10/03/charles_roach_toronto_lawyer_and_human_rights_advocate_dies_at_79.html; Kevin Plummer, “After-hours clubs and the West Indian music scene of the 1960s,” *Torontoist*, 28 Dec. 2013, <https://torontoist.com/2013/12/historicist-sounds-of-home-ii/> (all last accessed 11 Oct. 2021).
- 120 On Caribana, see, for example, B. Denham Jolly, *In the Black: My Life* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2017), ch. 10; Peter Jackson, “The Politics of the Street: A Geography of Caribana,” *Political Geography* 11, no. 2 (March 1992): 131–51; and [chapter 10](#).
- 121 MU6425 (B280562), File: Royston C. Jones, interviewed for *Toronto Star*, “As Immigrants See Us” column, “Canadians are too sophisticated to display prejudice” (news clipping, n.d.). See also Sidney Katz, “Toronto blacks unite to squelch that ghetto image,” *Toronto Star*, 26 Dec. 1970.

8 Community Projects for Rural Villagers: Health and Occupational Training

- 1 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6470 (B436174), File: Newcomers in Transition 1964, Application; Edith Ferguson, *Newcomers in Transition* (A Project of the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, 1962–4) (hereafter *NT*), 109.
- 2 One useful overview is Ilene Hyman, “Setting the Stage: Reviewing Current Knowledge on the Health of Canadian Immigrants: What Is the Evidence and Where Are the Gaps?” *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 95, no. 3 (May–June 2004): 14–18.
- 3 See, for example, M.A. George and C. Bassani, “The Health of Immigrant Children Who Live in Areas of High Immigrant Concentration,” *Ethnicity and Health* 21, no. 5 (2016): 426–38; Sylvia Guendelman et al., “Overcoming the Odds: Access to Care for Immigrant Children in Working Poor Families in California,” *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 9, no. 4 (Dec. 2005): 351–62; Sonia Morano Foadi, “Children and Migration in the EU: The Impact of Family Breakdown on the Children of European Families,” *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law* 24, no. 3 (2002): 363–75; Staffan Mjones, “Refugee Children – A Concern for European Paediatricians,” *European Journal of Pediatrics* 164, no. 9 (2005): 535–38; and references below.
- 4 A small sample includes Ann Valentin Kvist, “Immigrant Groups, Vocational Training, and Employment,” *European Journal of Training and Development* 36, no. 8 (2012): 809–26; Ya-Ling Wu, “Applying Culturally Responsive Pedagogy to the InVocational Training of Immigrants,” *Journal of Educational and Training Studies* 4, no. 2 (2016): 177–81; John E. Lyons, Bikkar S. Randhawa, and Neil A. Paulson, “The Development of Vocational Education in Canada,” *Canadian*

- Journal of Education* 16, no. 2 (1991): 137–50; Håvard Helland and Liv Anne Støren, “Vocational Education and the Allocation of Apprenticeships: Equal Chances for Applicants Regardless of Immigrant Background?,” *European Sociological Review* 22, no. 3 (July 2006): 339–51; Lisa Y. Flores, Catherine Hsieh, and Hung Chiao, “Vocational Psychology and Assessment with Immigrants in the United States: Future Directions for Training, Research, and Practice,” *Journal of Career Assessment* 19, no. 3 (2011): 323–32.
- 5 John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).
 - 6 MU6470 (B436174), File: Newcomers in Transition, Edith Ferguson, NT, 24. The same could be said of her suggestion in NT that all children, including Anglo-Canadian children, take heritage classes where everyone can learn about each other’s heritage (ch. 10, recommendations).
 - 7 Ron Lowman, “She travelled long, hard road to write report on immigrants,” *Toronto Star*, 25 July 1970; Susan Armstrong-Reid and David Murray, *Armies of Peace: Canada and the UNRRA Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Ben Lappin, *The Redeemed Children* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).
 - 8 Lowman, “She travelled long.”
 - 9 Edith Ferguson, “Large Source of Labor in Europe’s D.P.s,” *Toronto Star*, 13 Dec. 1947; Ferguson, “Most D.P.s Pick Canada for New Homeland,” *Saturday Night*, 8 Nov. 1947.
 - 10 Lowman, “She travelled long.”
 - 11 Ibid.; Ruth Sandwell, “‘Read, Listen, Discuss, Act’: Adult Education, Rural Citizenship and the Canadian National Farm Radio Forum 1941–1965,” *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d’histoire de l’éducation* (2012): 170–94; Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), ch. 2.
 - 12 Group estimates were Italians (200,000), Greeks (35,000–40,000), Portuguese (20,000–25,000).
 - 13 COSTI, *Integration through Education* (Toronto: COSTI Italian Community Education Centre, 1973), COSTI: History in Progress, https://www.costi.org/downloads/COSTI_HISTORY_IN_PROGRESS_EXCERPTS.pdf (last accessed 12 Nov. 2021).
 - 14 The “neighbourhood” was bound by Ossington Avenue on the west, Harbord Street on the north, Bathurst Street on the east, and Dundas Street at the south, with College Street the main thoroughfare. The first choice was dropped because it was more heterogeneous than expected; the original Parkdale name was dropped because the new boundaries did not include that area of the city. City of Toronto Archives (CTA), Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPC), SC40, Box 53, File: 1A International Institute (hereafter II) 1961–3, Ferguson, Project Director’s Interim Report, 24 April 1962.
 - 15 Ferguson, NT, 18; MU6469 (B436173), File: Correspondence 1962–3, several Interim Reports, 1 March to 31 Dec. 1962.

- 16 Ferguson, *NT*, ch. 4; Susana Miranda, “‘Not Ashamed or Afraid’: Portuguese Immigrant Women in Toronto’s Cleaning Industry, 1950–1995” (PhD diss., York University, 2010); Gilberto Fernandes, *This Pilgrim Nation: The Making of the Portuguese Diaspora in Postwar North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020); Franca Iacovetta, “Recipes for Democracy? Gender, Family, and Making Female Citizens in Cold War Canada,” *Canadian Woman Studies* 20, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 12–21; Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992).
- 17 CTA, SPC, SC40, Box 53, File: 1A II 1961–3, File: 3A II Parkdale Branch [Branch Office] 1961–3, Ferguson, Interim Reports, 1962–3 (hereafter Interim Reports); Ferguson, *NT*, 18; Fernandes, *Pilgrim Nation*, esp. ch 6.
- 18 Ferguson, *NT*, ch. 3.
- 19 Ferguson, *NT*, 109–10; Interim Reports.
- 20 Ferguson, *NT*, 109.
- 21 Ferguson, *NT*, 109–12; Robert C. Vipond, *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 86–9; Mark McGowan, A Short History of Roman Catholic Schools in Ontario,” <https://docplayer.net/25423386-A-short-history-of-catholic-schools-in-ontario-dr-mark-g-mcgowan-professor-of-history-st-michael-s-college-university-of-toronto.html> (last accessed 18 April 2022).
- 22 Interim Report, 13 Nov. 1962; MU6403 (B280540), File: Branch Office, Parkdale Branch [Branch Office] Year-End Report, March 1962–March 1963. Estimates of “Italian-heavy” schools ranged from “40–70%” to “90–95% Italian.”
- 23 Ferguson, *NT*, ch. 5, 66–8, 71. Heather MacDougall, *Activists and Advocates: Toronto’s Health Department, 1883–1983* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1990), 60–167; Christopher Ruttly and Sue C. Sullivan, *This Is Public Health: A Canadian History* (Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association, 2010), <https://www.google.com/search?channel=trow5&client=firefox-b-d&q=this+is+public+health+a+canadian+history> (last accessed 18 April 2022).
- 24 Interim Report, 13 Nov. 1962; Ferguson, *NT*, 72. Access to acute hospital services was guaranteed through the 1957 *Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act*. The 1966 *Medical Care Act* afforded access to insured medical services. <https://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/cphorsphc-respcacsp/2008/fr-rc/cphorsphc-respcacsp11-eng.php#59> (8 May 2022).
- 25 My 7,000-file database (1952–72) lists 98 cases that deal primarily or exclusively with health issues (see Appendix), but some 1,800 case files involving Europeans contain some health-related content. My few observations here draw on the 800 Southern European cases.
- 26 The workers’ field notes and reports in: AO, MU6470 (B436173), File: Little Italy Interviews 1962; File: Neighbourhood Visits, 1962; File: Italian Records 1962–3; File: School Interviews; File: Italian Records 1962–3; MU6470 (B436174), File: Portugal Records 1962–3, Fieldworker Cases; MU6470 (B436173), File: School

- Interviews; MU6470 (B436174), File: Portuguese Records 1962–3, Montgomery home visits, 1962–3; School Referrals, 1962–3, Referral Forms; School Interviews (3 lists), List of Interviews; Branch Director to Project Committee summary reports. See also Ferguson, *NT*, ch. 6 and Appendix A (76 school cases for the period 1 Oct. 1962–15 Oct. 1963, pp. 119–22).
- 27 Ferguson, *NT*, 119; Interim Reports. The public schools were Grace, Alexander Muir, Charles E. Fraser, and Clinton, and the separate ones were St Patrick and St Francis of Assisi.
 - 28 Percentages based on a comparison of the 30 child cases from the health project and the 800 Southern European cases containing a health component in my Institute database.
 - 29 Case #1 in 30 child health cases and one of the few cases discussed in Ferguson, *NT*, ch. 5.
 - 30 She worked from city directories and a volunteers' list of "needy families."
 - 31 Examples from AO, MU6469 (B436173), File: Neighbourhood Visits 1962. On reading case files, see part 2.
 - 32 MU6469 (B436173), File: Dundas Interviews; File: Neighbourhood Interviews, Block Interviews (Cosso); Second call, Ossington etc., 1962–3 etc.
 - 33 Case 17 of 30 child health cases.
 - 34 Case #17.
 - 35 Case #11.
 - 36 Landed immigrants could qualify for family allowance, a universal program (introduced in 1944) of the Canadian government that provided modest monthly funds to mothers based on the number of children.
 - 37 CTA, SPC, SC 40, Box 53, File 3: II Parkdale Branch, 1961–3, Ferguson, Report on School Referrals, 24 Jan. 1963.
 - 38 Case #11.
 - 39 Case # 21.
 - 40 Today, an infected peritoneum is treated with strong antibiotics.
 - 41 Case #21; a similar case is #29.
 - 42 Cynthia Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900–1940* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, ch. 7.
 - 43 Cases #4, #24, and 28.
 - 44 Case #19; Ferguson, *NT*, 73
 - 45 Case #30; Ferguson, *NT*, 67.
 - 46 Case #3.
 - 47 Cases #2, #8, and #26.
 - 48 Cases #6, #19, and #30; Ferguson, *NT*, 73.
 - 49 Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*; Fernandes, *Pilgrim Nation*, Noura Mina, "Taming and Training Greek 'Peasant Girls' and the Gendered Politics of

- Whiteness in Postwar Canada: Canadian Bureaucrats and Immigrant Domestics, 1950s–1960s, *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 4 (Dec. 2013): 514–39.
- 50 AO, MU6459-MU6470 contains materials on what the Institute called its Educational (or Vocational) Guidance Project, including versions of Ferguson's final report, but I also cite from a personal copy of the published report: Edith Ferguson, *Newcomers and New Learning* (hereafter *NNL*) (Toronto: International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, 1964–6), 2, 8–11.
- 51 Ferguson, *NNL*, 9–10.
- 52 Ferguson, *NNL*, 22, 112. On Colantonio and the strikes, see his *From the Ground Up: An Italian Immigrant's Story* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1997); Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, ch. 7.
- 53 Ferguson, *NNL*, 31.
- 54 Ferguson, *NNL*, 31–2.
- 55 Ferguson, *NNL*, 5, passim.
- 56 Ferguson, *NNL*, 19, 2. For a contrasting pattern, see Lina Venturas, "Greek Immigrants in Belgium, Community and Identity Formation Processes," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 28, no.1 (2002): 33–72.
- 57 Ferguson, *NNL*, 17, and 12–21.
- 58 Ferguson, *NNL*, 12–21, 62–6. Noura Mina, "Homeland Activism, Public Performance and the Construction of Identity: An Examination of Greek Canadian Transnationalism, 1900s–1990s" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2014), chs. 2–4; Fernandes, *Pilgrim Nation*, ch. 3; Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, chs. 2–3.
- 59 Ferguson, *NNL*, 15–16.
- 60 Quotation from Ferguson, *NNL*, 57; Fernandes, *Pilgrim Nation*, ch 3; Miranda, "Not Ashamed or Afraid," ch. 3; Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*; Mina, "Taming and Training."
- 61 Ferguson, *NNL*, 23–9.
- 62 The group consisted of 804 Italians, 259 Greeks, and 229 Portuguese. The schools were Central Technical School and Harbord Collegiate. Ferguson, *NNL*, 35–9.
- 63 Ferguson, *NNL*, 76. My calculations based on Ferguson's charts and reports.
- 64 In 1966, COSTI also became involved in retraining injured workers. See <https://www.costi.org/whoweare/history.php> (last accessed 28 April 2020).
- 65 Ferguson, *NNL*, 43–5.
- 66 Ferguson, *NNL*, 42–6. The North York school was George Harvey Secondary School. On suburban Italians, see Vienna Paolantonio, "From College Street to Woodbridge: Postwar Italian Immigrants and Ethnic Expression in Urban and Suburban Spaces" (unpublished paper delivered to the Toronto Immigration Group, 2017).
- 67 Ferguson, *NNL*, 78, 81–4.
- 68 Ferguson, *NNL*, 48–9.
- 69 Ferguson, *NNL*; reports in MU6470 (B436174), File: Education Project Liaison 1963; MU6458 (B280595), File: Trade English Classes 1969; MU6400 (B280537), File: Adult Retraining, *Adult Retraining Counselling Centre* (20 pp.).

- 70 Ferguson, *NNL*, 52; Correspondence with Gilberto Fernandes, 22 May 2020 (email).
- 71 Ferguson, *NNL*, 53–6.
- 72 Ferguson, *NNL*, 62–3.
- 73 Ferguson, *NNL*, 53–5; MU6410 (B280541), File: Executive Director Correspondence, Jan.–June 1964, Charles Caccia, Vice-President, COSTI, to H.C. Forbell, 1964, Statistics on Men and Women in Various Programs, 1961–4.
- 74 Ferguson, *NNL*, 66–9.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Ferguson, *NNL*, 104.
- 77 Ferguson, *NNL*, 55.
- 78 Ferguson, *NT*. This topic has an extensive literature, but for Toronto examples, see Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*; Miranda, “Not Ashamed or Afraid”; Mina, “Taming and Training.”
- 79 MU6474, File: Reception Centre Monthly Reports 1962, Reception Centre Report (M. Streeruwitz), 1–30 Nov. 1962; MU6447, File: Individual Services Department 1961–4, Report on Individual Services, n.d.
- 80 Ferguson, *NNL*, 59–62, 104.
- 81 MU6474, File: Reception Centre Monthly Report 1962, Report 20 Dec. 1962; Minutes of Meeting (M. Streeruwitz) on Adult Retraining Courses, Power Sewing, 7 Nov. 1962.
- 82 Ferguson, *NT*, ch. 7 and 123–7 (quotation from p. 123); Ferguson’s interim and year-end reports, 1962–3, in MU6470 (B436174), File: Parkdale Branch [Branch Office] 1962–5; MU6403 (B280540), File: Branch Office International Institute; MU6474, File: Reception Centre Monthly Report 1962, Streeruwitz’ reports on project groups dated 7 Nov. to 7 Dec. 1962; MU6470 (B436174), File: Parkdale Branch 1962–5, Ferguson, “Report on Sewing Course Trainees, 18 Sept. 1963. Those receiving unemployment insurance received a smaller stipend.
- 83 Ferguson, *NT*, 127. On this theme, see also Ya-Ling Wu, “A Socio-cultural Approach to Understanding the Learning Experiences of Vocational Training among Vietnamese Immigrant Women in Taiwan,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 44 (May–June 2014): 80–8.
- 84 Ferguson, *NT*, 128–9; MU6474, File: Reception Centre Monthly Report 1962, Reception Centre (M. Streeruwitz), reports on pilot project, first groups, 7, 22, 27, 28 Nov. and 7 Dec. 1962.
- 85 MU6470 (B436174), Parkdale Branch, 1962–5, Ferguson, Report on Sewing Course Trainees, 18 Sept. 1963; Ferguson, *NT*, 124–5. On this theme, see also Ana Alberro and Gloria Montero, “The Immigrant Woman,” *Women in the Canadian Mosaic* (1976): 131–48; Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Margaret Little, Lynne Marks, et al., “Family Matters: Immigrant Women’s Activism in Ontario and British Columbia, 1960s–1980s” *Atlantis* 41, no. 1 (2020): 105–23.
- 86 MU6470 (B436174), File: Parkdale Branch 1962–5, Reports on Groups 1–5, 10 Dec. 1962 to June 1963, in Ferguson, “Report on Sewing Course Trainees, 18

- Sept. 1963; MU6458 (B280595), File: Power-Sewing Course 1962–3, Details of Meeting, 7 Nov. 1962; Ferguson, *NT*, 123. See labour force statistics in Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, Appendix 1; Monica Boyd, “The Status of Immigrant Women in Canada,” *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 12, no. 4 (1975): 406–16.
- 87 Ferguson, *NNL*, 59–60; MU6458 (B280595), File: Power-Sewing Course 1962–3.
- 88 Seven cases from my database. On this subject, see also Karen Charnow Lior, ed., *Making the City: Women Who Made a Difference* (Working Women Community Centre, Toronto) (Halifax/Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2012), 35–6, 69–83; Tania Das Gupta, *Learning from Our History: Community Development by Immigrant Women in Ontario, 1958–1986* (Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre, 1986).
- 89 MU6442, File: Intercom 1961–72, *Intercom*, Sept. 1968.
- 90 MU6467 (B280604), File: Pilot Project–Trade English Classes, Kay Brown, Staff Minutes, 14 June 1968; MU6458 (B280595), File: Trade English Courses 1969; MU6431 (B280568), File: Occupations and Trades, Brown to L. Gorge, Industrial Trades Chief, Department of Labour, 14 March 1969; Brown to Walker, 14 March 1969.
- 91 Ferguson, *NNL*; Miranda, “Not Ashamed or Afraid,” chs. 3–4; Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 93.
- 92 Eleven cases in my database, of which four indicate a positive outcome.
- 93 Harry Smaller, “Vocational Education in Ontario’s Secondary Schools: Past, Present – and Future? Training Matters: Works in Progress (WIP #2000-04) (Toronto: Labour Education and Training Research Network Centre for Research on Work and Society, York University, n.d.).
- 94 Ferguson, *NNL*, 59, 31; Lior, *Making the City*, 36–40; Little and Marks, “Family Matters.”
- 95 Ferguson, *NT*, 110.
- 96 Ferguson, *NT*, 18.
- 97 Ferguson, *NT*, 111, ch. 10 (recommendations).
- 98 Ferguson, *NT*, 48–58, ch. 10 (recommendations).
- 99 Ferguson, *NT*, 118.
- 100 Two examples are Flores et al., “Vocational Psychology and Assessment with Immigrants in the United States”; Wu, “Applying Culturally Responsive Pedagogy.”
- 101 CTA, SPC, SC40, Box 53, File 3A Parkdale Branch 1961–3, Interim Report 15 May 1963; H.C. Knight to Leon Kumove, Report on International Institute, 21 June 1962, 5 Sept. 1963.
- 102 Regarding health, see, for example, Frances M. Marks, “Symptoms in Children of British and of Bangladeshi Parents measured by the Rutter B2 Questionnaire,” *Ethnicity and Health* 2, no. 3 (1997): 255–9; Elizabeth L. McGarvey et al., “Using Focus Group Results to Inform Preschool Childhood Obesity Prevention Programming,” *Ethnicity and Health* 11, no. 3 (2006): 265–85.
- 103 Ferguson, *NNL*, 9–80; COSTI, <https://www.costi.org/whowere/history.php> (last accessed 28 April 2020).

- 104 See, for example, Aaron Benavot, “The Rise and Decline of Vocational Education,” *Sociology of Education* 56, no. 2 (1983): 63–76; Smaller, “Vocational Education.”

9 Food as Charity, Community-Building, and Cosmopolitanism on a Budget

- 1 Kanishka Goonewardena and Stefan Kipfer, “Spaces of Difference: Reflections from Toronto on Multiculturalism, Bourgeois Urbanism and the Possibility of Radical Urban Politics,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 3 (2005): 670–8.
- 2 Examples include Stephen Mennell, Anne Murcott, and Anneke H. van Otterloo, *The Sociology of Food: Eating, Diet and Culture* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992); Mary Douglas, ed., *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivals in Three American Communities* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); Carol F. Helstosky, “Fascist Food Politics: Mussolini’s Policy of Alimentary Sovereignty,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2004): 1–26; R.W. Davies and S.G. Wheatcroft, “The Soviet Famine of 1932–33,” in R.W. Wheatcroft, ed., *Challenging Traditional Views of Russian History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), ch. 4; Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Ian Mosby, “Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952,” *Histoire social/ Social History* 46, no. 91 (2013): 145–72.
- 3 A sample includes Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Krishnendu Ray, *The Migrant’s Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Viranjini Munasinghe, *Callaloo or Tossed Salad? East Indians and the Cultural Politics of Identity in Trinidad* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Arjun Appadurai, “How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 3–24; Molly Ungar, “Nationalism on the Menu: Three Banquets on the 1939 Royal Tour,” in Franca Iacovetta, Valerie Korinek, and Marlene Epp, eds., *Edible Histories Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 351–8; Nathalie Cook, ed., *What’s to Eat? Entrees in Canadian Food History* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009); Elizabeth Zanon, *Migrant Marketplaces: Food and Italians in North and South America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018).
- 4 See, for example, Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik, eds., *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Arlene Voski Avakian and Barbara Haber, eds., *From Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies: Critical Perspectives on Women and Food* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005); Frances

- Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 195–260; Valerie J. Korinek, *Roughing It in Suburbia: Reading Chatelaine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Franca Iacovetta and Valerie J. Korinek, “Jell-O Salads, One-Stop Shopping, and Maria the Homemaker: The Gender Politics of Food,” Marlene Epp, “The Semiotics of Zwieback: Feast and Famine in the Narratives of Mennonite Refugee Women,” and Helen Vallanatos and Kim Raine, “Consuming Food and Constructing Identities among Arabic and South Asian Immigrant Women,” all in Marlene Epp and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, 2nd ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 190–230; Julie Guard, *Radical Housewives: Price Wars and Food Politics in Mid-Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).
- 5 See, for example: Avakian and Haber, *From Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies*; Mary A. Procida, “No Longer Half-Baked: Food Studies and Women’s History,” *Journal of Women’s History* 16, no. 3 (2004): 197–205; Marlene Epp, “More Than ‘Just Recipes’: Mennonite Cookbooks in Mid-Twentieth-Century North America,” and Andrea Eidinger, “Gefilte Fish and Roast Duck with Orange Slices: A Treasure for My Daughter and the Creation of a Jewish Cultural Orthodoxy in Postwar Montreal,” both in Iacovetta et al., *Edible Histories*, 173–88; Laurie Bertram, *The Viking Immigrants: Icelandic North Americans* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), ch. 5.
 - 6 In addition to the references above, examples include Stacey Zembryzski, “We Didn’t Have a Lot of Money but We Had Food: Ukrainians and Their Depression-Era Food Memories,” in Iacovetta et al., *Edible Histories*, 131–9; Marlene Epp, “‘The dumpling in my soup was lonely just like me’: Food in the Memories of Mennonite Women Refugees,” *Women’s History Review* 25, no. 3 (May 2016): 365–81; Nadia Jones-Gailani, “Qahwa and Kleiche: Drinking Coffee in Oral History Interviews with Iraqi Women in Diaspora,” *Global Food History* 3, no. 1 (2017): 84–100.
 - 7 Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Women of Outcast London* (London: Oxford University Press, 1992); on International Institutes, see Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, 137–8.
 - 8 A few North American modern-era histories include Cathy James, “Reforming Reform: Toronto’s Settlement House Movement, 1900–20,” *Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (March 2001): 55–90; Linda Gordon, *Pitied but Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890–1935* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); Margaret Little, *No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit: The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920–1977* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998); Mark Peel, *Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse: Social Work and the Story of Poverty in America, Australia, and Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

- 9 Thank you letters in Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6406 (B280543), File: Christmas 1959 and MU6472, File: Christmas List for Clients 1966.
- 10 MU6474 (B436178), File: Reception Centre 1961, Reception Centre (hereafter RC) Report, 1 Dec. 1961 (M. Streeruwitz); MU 6471, File: Xmas Donors 1961, Report 15 Jan. 1962.
- 11 MU6474 (B436178), File: Reception Centre 1961, RC Report, Dec. 1961 (Streeruwitz).
- 12 MU6471, File: Xmas Donors 1961, X-mas Bureau Donors, 14 Dec. 1961; MU6474 (B436178), File: Reception Centre 1961, Donors, 1 Dec. 1961 and 15 Jan. 1962.
- 13 For example, MU6444, File: Current Programme 1963–5, RC Report, 1963.
- 14 MU6471, File: Xmas Donors 1961, Notes on Meeting of Christmas Bureau, 4 Nov. 1958; Xmas Bureau Donors Report, 1 Dec. 1961 (Mrs Payton).
- 15 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, 1958 List of Families (23).
- 16 MU6471, File: Xmas Donors, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPC), 29 Dec. 1961.
- 17 MU6471, File: Xmas Donors, RC Report 15 Jan. 1962, Jan. 1963, and others.
- 18 MU6471, File: Xmas Donors, Notes for Dec. 1961.
- 19 MU6471, 1958 List. See also MU6472, File: Letters Oct. 1953–64.
- 20 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, List of Families (28) 1960 (N.S. Bojovic). Most families had between two and four children.
- 21 As in between three and six children. MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, Xmas list (72) 13–14 Nov. 1963.
- 22 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, Lists, Portuguese Families, 10 Dec. 1964. On IODE clothing donations, see, for example, MU6474, File: IODE Thank You Letters '66, M. Streeruwitz to Mrs R. Kerr, Hon. George S. Henry [Chapter, 7](#) Nov. 1966 and 12 Jan. 1968, and to Mrs Tiffin, Mississauga Chapter, 16 Jan. 1967.
- 23 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, Xmas list (72) 13–14 Nov. 1963.
- 24 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, List of Families 1964.
- 25 MU6472, File: Christmas List for Clients 1966, Canadian Welfare Council, Principles of Holiday Giving, from SPC Oct. 1966.
- 26 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, Xmas List 14 Nov. 1963. The home visitor (Mrs Armstrong, possibly an IODE volunteer) put down “maybe” for a basket for next year. On this theme, see, for example, Gordon, *Pitied but Not Entitled*; Peel, *Miss Cutler*.
- 27 MU6472, File: 12 Nov. 1968, Xmas List, Note to Xmas Bureau attached.
- 28 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, 1963 Xmas List (72) 13–14 Nov. 1963.
- 29 MU6472, File: 12 Nov. 1968 Xmas List, Report Xmas 1968.
- 30 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, List of Families (72), 13–14 Nov. 1963.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Xmas Needy Family Lists 1964.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Xmas Needy Families Lists 1964/65.
- 33 Quotation in MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, List of Families (72) 13–14 Nov. 1963.

- 34 Quotation in MU6471, File: Xmas List 1962, Xmas List, Reception Centre, 27 Nov. 1962.
- 35 MU6474 (B436178), File: Reception Centre 1961, RC Report; MU6474, File: IODE Thank You Letters '66, Streeruwitz to Mrs Keys, IODE, 14 Nov. 1966.
- 36 MU6471, File: Christmas 1961, List starting 16 Dec. 1964 (M.S.).
- 37 MU6471, File: Xmas Lists 1962, Memorandum Diana Wilson to Streeruwitz, 29 Nov. 1962; Reception Centre Xmas 1965, Food Gifts Suggested for Italians; Spanish; Portuguese, 17 Nov. 1965. On nutrition as socially constructed, see, for example, Ian Mosby, *Food Will Win the War: The Politics, Culture and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014); Caroline Durand, "Rational Meals for the Traditional Family: Nutrition in Quebec's School Manuals, 1900–1960," in Iacovetta et al., *Edible Histories*, 109–30.
- 38 On Canada Food Guide, Mosby, *Food Will Win the War*.
- 39 For examples, MU6474, File: IODE Thank You Letters from M. Streeruwitz to Mrs E.H. Hugenholtz, 12 May 1965, Mrs A. Stermac, Glen Alton Chapter, IODE, 11 May 1965 (calling Hugenholtz "a charming person"), Mrs H.J. Heslop, 10 Jan. 1964, Mrs W.L. Smart, 17 Dec. 1962, S. Perri, 19 July 1962. I draw on Valerie Korinek's discussion of how *Chatelaine's* readers and writers forged a "community of women" in her *Roughing It in Suburbia*.
- 40 As in encounters between acculturated ethno-Canadian women and newcomers who came from the same country or belonged to the same ethnic group.
- 41 Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 251–71.
- 42 MU6476, File: Thank You Letters 1961.
- 43 Calculations based on annual statistics from the relevant files.
- 44 MU6473 (B436177), File: Letters Oct. 1970, Report 1970 (M. Streeruwitz). See also Christmas issues of *Intercom*, Dec. 1962 to Dec. 1969; and items in MU6406, File: Christmas 1969. Note that *Intercom* issues are found in designated files in MU6400, MU6406, MU6407, MU6442, and MU6472.
- 45 Details in MU6406, File: Christmas Card 1963/4 and File: Christmas 1965. For more on the artist, see [chapter 11](#).
- 46 MU6444, File: Jan. 1965, Newsletters, Report by IODE Municipal Chapter 1964; on Gerussi, entry by James V. Defelice, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/bruno-gerussi>; and <https://vancouver.sun.com/news/local-news/canada-150-bruno-gerussi-was-noted-shakespearean-actor-before-becoming-a-beachcomber/> (both last accessed 19 April 2022).
- 47 MU6404 (B380543), File: Christmas 1961, Notes by Nell West, Dec. 1961.
- 48 MU6473 (B436177), File: Letters Oct. 1970, Notes about Christmas by M. Streeruwitz. The document also includes descriptions of ethnic group Christmas traditions, including those written by Portuguese and Croatian counsellors and English teachers originally from Chile and Ecuador. The few Chinese children who attended the 1966 party may have been Christian. MU6472, File: Children's Christmas Party 1966, drafts of articles for *Intercom*.

- 49 See, for example, Jennings and other IODE women's correspondence with donor companies in MU6471, File: Christmas 1957 Party and MU6474, File: Meetings–Reception Centre 1957–63, Notes on Christmas Activities.
- 50 MU6441 (B280578), File: Prospective Memberships 1958–65, Notes 18 Oct. 1965; MU6430 (B280567), File: Staff Meeting Minutes 1966, Notes Dec. 1965.
- 51 Observations based on available lists of children, 1958–68.
- 52 Calculations based on MU6471, File: Xmas 1963, Children's Party, RC Lists for 12 and 18 Nov. 1963 and updated lists. Two-thirds of the 293 children were Italian and Portuguese.
- 53 MU6471, File: Xmas 1964, Children's Party, List for 5 Dec. 1964 (Streeruwitz).
- 54 Observation based on available lists for 1958–68.
- 55 *Intercom*, Jan. 1967. See also thank you letters in MU6474 File: IODE Thank You Letters '66.
- 56 See notes and drafts of articles for *Intercom* in MU6472, File: Children's Christmas Party 1966, and examples below.
- 57 Steve Penfold, *A Mile of Make-Believe: A History of the Eaton's Santa Claus Parade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), esp. ch. 2.
- 58 MU6473 (B436177), File: Letters Out 1973, Christmas Party Report, IODE Im-mouna Ephrem, 1 Jan. 1973.
- 59 MU6471, File: Xmas 1963, Children's Party, news clippings, *Toronto Daily Star* and image in text.
- 60 MU6471, File: Xmas Lists 1961, Memorandum and List for Havergal College Party, 22 March 1961.
- 61 MU6339, File: Kay Brown, Staff Meetings 1966–7, Minutes of Meeting 16 Dec. 1966.
- 62 Quotation from MU6474 (B436178), File: Reception Centre 1961, RC Report, Dec. 1961 (Streeruwitz).
- 63 This discussion draws on items in MU6471, File: Christmas 1961; File: Xmas Donors 1961; MU6406, File: Christmas 1962; File: Xmas 1958, Children's Party; File: Christmas 1963; and Xmas Lists for 1962–8. On wider context, Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), chs. 4 and 6.
- 64 See, for example, MU6474 (B436178), File: Reception Centre 1961, Statistical Monthly Report, Dec. 1961 (Streeruwitz); Administrator's Report, Nov.–Dec. 1961 (H.C. Forbell); MU6563, File: Executive Minutes, Stephen Davidovich, Chair, Programme Committee, 3 Jan. 1961.
- 65 MU6406 (B280543), File: Clippings 1959–70, clipping dated 27 Dec. 1969.
- 66 See [chapter 7](#).
- 67 MU6444 (B280581), File: Newsletter, Feb. 1965; MU6406 (B280543), File: Clippings, 1959–70, Executive Director's Report, 14 Jan. 1970 (no estimates).
- 68 MU6382, File: Board Minutes 1956–7, Minutes of Programme Committee, 13 March 1957.

- 69 Counihan and Van Esterik, “Introduction,” in *Food and Culture*.
- 70 Quotations from MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, W.E West to Jean Newman, Toronto City Hall, 28 March 1957; MU6415, File: Latvian Federation 1957, West to Ian McIntosh, CBC television news editor, Memoranda on Latvian Week, 1957.
- 71 On this and related themes, see part 4.
- 72 Marilena Liguori, “Toronto à la Cart: Promoting Cultural Diversity through Food” (Appendix 8), in “Finding Meaning in (The) Diverse-City: The Competitive City and Immigration in Toronto” (PhD diss., Université du Québec, 2015), 154–6.
- 73 Ibid. See also Goonewardena and Kipfer, “Spaces of Difference.”
- 74 Drawing on the few unearthed cases, these outfits were headed by men, but, given that many immigrant businesses were family-run enterprises, at least some wives and perhaps other female kin would have been involved. Anne Smith Catering (1957 Irish banquet) was the only woman caterer named. On this theme, see also Diane C. Vecchio, *Merchants, Midwives, and Laboring Women: Italian Migrants in Urban America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), chs. 3–4. On the (mainly craft-oriented) entrepreneurialism among Mennonite women, see Marlene Epp, *Memnonite Women in Canada: A History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008), 234–6.
- 75 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, Flyer – Latvian Week, March–April 1957; Thelma Barer-Stein, *You Eat What You Are: A Study of Ethnic Food Traditions* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 54–60.
- 76 See, for example, MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, West to T.W. Lovet, Kiwanis Club (Ukrainian Week), 28 March 1957.
- 77 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, Flyer – German Week, Feb. 1957; Barer-Stein, *You Eat What You Are*, 218–32.
- 78 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, Polish Dinner Notes, 15 Feb. 1957; *Intercom*, Nov. 1962. On the role of ethnic entrepreneurs in sustaining and enlivening Toronto’s food cultures, see Joel Dickau, Jeffrey M. Pilcher, and Samantha K. Young, “‘If You Wanted Garlic, You Had to Go to Kensington’: Culinary Infrastructure and Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Toronto’s Food Markets before Official Canadian Multiculturalism,” *Food, Culture and Society* 24, no. 1 (2021): 31–48.
- 79 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, Polish Dinner Notes, 15 Feb. 1957; West to Z. Jaworski, president, Toronto Branch, Canadian Polish Congress, 6 March 1957; West to Mrs M. Ashby, Croatian Women’s Organization, “Kat. Zrinsk,” Toronto, 27 March 1957; MU6414, File: Canadian Polish Congress 1957, Irene Ungar to Dear Ladies, n.d. (1957). On Mulvihill, see [chapter 1](#).
- 80 MU6400, File: Administration 1958–66, “Fact Sheet 1964.”
- 81 Ibid., “Points to Be Arranged 24 Hours before the Dinner.”
- 82 MU6385 (B280523), File: Metro International Caravan, Community Folk Arts Council (hereafter CFAC), 1969 Details; Executive Committee, 1969 Plans; Final Instructions Re: Operations, 26–30 June 1969. See also [chapter 10](#).

- 83 See <https://www.the-buyer.net/people/producer/elizabeth-gabay-egri-bikaver-bulls-blood/> (last accessed 19 April 2022).
- 84 MU6407, File: CFAC 1963–74, news clippings, Colin Murray, “Metro International Caravan: Toronto’s at Home to the World,” *Toronto Telegram Weekend/The Good Life*, 21 June 1969.
- 85 Ibid., Press Release, 12 June 1969, Board of Directors, Memoranda, 11 and 27 June 1969; Report of Caravan Committee, 21 May 1969; *Intercom*, July 1969; other press releases.
- 86 This theme has emerged in countless conversations with colleagues and friends of this generation; Dickau et al., “If You Wanted Garlic.”
- 87 Warren J. Belasco, *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry 1966–1988* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989); Sandra Johnson, “Edible Activism: Food and the Counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s” (Honours thesis, Colby College, 2012); Catherine Carstairs, “Food, Fear, and the Environment in the Long 1960s,” in Lara Campbell, Dominique Clement, and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Debating Dissent: The 1960s in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 29–45.
- 88 Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, 137–8.
- 89 MU6415, File: Ethnic Recipes 1956–63, West correspondence (June 1961) with William Kaufman about a US-based Catholic cookbook featuring holiday recipes from around the world, and with Katherine Caldwell Bayley, Director, Home Bureau, *Canadian Home Journal*, Jan. and Feb. 1956.
- 90 Such as “Jugo-Slav Goulash” and “French Canadian Cretons” (pork pâté). See recipes flagged for *Intercom* in MU6415, File: Ethnic Recipes 1956–63.
- 91 *Intercom*, Dec. 1963.
- 92 *Intercom*, Dec. 1969; MU6406, File: 1968 Christmas, Director’s Report, Jan. 1969.
- 93 Quotation from MU6446 (B280583), File: International Festival/Cards 1970, news clippings, John Kraglund, “Festival of Carols effective retelling of an old tale,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 18 Dec. 1970. Also see To-Do List and Preparations in this file and in MU6446 (B280583), File: Intl Festival/Cards 1971 and File: Intl Festival Carols 1972.
- 94 *Intercom*, Dec. 1962.
- 95 *Intercom*, Dec. 1965. On Christian multicultural food practices since 1960, see Michel Desjardins and Ellen Desjardins, “The Role of Food in Canadian Expressions of Christianity,” in Iacovetta et al., *Edible Histories*, 70–82.
- 96 *Intercom*, Dec. 1963.
- 97 *Intercom*, Dec. 1963.
- 98 Immigration History Research Center Archives, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota, American Council for Nationalities Service records, which contain the American Federation of International Institutes collection, Box 265, File 7: Cookbook Orders. Cookbook (draft, c. 1955, front page). See also Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*.

- 99 AO, MU6415, File: Ethnic Recipes 1956–63, Joe Vatileroti(?) to West, 26 Nov. 1962 (with minced meat, wine, turkey livers, heart, onions, bread crumbs, tomato paste, sweet butter).
- 100 Ibid., Don Bellamy to West, 21 Dec. 1962 and West to Bellamy, 27 Dec. 1962.
- 101 Ibid., Lists of women selling copies of book; correspondence with Mrs Casey, SPC, Christmas Bureau, and others.
- 102 Epp, “More Than ‘Just Recipes’”; Eidinger, Gefilte Fish and Orange Duck”; and other references above.
- 103 MU6415, File: Ethnic Recipes 1956–63, West to Mrs R. Jensen, Scarborough, 14 Nov. 1962.
- 104 Ibid., “Olia” to West, 3 Nov. 1962.
- 105 Ibid., Mrs Marie Dymes to West, 5 Nov. 1962.
- 106 Ibid., I determined that the messily written signature referring to a Mrs Schalasky or Schalosky is Szalowski. See *Everyday Recipes*, n.d. (1962). (The potato pancake recipe involved basic items of potatoes, flour, and egg, but notes that the traditional sour cream could be substituted with cranberry sauce, presumably tinned.)
- 107 Ibid., Szebeny recipe for chicken and rice; final entry in *Season’s Greetings in Food – Christmas 1962* (International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto), 19.
- 108 Ibid., 4 (and to make “lucky” tea).
- 109 For a detailed discussion of this theme, see part 4.
- 110 *Season’s Greetings in Food – Christmas 1962*, 10–11
- 111 MU6415, File: Ethnic Recipes 1956–63, “Cooking in the Chinese Manner” cookbook launched at “The Moon Festival,” Sept. 1961 (signed Nell West). The debate over authentic versus Canadianized Chinese food has shifted, with recent writers making a case for a distinctive hybrid rather than “fake” Chinese dishes. See Ann Hui, *Chop Suey Nation* (Madeira Park, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 2019). Also, Lily Cho, *Eating Chinese: Culture on the Menu in Small Town Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
- 112 *Intercom*, April 1968; “International flavor in cook book project,” *Toronto Telegram*, 24 July 1968. On the project and its eventual failure, MU6410 (B280547), File: Cookbook Project 1968–71.
- 113 A few examples include Appadurai, “How to Make a National Cuisine”; Ilaria Porciani, ed., *Food Heritage and Nationalism in Europe* (London/New York: Routledge, 2019), ch. 1; Cook, *What’s to Eat?*
- 114 See Goonewardena and Kipfer, “Spaces of Difference,” especially their discussion of Mike Davis’ *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the US City* (London: Verso, 2001), on how Latinos in the United States are reshaping everyday life and revitalizing left politics in big cities.
- 115 Peter D. Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey: The Greek Experience in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980) 44, 52–6; David Wencer, “Historicist: Greektown on the Danforth,” *Torontoist*, 15 Oct. 2016, <https://torontoist>

[.com/2016/10/historicist-greentown-on-the-danforth/](https://www.com/2016/10/historicist-greentown-on-the-danforth/) (last accessed 19 April 2022); Dickau et al., “If You Wanted Garlic.”

10 Immigrant Gifts, Pluralist Spectacles, and Staging the Modern City and Nation

- 1 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
- 2 This summary draws on the following: Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6407, File: Community Folk Art Council (hereafter CFAC) 1963–74, *Community Folk Art Council Newsletter* 2 (1964); Jesse Munroe Personal Archive, Canadian National Exhibition Association (CNEA), *Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) Souvenir Catalogue and Programme* for 1964 and 1965 (with special thanks to Jesse Munroe for sharing these materials with me); Robert Kreem, “The Community Groups at the Institute,” *Intercom*, July 1961 [referencing Canadiana Week concert]. On festive ethnic culture, Barbara Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850–1914* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), ch. 4, esp. 121–7; Paul A. Bramadat, “Shows, Selves, and Solidarity: Ethnic Identity and Cultural Spectacles in Canada,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 78–98. Note that *Intercom* issues cited here are found in designated files in MU6407; MU6442, and MU6415. On nation-building, see discussion below. On folk revival, see [chapter 11](#).
- 3 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, “Ethnic Weeks” and “Suggested Schedule for Ethnic Weeks”; Mrs W.E. West (hereafter West) to Controller Jean Newman, Toronto City Hall, 28 March 1957; MU6403 (B280540), File: Brochure, *The International Institute* 1960; MU6416, File: 1957 Folk Festival (Minutes of Meetings), West to Reliable Toy Co., 29 May 1957.
- 4 On scholars’ (different) use of the notion of a therapeutic pluralism, see, for example, Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009), ch. 1 and passim; Robert B. Klymasz, “From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore: A Canadian View of Process and Transition,” *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 10, no. 3 (Dec. 1973): 131–9; Daryl Michael Scott, “Postwar Pluralism, *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Origins of Multicultural Education,” *Journal of American History* 91, no. 1 (2004): 69–82.
- 5 A North American sample includes Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985); Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec’s Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Ronald Rudin, *Founding Fathers: The Celebrations of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of*

- Quebec, 1878–1908 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Craig Heron and Steve Penfold, *The Workers' Festival: Labour Day Parades* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991); Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- 6 Robert Cupido, "Public Commemoration and the Politics of Cultural Assertion: Winnipeg Celebrates the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation," *Urban History Review* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 64–74 (quotation on p. 65); Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Ellen M. Litwack, "'Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries': Ethnicity and Assimilation," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 3 (Spring 2000): 3–34; Laurie Bertram, *The Viking Immigrants: Icelandic North Americans* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019); Geneviève Fabre, Jürgen Heideking, and Kai Dreisch, eds., *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American Festive Culture from the Revolution to the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001).
 - 7 McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 13–154. See also [chapter 11](#).
 - 8 See my discussion on this theme in part 1.
 - 9 A sample of this extensive literature includes the following: Jack Jedwab, *The Multiculturalism Question: Debating Identity in 21st Century Canada* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919–1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012); Manoly Lupul, *The Politics of Multiculturalism: A Ukrainian-Canadian Memoir* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 2005); Julia Lalonde, "The Roots of Multiculturalism – Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the Third Force," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 38, no. 1 (2006): 47–64; Richard J.F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Lee Blanding, "Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945–1974" (PhD diss., University of Victoria, 2013); Robert F. Harney, "'So Great a Heritage as Ours': Immigration and Survival of the Canadian Polity," *Daedalus* 117 (Fall 1988): 51–97; Manoly Lupul, "The Political Implementation of Multiculturalism," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17, no. 1 (1982): 93–102; Manoly Lupul, "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnics: A

- Constitutional Post-Mortem,” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 7, no. 1 (1982): 3–15; Wsevolod Isajiw, “Multiculturalism and the Integration of the Canadian Community,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 15, no. 2 (1983): 107–17; Evelyn Kallen, “Multiculturalism: Ideology, Policy, and Reality,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17, no. 1 (1982): 51–63; Stella Hryniuk, ed., *Twenty Years of Multiculturalism: Successes and Failures* (Winnipeg: St John’s College, 1992); Stella Hryniuk and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., *Multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1993). See also my discussion of contemporary debates in [chapter 2](#).
- 10 See, for example, flyers in MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957. On Hanson, see Rachel Gotlieb and Michael Prokopow, “Scandinavian Design Comes to Canada,” and “Everything Cold Is New Again,” in *True Nordic: How Scandinavia Influenced Design in Canada* (London: Black Dog, 2016), <https://www.gardinermuseum.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/True-Nordic-English.pdf>; “Thor Hansen, 1903–1976,” in *Feckless*, <https://www.fecklesscollection.ca/thor-hansen>; “Designer Thor Hansen – Huronia Museum Show,” in *Huronian Museum*, <https://huroniamuseum.com/category/thor-hansen/>; Stephen Dale, “Redesigning the Canadian Identity: The Influence of Scandinavian Style,” 16 Oct. 2016, *National Gallery of Canada*, <https://www.gallery.ca/magazine/your-collection/redesigning-the-canadian-identity-the-influence-of-scandinavian-style> (all last accessed 28 Feb. 2020).
 - 11 Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 230–5; Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1895–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). On the importance of shared language to nation-building, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Community*, ch. 5, whose comments about vernacular language and newspapers can be applied to the dissemination of multicultural vocabulary, concepts, and images through print and other media.
 - 12 Litwicks, “Our Hearts Burn,” 5–6. See also Werner Sollors, “Introduction,” in *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Kathleen Neils Conzen et al., “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 3–41.
 - 13 Examples from Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, 209, 218–29.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, 222–6. See also the discussion of handicrafts in [chapter 11](#).
 - 15 Raymond A. Mohl, “Cultural Pluralism in Immigrant Education: The International Institutes of Boston, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, 1920–1940,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1982): quotation on p. 41; 38, 50–1.
 - 16 Diana Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), chs. 2–5, conclusion.
 - 17 Selig, *Americans All*, epilogue, 275–6; Ellen D. Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

- 18 See, for example, George J. Sánchez, “‘What’s Good for Boyle Heights Is Good for the Jews’: Creating Multiculturalism on the Eastside during the 1950s,” *American Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (Sept. 2004): 633–61, and my discussion in [chapter 2](#).
- 19 Franca Iacovetta and Erica Toffoli, “A Double-Edged Pluralism: Paradoxes of Diversity in the United States International Institute Movement, 1945–1965,” *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 897–919.
- 20 MU6400, File: Administration 1958–66, Philadelphia Folk Fair pamphlet.
- 21 *Ibid.*, Annual Report, Elisabeth Ponafidine, Director, International Institute of Buffalo, 21 April 1965; *Intercom*, Oct. 1965.
- 22 Victoria Hayward, *Romantic Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1922), 239, 23–5, 70, chs. 20–28; Ryan McKenney and Benjamin Bryce, “Creating the Canadian Mosaic,” *Active History*, 16 May 2016, <https://activehistory.ca/2016/05/creating-the-canadian-mosaic/> (last accessed 10 June 2020).
- 23 Kate A. Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: Dominion Council of the Young Women’s Christian Association, 1926); pluralist readings by Allan Smith, “Metaphor and ‘Metaphor and Nationality in North America,’” in *Canada – An American Nation? Essays on Continentalism, Identity and the Canadian Frame of Mind* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), 139 (cited by Bellay), and McKenney and Bryce, “Creating the Canadian Mosaic”; Susan Bellay, “Pluralism and Ethnic/Race Relations in Canadian Social Science, 1880–1939” (PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 2001), 409–10.
- 24 McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 57–60; quotation from Andrew McIntosh, Ruth Pincoe, and Donald J.C. Phillipson, “John Murray Gibbon,” *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 28 June 2007, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/john-murray-gibbon-emc> (last accessed 21 Nov. 2019).
- 25 McIntosh et al. call Murray the first Canadian to conceptualize Canada as a mosaic: <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/john-murray-gibbon-emc> (accessed 21 Nov. 2019).
- 26 McKenney and Bryce, “Creating the Canadian Mosaic.”
- 27 McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 57. See also Day, *Multiculturalism*, 147–8; Stuart Henderson, “‘While There Is Still Time ...’: J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928–31,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39 (2005): 139–74; Gibbon, *Making of a Northern Nation*. On handicrafts, see [chapter 11](#).
- 28 McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 57. See also John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938), 413, 424–5.
- 29 Henderson, “‘While There Is Still Time,’” 141–52. See also Gordana Lazarevich, “The Role of the CPR in Promoting Canadian Culture,” in Glen Carruthers, ed., *A Celebration of Canada’s Arts, 1930–1970* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1996), 3–13.
- 30 Advertisement in *Manitoba Free Press* cited in Henderson, “‘While There Still Is Time,’” 151.

- 31 Orest T. Martynowych, *The Showman and the Ukrainian Cause: Folk Dance, Film, and the Life of Vasile Avramenko* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015). On US ethnic pluralism, see also [chapter 2](#).
- 32 Cupido, “Public Commemoration and Politics of Cultural Assertion,” 64–74, which draws on Litwicky and others. See also his “Appropriating the Past: Pageants, Politics and the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9, no. 1 (1998): 155–86, and his “Competing Pasts, Multiple Identities: The Diamond Jubilee of Confederation and the Politics of Commemoration,” in Matthew Hayday and Raymond B. Blake, eds., *Celebrating Canada*, vol. 2, *Commemorations, Anniversaries, and National Symbols* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 97–144. On rival commemoration involving immigrant/ethnic groups, see, for example, Lianbi Zhu and Timothy Baycroft, “A Chinese Counterpart to Dominion Day: Chinese Humiliation Day in Interwar Canada, 1924–1930,” in Hayday and Blake, *Celebrating Canada*, vol. 1, 244–73.
- 33 Along with National Film Board films, wartime propaganda included Watson Kirkconnell’s *Canadians All: A Primer of National Unity* (Ottawa: Director of Public Information, 1941), which used the metaphor of the “huge mixing bowl” and likened the Canadian peoples to the spiciest of mincemeat. McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 79; Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939–1945* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010); Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), ch. 4.
- 34 MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation, Flyer, “Bazaar” n.d.
- 35 Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 300–2, 533–6, 547–8; Stuart Patterson, “The Dream Then and Now: Democratic Nostalgia and the Living Museum at Arthurdale, West Virginia,” in Amy K. Levin, ed., *Local Museums and the Construction of History in America’s Changing Communities* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 111.
- 36 MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, *International Institute News* [before named *Intercom*], “Old World Bazaar,” 1957.
- 37 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1941). By virtue of its quality of inversion or levelling, such an event could act as a safety valve allowing for a reversion to a status quo or contained elements that in time would engender significant change.
- 38 MU6442 (B280579), File: Intercom Copies, *International Institute News*, April 1957, Anne Von Oesen, “Folklore – Rehabilitated.”
- 39 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, “Ethnic Weeks.”
- 40 MU6411, File: Cultural Festival (Member Organizations), West/Forbell notes; MU6415, File: Latvian Federation 1957, notes.
- 41 Philip V. Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 59; see also Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge,

- MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
- 42 Berkenmayer, *Intercom*, Oct. 1957.
- 43 MU6413, File: Ethnic Federations 1957–64, Flyer German Week, Feb. 1957; Flyer Latvian Week, March–April 1957; MU6416, File: Institute Folders/Pamphlets 1957–59, Lithuanian Week, Feb. 1957.
- 44 MU6416, File Institute Folders/Pamphlets 1957–59, Programme, St George’s Day.
- 45 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, West’s template letter, 29 Oct. 1959, to potential donors.
- 46 MU6414, File: Canadian Hungarian Federation 1963, 1968, Flyer and Programme for Hungarian Ethnic Week, Nov. 1963, Opening Programme; MU6666, File: Director Correspondence, File, Memo Mayor Don Summerville, n.d., lecturers Mr I.J.J. Koroknay (architecture) and Mr Bacsalmasy (minority groups in Hungary). On Kodály, see Percy M. Young, *Zoltan Kodaly: A Hungarian Musician* (London: E. Bern, 1964); Rita Gero, “Music,” *Hungarian Presence in Canada*, <https://hungarianpresence.ca/arts-and-culture/music/>; “Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967),” *Classical Archives*, <https://www.classicalarchives.com/composer/2806.html> (both last accessed 19 April 2022).
- 47 MU6415, File: Ethnic Press 1955–62, West to Julius Baier [A Conservative and owner of *Zeitung*], *Toronto Zeitung*, 1 Sept. 1960.
- 48 MU6666, File: Director Correspondence, H.C. Forbell to Mrs Donald Summerville, 23 Dec. 1963.
- 49 MU6442 (B280579), File: Intercom, Flyer, Continental Canadiana, Oct. 1961; MU6446 (B280583), File: Recreational Activity, Notices, 1969, Flyers, Italian Variety Night, Serata Italiana, Continental Café; *Intercom*, Portuguese Festival, 28 Jan. 1968.
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- 51 MU6446 (B280583), File: Recreational Activity, Notices, 1969, Flyer, India Night, 23 Feb.; Flyer, Japanese Night, March 1969; On Calypso Capers, *Intercom*, July 1961; MU6415, File: Tibetan Cultural Society 1972–3; MU6454 (B280591), File: Cultural Festival, Flyer, Asian Immigrant Youth Centre, Festival, 1973.
- 52 City of Toronto Archives (CTA), Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPC), SC40, Box 53, File: IIMT, R. Kolm, Evaluation of Department, Oct. 1956–Oct. 1958.
- 53 Excerpt from Yaremko speech (Feb. 1961) in Ontario Legislature, *Intercom*, Aug. 1961; Yaremko address (May 1966) acknowledging graduates of English classes at Institute, *Intercom*, May–June 1966. See also G. Laing and Celine Cooper, “Royal

- Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,” 12 Aug. 2013, in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/royal-commission-on-bilingualism-and-biculturalism> (July 2019); “John Yaremko,” Obituaries, *Toronto Star*, 9 Aug. 2010. <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/thestar/obituary.aspx?n=john-yaremko&pid=144586284&fhid=7523> (both last accessed 19 April 2022).
- 54 MU6472, Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, *Newsletter* 1957–8, “Canadiana Week” and “Our Special Thanks”; MU6414, File: Institute Folders/Pamphlets 1957–9, Flyer/Programme Open House, Canadian Week Sept.–Oct. 1957.
 - 55 MU6414, File: Institute Folders/Pamphlets 1957–9, Flyer/Programme, Canadian Week Sept.–Oct. 1957.
 - 56 MU6404, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5, Flyer/Programme, Canadiana Week Sept.–Oct. 1963.
 - 57 *Intercom*, Dec. 1965, review as news clipping in file; MU6404, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5, J.T. Seaman, Director to H.J. Boakes, 21 Oct. 1965.
 - 58 MU6415, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5, Invitation, Sept.–Oct. 1964, with Programme; Flyer, Canadiana Week, Canadian Paintings. On the theme’s longevity, see Carl Berger, “The True North Strong and Free,” in Peter Russell, ed., *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3–26; Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing, 1900–1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); on Group of Seven, see Mackey, *House of Difference*, 52–9.
 - 59 MU6415, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5, Brochure, *Confederation Life’s Gallery of Canadian History*. The paintings hung in a gallery in the company’s Toronto headquarters. A current example is Royal Bank of Canada, “The Canadian Shield,” *Corporate Responsibility Publications* 62, no. 6 (1981), https://www.rbc.com/aboutus/letter/nov_dec1981.html (last accessed 19 April 2022).
 - 60 Canadian historian George Stanley’s imperialist *Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (London: Longmans, 1936; republished by University of Toronto Press, 1966) was for many years the standard academic text on the subject.
 - 61 MU6415, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5, Robert Kreem to Public Relations Department, *Confederation Life*, 1 Oct. 1965. On institutional forgetting, Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*; Nelles, *Art of Nation*; McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*; Mackey, *House of Difference*; among others.
 - 62 MU6416, File: Folk Festival Minutes of Meetings, Flyer/Programme, 8th Annual John Madsen Folk Festival, 25 June 1955 (admission: adults 75 cents, children 25 cents); Flyer/Programme, 9th Annual John Madsen Folk Festival, Cherry Hill Farm, 23 June 1956; *Intercom*, June 1957, “Cherry Hill Festival” and “Lesson in Understanding.” See also Robert Klymasz, “‘Sounds You Never Heard Before’: Ukrainian Country Music in Western Canada,” *Ethnomusicology* 16 (1972): 372–80.

- 63 *Intercom*, June 1957, “Cherry Hill Festival” and “Lesson in Understanding.” My general discussion draws on other flyers in MU6416, File: Folk Festival Minutes of Meetings, Flyer/Programme. See also Robert B. Klymasz, “From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore: A Canadian View of Process and Transition,” *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 10, no. 3 (Dec. 1973): 131–9.
- 64 CNE Grandstand Performers, 1948–94, https://concerts.fandom.com/wiki/Canadian_National_Exhibition_Stadium (last accessed 5 July 2021).
- 65 Quoted in MU6409 (B280540), File: Board of Directors Meetings 1961, IIMT, Memo re:Establishments of an Annual Cultural Festival, 26 Oct. 1961.
- 66 MU6407, File: Community Folk Art Council (hereafter CFAC) 1963–74, *Community Folk Art Council Newsletter* 2 (1964); on Kossar, see Andrew Gregorovich, “Leon Kossar,” *Infoukes*, <https://www.infoukes.com/newpathway/Page131.htm> (last accessed 1 Dec. 2019); Kassandra Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians: Identity, Politics, and Power in Cold War Canada” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2021), ch. 4.
- 67 Jesse Munroe Personal Archive, Canadian National Exhibition Association (CNEA), *Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) Souvenir Catalogue and Programme*, 1964 and 1965 (Toronto).
- 68 AO, R. Kreem, “The Community Groups at the Institute,” *Intercom*, July 1961 [referencing a Canadiana Week concert]; MU6382, File: Board of Directors Minutes, 12 June 1956, Dec. 1957, Minutes of Programme Committee Meeting, 1 May 1957, Program Committee Report. See also Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity* 121–7.
- 69 Michael Cobden, “\$2,000,000 Metro festival hinges on Ottawa approval,” *Toronto Star*, 28 May 1970. Drawing on figures provided by Munroe, I (not Munroe) issued these estimates.
- 70 Leon Kossar, “New Canadian Interests,” news clipping in MU6385 (B280523), File: Metro International Caravan. See also obituary, “Caravan co-founder Leon Kossar dies,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 7 Aug. 2001, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/caravan-co-founder-leon-kossar-dies/article4150951/> (last accessed 1 Dec. 2019).
- 71 On Expo 67, see, for example, Maude-Emmanuelle Lambert’s entry in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/expo-67> (last accessed 1 Dec. 2019); John Lownsbrough, *The Best Place to Be: Expo 67 and Its Time* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2012); Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan, eds., *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
- 72 Stoian cited in *Intercom*, May–June 1966.
- 73 MU6407, File: CFAC, 1963–74, CFAC Brief to Centennial Commission for 1967 Canada Day, and notes.
- 74 MU6385 (B280523), File: Metro International Caravan, CFAC, 1969 Details; Executive Committee, 1969 Plans; Final Instructions Re: Operations, 26–30 June 1969. On food, see [chapter 9](#).

- 75 MU6407, File: CFAC, 1963–74, news clippings, 1969, 1970, 1972.
- 76 In conversations with 25 Anglo-Torontonians, my mention of Metro Caravan immediately elicited stories about it prompting their first foray into “unknown” ethnic neighbourhoods.
- 77 MU6385 (B280523), File: Metro International Caravan, Executive Committee, 1969 Plans, later materials, n.d.; CFAC “Metro International Caravan ’69 Details” (6 pp). See also David Wencer, “Historicist: The Caravan Is on Its Way,” *Torontoist*, 24 June 2017, <https://torontoist.com/2017/06/historicist-caravan-way/>; Noor Javed, “The couple who put Toronto on the map,” *Toronto Star*, 4 April 2009, https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2009/04/04/the_couple_who_put_toronto_on_the_map.html (both last accessed 19 April 2022).
- 78 MU6407, File: CFAC 1963–74, news clippings, Colin Murray, “Metro International Caravan Toronto’s at home to the world,” *Toronto Telegram Weekend/The Good Life*, 21 June 1969. On US media attention in the seventies, Javed, “The Couple.”
- 79 MU6407, File: CFAC 1963–74, news clippings, McKenzie Porter, “Caravan Will Give Me a Chance to Dance in the Open,” n.d.; quotation from his “Reckless of WASPs to Ignore Caravan,” 4 July 1969 (reprinted in *Torontoer* German-language newspaper).
- 80 Ibid., “Nina Rosada’ Alive in Canada,” *Carribean Chronicle* 2, no. 4 (June 1969); Press Release, 12 June 1969, Board of Directors Reminder Memoranda, 11 and 27 June 1969; Report of Caravan Committee, 21 May 1969; *Intercom*, July 1969; other press releases. On food, see chapter 9.
- 81 Charles Roach, “Some Thoughts on Immigrant Cultural Expression in Toronto,” *Intercom*, Sept.–Oct. 1965. On history of Caribana, see, for example, B. Denham Jolly, *In the Black: My Life* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2017), ch. 10; Peter Jackson, “The Politics of the Street: A Geography of Caribana,” *Political Geography* 11, no. 2 (March 1992): 130–51.
- 82 MU6446 (B280383), File: Recreational Activity, Notices, 1969, Scandinavian Night, 7 Feb. 1970, organizer Tore Maagaard.
- 83 See, for example, planning details, invitations, thank you letters in MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957; MU6404, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5; and MU6415, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5.
- 84 On group memberships, see [chapter 7](#).
- 85 MU6432 (B280569), File: UCF (United Community Fund), IIMT 1960 Analysis to UCF. The folk groups with their own group memberships included the Canadian Polish Dancers Group and Serbian Assembly Folk Dancers.
- 86 MU6446 (B280583), File: Recreational Activity 1969, Flyer, Japanese Night, March 1969.
- 87 Of course, group resources varied. On the underfunded Portuguese folk groups, see Fernandes, *This Pilgrim Nation*, ch. 4.
- 88 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions, West to Mr Z. Jaworski, 6 March 1957.

- 89 For example, its use during folk festival planning meetings in MU6411, File: Cultural Festival 1961–2, Agenda of Meeting, 8 Nov. 1961.
- 90 This literature (which includes the references above) is extensive, but pertinent Toronto studies include the following: Ian Radforth, “Collective Rights, Liberal Discourse, and Public Order: The Clash over Catholic Processions in Mid-Victorian Toronto,” *Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 4, (Dec. 2014): 511–44; Noura Mina, “Homeland Activism, Public Performance, and the Construction of Identity: An Examination of Greek Canadian Transnationalism, 1900s–1990s (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2014); Jordan Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), esp. ch. 3; Fernandes, *This Pilgrim Nation*, ch. 4; Vienna Paolantonio, “Good Friday on College Street: Urban Space and Changing Italian Identity” (PhD diss., York University, 2020); Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians,” ch. 4; Christopher Grafos, “Canada’s Greek Moment: Transnational Politics, Activists, and Spies during the Long Sixties” (PhD diss., York University, 2016), chs. 4–5.
- 91 I discuss the folk movement in [chapter 11](#), but see Gillian Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival: Nation and Identity in the United States and Canada, 1945–1980*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).
- 92 For examples, see invitations in MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions; MU6414, File: Byelorussian 1955–66.
- 93 MU6446 (B280583), File: Recreational Activity 1969, Flyers Greek Night/Sunday, 23 Nov. 1969.
- 94 Klymasz, “From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore,” 139.
- 95 MU6473, File: Hungarian Art and Exhibition 1963, *Telegram* news clipping.
- 96 MU6415, File: Latvian Federation in Canada, pamphlet “Latvian Arts and Crafts.” MU6414, File: Byelorussian 1955–66, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada.
- 97 See, for example, Klymasz, “From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore,” 131–9.
- 98 See, for example, Janos Buda (art director) review of Kodály Concert in *Intercom*, July 1961, and references to Kodály above. On art patrons, see [chapter 11](#).
- 99 For example, MU6416, File: Folk Festival Minutes of Meetings, Minutes of Meeting 29 March 1957, Minutes of Interim Folk Festival Committee Meeting, 12 April 1957.
- 100 MU6385 (B280523), File: Metro International Caravan, Participating Organizations, June 1969.
- 101 For example, MU6414, File: Byelorussian 1955–66, Anton Markievich, Secretary General, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, Toronto, to West, Director of Services, 30 Aug. 1961; 23 Aug. 1961, 18 Jan. 1964; West to Markievich, 19 March 1963.
- 102 Litwicki, “Our Hearts Burn”; Edwin N. Wilmsen, “Introduction: Premises of Power in Ethnic Politics,” 2–5, and Jan Nederveen, “Varieties of Ethnic Politics and Ethnicity Discourse,” 25–44, both in Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The Politics of Difference: Ethnicity Premises in a World of Power*

- (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Cupido, “Public Commemoration and Ethno-Cultural Assertion.”
- 103 Gary Cristall, “A History of Folk Music in Canada: The People’s Music,” 5-part documentary, CBC Radio, 2008, <https://folkmusichistory.com/itmschedule.shtml> (last accessed 1 Dec. 2019); Rhonda Hinchey, *Perogies and Politics: Canada’s Ukrainian Left* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 83–212; Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians,” ch. 4, and references in previous note.
 - 104 MU6416, File; Canadian Hungarian Federation 1963, 1968, Invitation returned, 12 Nov. 63, Slavic Ethnic Club; Invitation returned, Nov. 1963, Captive Nations Club, T.B. Cavlas Yanolcracy.
 - 105 It appears that one hundred or so people typically attended the Saturday ethnic nights at the Davenport Road building.
 - 106 For just one example, MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957. W.E. West, Director to Mr Z. Jaworski, president Toronto Branch, Canadian Polish Congress, 6 March 1957.
 - 107 Anderson, *Imagined Community*, ch. 3; Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction” and “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914,” in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*, 263–308; On ethnic groups, symbolism, and emotional draw of nationalism, see Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1995). For Canada, see, for example, Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000); Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites*.
 - 108 On this strategy, see, besides Litwack, “Our Hearts Burn,” Paul A. Bramadat, “Shows, Selves, and Solidarity: Ethnic Identity and Cultural Spectacles in Canada,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 78–98; and for a critique of its homogenizing effect, see Audrey Kobayashi, “Multiculturalism: Representing a Canadian Institution,” in J. Duncan and D. Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 205–31. On using the strategy against left opponents, see Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians,” ch. 4. See also my discussion in the conclusion
 - 109 MU6416, File: Folk Festival Minutes of Meetings Only, General Invitation/Program, May 1960; *Intercom*, July 1961. See also “John Collingwood Reade,” in *History of Canadian Broadcasting*, <https://www.broadcasting-history.ca/personalities/rea-de-john-collingwood> (last accessed 2 Dec. 2019); Anderson, *Imagined Community*, ch. 3, esp. 44–6.
 - 110 Mathew Hayday, “Fireworks, Folk-dancing, and Fostering a National Identity: The Politics of Canada Day,” *Canadian Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (June 2010): 298–305; CBC Radio, *Folk Song Time* (1950s); and *Folk Sounds* (1960s, hosted by Edith Fowke) and 1970s (more commercial fare).
 - 111 Without intending to flatten the differences in nuance or emphasis among them, here I would include the following examples: Matthew Hayday, “Canada’s National Day: Inventing a Tradition, Defining a Culture,” in Matthew Hayday and

- Raymond Blake, eds., *Celebrating Canada*, vol. 1, *Holidays, National Days and the Crafting of Identities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 274–305; José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945–71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Robert C. Vipond, *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017); Wsevolod W. Isajiw, “Multiculturalism and the Integration of the Canadian Community,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 15, no. 2 (1983): 107–17; Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites*, esp. chs. 5–6.
- 112 H.D. Forbes, “Trudeau as the First Theorist of Canadian Multiculturalism,” 27–42, and Michael Temelini, “Multicultural Rights, Multicultural Virtues: A History of Multiculturalism in Canada,” 43–60, respectively, both in Stephen Tierney, ed., *Multiculturalism and the Canadian Constitution* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007). And, with a focus on Ukrainian Canadians, Lalande, “Roots of Multiculturalism,” 47–64; Bohdan Bociurkiw, “The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community,” in Lupul, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 98–121. See also Bohdan S. Kordan, “The Intelligentsia and the Development of Ukrainian Ethnic Consciousness in Canada,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 17, no. 1 (1985): 22–32.
- 113 Again, there are differences of emphasis, but I include among the critiques the following: Karl Peter, “The Myth of Multiculturalism and Other Political Fables,” in Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Methuen 1981), 56–67; Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians,” ch. 4; Bannerji, *Dark Side of the Nation*; essays by Grace-Edward Galabuzi, Rinaldo Walcott, and others in May Chazan et al., eds., *Home and Native Land: Unsettling Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2011); Haque, *Multiculturalism*. On militant movements, see, for example, Lara Campbell, Dominique Clement, and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Debating Dissent Canada and the Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Scott Rutherford, *Canada’s Other Red Scare: Indigenous Protest and Colonial Encounters during the Global Sixties* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020). By contrast, Manoly Lupul blames the “failure” of multiculturalism on Trudeau’s indifference to the policy. See his “Political Implementation.”
- 114 On the latter, see C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964–1968* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010). See also Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), ch. 7.
- 115 Such as the Canadian Polish Congress. On the hearings, see Haque, *Multiculturalism*, esp. ch. 2.
- 116 MU6411, File: Cultural Festival 1961–2, Minutes of Meeting of Presidents of Ethnic Organizations re: Establishment of Annual Cultural Festival, 8 Nov. 1961; and

- succinct summary in File: Cultural Festival 1961–2, Minutes of Meeting, 8 Nov. 1961, Scotti Room.
- 117 Quoted in MU6407, File: CFAC 1963–74, news clipping, *Toronto Star Week* magazine cover story, Peter Goddard, “Visit 42 cities in eight days during Metro Caravan,” n.d., but the date is 24 June 1972.
- 118 On Toronto’s importance, see James Lemon, *Toronto since 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1985).
- 119 I am referring to the 1970s and 1980s and the popularity of folk festivals like Metro Caravan. But see, too, Jedwab, “Introduction,” in *Multiculturalism Question*, esp. 1–5. In 1998, Will Kymlicka used increasing rates of intermarriage, naturalization, and political participation as well as approval of mixed-race marriages and friendships since 1971 as indicators of successful integration and multiculturalism in *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), 15–24, 187–90. Scholarly critics have also defended the policy; see, for example, Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Daiva Stasilius, “Ethnic Pluralism under Siege: Popular and Partisan Opposition to Multiculturalism,” *Canadian Public Policy* 18, no. 4 (1992): 365–86.

11 Handicrafts, High Art, and Human Rights: Cultural Guardianship and Internationalism

- 1 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6423 (B280560), File: Old World Bazaar 1957–9, United Nations Week 1957.
- 2 A small sample of the relevant scholarship includes Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), ch. 5, esp. 230–5; Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 1998), ch. 16; Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994); Allana C. Lundgren, “Amy Sternberg’s Historical Pageant (1927): The Performance of IODE Ideology during Canada’s Diamond Jubilee,” *Theatre Research* 32, no. 1 (2011): 1–29; Janet McNaughton, “A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals” (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1982), ch. 1; Cecilia Morgan and Colin M. Coates, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Pauline Greenhill, “Radical? Feminist? Nationalist? The Canadian Paradox of Edith Fowke,” *Canada Folk Music* 37, no. 3 (2003): 4, <https://www.canfolkmusic.ca/index.php/cfmb/article/view/262/256> (last accessed 5 Nov. 2020).
- 3 On North American women’s internationalism, see, for example, Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women’s Movement* (Princeton,

- NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Marilyn Fischer, “Addams’s Internationalist Pacifism and the Rhetoric of Maternalism,” *National Women’s Studies Association Journal* 18, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 1–19; Nancy Forestell with Maureen Moynagh, eds., *Documenting First Wave Feminisms*, vol.2, *Canada – National and Transnational Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); Veronica Strong-Boag, *Liberal Hearts and Coronets: The Lives and Times of Ishbel Marjoribanks Gordon and John Campbell Gordon, The Aberdeens* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); Valerie Knowles, *First Person: A Biography of Cairine Wilson, Canada’s First Woman Senator* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1987). On rethinking the scholarship, Mrinalini Sinha, Donna J. Guy, and Angela Woollacott, guest eds., Introduction and essays in Theme Issue on Feminisms and Internationalism, *Gender & History* 10, no. 3 (1998).
- 4 See [chapter 1](#).
 - 5 In addition to the references in note 2, see April R. Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian American through Celebration* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); Jane Nicholas, “Gendering the Jubilee: Gender and Modernity in the Diamond Jubilee Confederation Celebrations, 1927,” *Canadian Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (June 2009): 247–74; Geneviève Fabre, Jürgen Heideking, and Kai Dreisch eds., *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American Festive Culture from the Revolution to the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001); Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891–1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Laurie Bertram, *The Viking Immigrants: Icelandic North Americans* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), esp. chs. 3–4.
 - 6 See, for example, the essays in “Music, Movement, and Masculinities,” special issue, *The World of Music* 3, no. 2 (2014); Jessica Ray Herzogenrath, “Authenticity and Ethnicity: Folk Dance, Americanization, and the Immigrant Body in Early Twentieth Century America,” in Anthony Shay and Barbara Sellers-Young, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Dance and Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), ch. 12; Nihal Ötken, “Women in Folk Dances from the Gender Aspects,” *Journal of Human Sciences* 8, no. 1 (2011): 268–76; Angela M. Yarbery, *Embodying the Feminine in the Dances of the World’s Religions* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011); Daniel J. Walkowitz, “The Cultural Turn and a New Social History: Folk Dance and the Renovation of Class in Social History,” *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 3 (Spring 2006): 781–802; Joann W. Kealiinohomoku, “The Expansion of Folk Dance Experiences,” *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/art/folk-dance/The-expansion-of-folk-dance-experiences> (last accessed 5 Nov. 2020). On cross-dressing, see Petri Hoppu, “Folk Dancers Cross-Dressed: Performing Gender in the Early Nordic Folk Dance Movement,” *Journal of Folklore Research* 51, no. 3 (2014): 311–35.
 - 7 Such as Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, *Beauty Queens and the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power* (London: Routledge,

- 1996); Patrizia Gentile, *Queen of the Maple Leaf: Beauty Contests and Settler Femininity* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020), and references below.
- 8 Such as Lundgren, “Amy Sternberg’s Historical Pageant (1927)”; McNaughton, “Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals,” esp. ch. 6; Paula Laverty, *Silk Stocking Mats: Hooked Mats of the Grenfell Mission* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005).
 - 9 A small sample of the diverse scholarship on the post-1945 North American folk revival that focuses on or includes Canada reflects the revival’s own multifaceted character. It includes Gillian Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival in the United States and Canada*, 2nd ed. (London/New York, Routledge, 2016); Michael MacDonald, “This Is Important!: Mitch Podolak, The Revolutionary Establishment, and the Founding of the Winnipeg Folk Festival” (MA thesis, Carleton University, 2006); Robert Klymasz, “‘Sounds You Never Heard Before’: Ukrainian Country Music in Western Canada,” *Ethnomusicology* 16 (1972): 372–80; Robert Klymasz, “From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore: A Canadian View of Process and Transition,” *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 10, no. 3 (Dec. 1973): 131–9. See also my discussion of folk festivals in [chapter 10](#).
 - 10 Murphy, *Folk Music Revival*, 46–54. On how these debates played on right and left sides of a politically polarized ethnic community like the Ukrainian Canadians, see Cassandra Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians: Identity, Politics, and Power in Cold War Canada” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2021), ch. 4.
 - 11 McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, ch. 2; Murphy, *Folk Music Revival*, 33–4; Diane Tye, “‘A Very Lone Worker’: Woman-Centred Thoughts on Helen Creighton’s Career as a Folklorist,” *Canadian Folklore Canadien* 15, no. 2 (1993): 107–17.
 - 12 While the US and wider North American network remained important, the nationalist-motivated Canadian content legislation of 1971 would prove a boon to Canadian folk and other musicians. Murphy, *Folk Music Revival*, esp. chs. 2–4, which also discuss the left-wing roots; MacDonald, “This Is Important!”
 - 13 Klymasz, “From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore.”
 - 14 Ellen M. Litwacki, “‘Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries’: Ethnicity and Assimilation,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 3 (Spring 2000): 3–34; Werner Sollors, “Introduction,” to *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), ix–xvii; Kathleen Neils Conzen et al., “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 3–41; Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade*, 10–20.
 - 15 Klymasz, “From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore.”
 - 16 Hankus Netsky, “Ruth Rubin, a Life In Song,” *Pakn Treger* 57, no. 60 (Fall 2011): 5771, <https://www.yiddishbookcenter.org/pakn-treger/12-09/ruth-rubin-a-life-song>; Carolyn Blackman, “Camp Naivelt Celebrates 75 Years,” *Canadian Jewish News*, 20 July 2000, <https://web.archive.org/web/20050910135317/http://www.cjnews.com/pastIssues/00/july20-00/front3.asp> (both last accessed 10 July 2021); Murphy, *Folk Music Revival*, 62–5, 170–2.

- 17 Also known as Ward-Allen Trio. MU6404, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5, Flyer/ Programme Canadiana Week 1963. For context, see Murphy, *Folk Music Revival*, esp. ch. 3; Nicholas Jennings, *Before the Gold Rush: Flashbacks to the Dawn of the Canadian Sound* (Toronto: Viking, 1997).
- 18 My comments refer to the historical period under review. Historical work on folklorama includes Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 146–55, 181; Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians,” ch. 4. For (differing) contemporary analyses, which note an emphasis on commonalities among groups as well as profits and standardization, see Paul A. Bramadat, “Shows, Selves, and Solidarity: Ethnic Identity and Cultural Spectacles in Canada,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 78–98; and Bramadat, “For Ourselves, Our Neighbours, Our Homelands: Religion in Folklorama’s Israel Pavilion,” and Cynthia Thoroski and Pauline Greenhill, “Putting a Price on Culture: Ethnic Organisations, Volunteers, and the Marketing of Multicultural Festivals,” both in *Ethnologies* 23, no. 1 (2001): 211–32. Other examples are in chapter 10.
- 19 McNaughton, “Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals,” ch. 6. See also McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, ch. 3, on Mary Black, portrayed as a liberal progressive professional, not an antimodernist, whose role in inventing (rather than reviving) a handicraft industry benefited Nova Scotian women and their families and communities both economically and in terms of “moral therapy.”
- 20 On the distinction, and critiques of it, see, for example, S. Surbhi, “Differences between Art and Craft,” *Key Differences*, 6 April 2016, <https://keydifferences.com/difference-between-art-and-craft.html>; Margo Jefferson, “Beyond Cultural Labeling, Beyond Art Versus Craft,” *New York Times*, 22 March 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/22/arts/design/beyond-cultural-labeling-beyond-art-versus-craft.html>; Laura Morelli, “Is There a Difference Between Art and Craft?,” *TEDEd*, <https://ed.ted.com/lessons/is-there-a-difference-between-art-and-craft-laura-morelli> (all last accessed 5 Nov. 2020).
- 21 Quotation from Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, 241.
- 22 Cited in *ibid.*, 242.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 241. Hoganson draws on Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger’s influential *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- 24 Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, 222–3; Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890–1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 46–53.
- 25 McNaughton, “Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals,” 224–30; Ellen Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands: The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999); Canadian Guild of Crafts, *La Guild, Our Story*, <https://laguilde.com/en/blogs/a-propos/notre-histoire>; and *Going North: A Beautiful Endeavour*, <https://laguilde.com/en/blogs/saviez-vous-que/vers-le-nord> (both last accessed 20 April 2022).

- 26 McLeod, *In Good Hands*, ch. 9 and passim. McLeod acknowledges the women's history of paternalism towards other cultures, but emphasizes that they consciously fostered an inclusive national feeling by exhibiting and selling crafts of all Canadians on an equal footing. See also her "Alice Peck, May Phillips, and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild," in Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke, eds., *Framing Our Past: Constructing Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 54–6.
- 27 McNaughton, "Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals," 224–30.
- 28 McLeod, *In Good Hands*, ch. 8; Canadian Guild of Crafts, *La Guild, Our Story and Going North: A Beautiful Endeavour*, <https://laguilde.com/en/blogs/saviez-vous-que/vers-le-nord> (last accessed 20 April 2022).
- 29 McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 246, 307–8; Andrew McIntosh, Ruth Pincoe, and Donald J.C. Phillipson, "John Murray Gibbon," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 28 June 2007, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/john-murray-gibbon-emc> (last accessed 20 April 2022); McNaughton, "Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals," ch. 6.
- 30 MU6413, File: Lists Ethnic Federations 1957–64, Flyer/Programme Polish Week Feb. 1957; Betty Stapleton, "First of Four Ethnic Weeks to Be Polish," *Toronto Star*, 9 Feb. 1957; MU6416, File: Institute Folders/Pamphlets 1957–9, Flyer/Programme Lithuanian Week Feb. 1957. I found no additional information on Prapuolenis.
- 31 MU 6413, File: Ethnic Federations 1957–64, Flyer/Programme German Week Feb. 1957, 1959.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Flyer/Programme Polish Week, Feb 1957; Flyer/Programme Lithuanian Week Feb. 1957.
- 33 The accompanying folksy but high-production image shows crochet hook operators, dressed in elegant ethnic costume while seated at the foot of a picturesque mountain, their "talented hands" producing the items that are "the awe of ethnographers" while accompanied by a mountaineer playing the "bagpipes." This and other descriptions in Anna Legierska, "Handicrafts Made in Poland," 8 April 2014, *Culture*, <https://culture.pl/en/article/handicrafts-made-in-poland> (last accessed 20 April 2022).
- 34 MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, W.E. West (hereafter West), Director, to Mayor Phillips, Toronto City Hall, 1 April 1957.
- 35 *Ibid.*, West to T.W. Lovett, Kiwanis Club of Don Mills, 28 March 1957 (Ukrainian Week); Beth Greenhorn, "An Art Critic at the Ringside: Mapping the Public and Private Lives of Pearl McCarthy" (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1996).
- 36 MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62, Institute *Newsletter* 1957–8, "Canadian Week" and "Our Special Thanks."
- 37 MU6414, File: Institute Folders/Pamphlets 1957–9, Flyer/Programme, Canadiana Week Sept.–Oct. 1957; Paula Laverty, "Silk Stocking Mats: The Hooked Mats of the Grenfell Mission of Newfoundland and Labrador," *Heritage: Newfoundland &*

- Labrador, 1998, 2013, <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/arts/silk-mats.php>) (last accessed 20 April 2022; Sandra M. Flood, “Canadian Craft and Museum Practice 1900–1950 (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1998), 152–99.
- 38 MU6442, File: *Intercom* Copies 1962, *Intercom*, Nov. 1962. See also McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*.
 - 39 MU6404, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5, Flyer for 1963; *Intercom*, 1963.
 - 40 Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 300–2; 533–6; 547–8. On liberal anti-modernism, see my discussion in [chapter 10](#).
 - 41 Arjun Appadurai: “The Thing Itself,” *Public Culture* 18, no. 1 (2006): 15–21. For an application of the concept, or conceit, that things, like persons, have social lives, to high-level and “Oriental” crafts, see Brian Spooner, “Weavers and Dealers: The Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet,” in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Production* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 195–235.
 - 42 MU6389 (B280527), File: Programme Committee 1969–71, International Crafts and Needlework Fair, 1971; MU6411, File: Craft File, 1972 Craft Show, List of Participants, Invitations. The file contains 27 filled-out Questionnaires.
 - 43 MU6411, File: Craft File, 1972, Questionnaires.
 - 44 *Ibid.*, Questionnaires.
 - 45 She also promised that the work would not be arduous. MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions 1957, West to Lovett, 28 March 1957.
 - 46 MU6473, File: Hungarian Art Exhibition 1963, Receipt of Objects d’Art, signed Dr Paul Reкаи and others; on Rippl-Róna see *Fine Arts in Hungary*, <https://www.hung-art.hu/index-en.html> (last accessed 20 April 2022).
 - 47 MU6415, File: Canadiana Week 1961–5, Flyer/Programme Canadiana Week Sept.–Oct. 1963. On Clark, <https://www.aci-iac.ca/art-books/paraskeva-clark/biography/> (last accessed 20 April 2022).
 - 48 MU6473, File: Hungarian Art Exhibition 1963, Biographical Notes of Artists, List of Paintings and Sculptures; Obituary by Sandra Martin, *Globe and Mail*, 4 Oct. 2008; Clara Hargittay entry on Pédery-Hunt in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2 Nov. 2009, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/dora-de-pedery-hunt>; Del Newbigging, “In Memoriam: Dora Pédery-Hunt,” 2008, *Fidem*, <https://www.fidem-medals.org/pdf/in%20memoriam%20arc/2008.pdf> (all last accessed 20 April 2022).
 - 49 MU6442, File: *Intercom* Copies 1963, *Intercom*, Oct. 1963. *Intercom* copies cited in this chapter are found in the designated files in MU6406 and MU6442.
 - 50 MU6473, File: Hungarian Art and Exhibition 1963, Exhibition and Applied Art list. On decorative folk items, see also “Folk Arts” in *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/art/folk-art/Style> (last accessed 20 April 2022).
 - 51 MU6386 (B280524), File: Cultural Committee 1961, Arts Committee Statement (n.d.), Memo 27 Jan. 1961.

- 52 MU6386 (B280524), File: Cultural Committee 1961, Memo 27 Jan. 1961. Mrs Hugh Allan, Mrs G.W. Lawrence, Mrs R. Gaby, Mrs Fraser Grant, and Mrs George Walsh.
- 53 MU6386 (B280524), File: Cultural Committee, Memo 27 Jan. 1961; MU 6406 (B280543), File: News Clippings, “Arturo Scotti Commemorato Dall’International Institute,” *Corriere Canadese* (n.d.); *Toronto Star*, 6 Feb. 1960. Dignitaries such as Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Ellen Fairclough attended the unveiling of the plaque. On Scotti, see Paul Baxa, “La Festa della Fratellanza Italiana: Gianni Grohovas and the Celebrations of Italian Memorial Day in Toronto, 1960–1975,” *Quaderni d’italianistica* 30, no. 1 (2010): 202, 218n74; Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 142, 148.
- 54 Details contained in MU6428 (B280565), File: John Collingwood Reade Memorial 1963, and File: John Collingwood Reade Room – Auditorium 1968. When the Institute moved to Davenport Road, the plaque and dedication were transferred to the auditorium. See also [chapter 10](#).
- 55 Sehnoha became best-known for his painting of the wife of Paul Martin Sr. *Intercom*, July 1961. Pavel Onderka, “Jaroslav Šejnoha and Egypt,” *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 38, no. 2 (2017): 53–74.
- 56 MU6476, File: Ukrainian 1955–65, Biography and Catalogue in file (n.d.).
- 57 MU6400, File: Art Exhibition Oct. 1970; flyer includes biography of Haller.
- 58 MU6406, File: Christmas 1963, News from the Scotti Room, Aldo Covello; Report/Month in Retrospect.
- 59 *Intercom* 1962, Review of Exhibit, *Intercom*, Oct. 1962; MU6400, File: Art Exhibition, T.J. Schembri to H.C. Forbell, 14 Nov. 1962; Forbell to Schembri, 19 Nov. 1962; Ivone Kirkpatrick, *Mussolini: A Study in Power* (New York: Avon, 1964), ch. 13.
- 60 MU6407, File: Programme Committee 1969–72, Report for Board Meeting, 29 July 1970; Proposal to Committee from J.V. Zelina, 13 Aug. 1970; M.D. Stewart, Director, to M. Zlamal, Director, CSASA Toronto, 19 Nov. 1969.
- 61 I discuss liberal anti-modernism in more detail in [chapter 10](#).
- 62 Quoted in MU6476, File: Ukrainians 1955–65, Concert Poster, Massey Hall, 1 Oct. 1955; and in Souvenir Book/Program, *Ukrainian Bandurists Chorus*, Wasył Wytwycky, “With Bandura across the World” (20 pp., not paginated, with photographs) (Detroit, 1955); *Toronto Star*, 7 Dec. 1949.
- 63 Martin may have attended the first concert the Bandurists performed in Toronto in 1949. On Smith, “First Woman Elected to Both Houses of Congress,” https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/First_Woman_Both_Houses.htm (last accessed 5 Nov. 2020).
- 64 Quotations from Antony Ferry, “Mammoth Dance Group Impresario’s Ambition,” *Toronto Star*, 11 March 1961. The ensemble also performed in Montreal.
- 65 West in *Intercom*, April 1961.

- 66 Wytwycky, “With Bandura across the World.”
- 67 Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadians,” ch. 4. See also my discussion of cultural essentialism in [chapter 10](#).
- 68 Ferry, “Mammoth Dance Group.” On therapeutic space, see my discussion in [chapter 10](#).
- 69 MU6416, File: Institute Folders, Pamphlets 1957–9. Folk pageant finale to Old World Bazaar, 16 Nov. 1957, Harbord Collegiate. On renditions of the csardas by classical composers (e.g., Brahms, Strauss) see Angelica Frey, “Six Famous Csardas You Must Listen To,” *CMUSE* <https://www.cmuse.org/csardas/> (last accessed 11 May 2022).
- 70 Henry Spiller, “Introduction: Music, Movement and Masculinities,” *World of Music* 3, no. 2 (2014): 8, 5–13.
- 71 Marcia Ostashevski, “A Song and Dance of Hypermasculinity: Performing Ukrainian Cossacks in Canada,” *World of Music* 3, no. 2 (2014): 15–38; see also references in note 2. Numerous Institute and newspaper photographs capture men in mid-air jumps or squats, and the descriptions and captions refer to the men’s athletic prowess.
- 72 Ostashevski, “Hypermasculinity”; Souvenir Book/Program, *Ukrainian Bandurists Chorus*, Wytwycky, “Banduras”; additional background from *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, <https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com> (last accessed 5 Nov. 2020). On left-right commemorations of Shevchenko among Ukrainian Canadians, see Luciuk, “Making Ukrainian Canadian,” ch. 5.
- 73 This insight is based on hundreds of Institute and newspaper-based descriptions, photos, and captions uncovered by my research. On settlements and folk dance as moral regulation, Jessica Ray Herzogenrath, “Authenticity and Ethnicity: Folk Dance, Americanization, and the Immigrant Body in Early Twentieth Century America,” in Anthony Shay and Barbara Sellers-Young, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Dance and Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), ch. 12.
- 74 Cohen et al., *Beauty Queens*, 2–5; Christine Reiko Yano, *Crowning the Nice Girl: Gender, Ethnicity, And Culture in Hawaii’s Cherry Blossom Festival* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 24–30; Tarah Brookfield, “Modelling the U.N.’s Mission in Semi-Formal Wear: Edmonton’s Miss United Nations Pageants of the 1960s,” in Patrizia Gentile and Jane Nicholas, eds., *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 247–66.
- 75 For examples, see references to Citizenship Day and Citizenship Week in MU6382, File: Board of Directors Minutes, 1956 to 1967; MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62; and *Toronto Star*, 10 May 1955, 16 March 1959, 23 May 1962.
- 76 MU6457 (B280594), File: Cultural Sub-Committee, Report of Cultural Committee, April 1956.
- 77 MU6416, File: Folk Festival Minutes of Meetings, Flyer/Programme, 8th Annual Madsen Folk Festival, 23 June 1956. See also *ibid.*, Flyer, “All about Folk Schools in Ontario.”

- 78 Ibid., Flyer/Programme, Seventh Annual John Madsen Folk Festival, 25 June 1955.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Quotation cited in Greenhill, “Fowke,” 4.
- 81 McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 145–50.
- 82 MU6382, File: Board of Directors Minutes, June 1956–Dec. 1957, Minutes of Meeting of Programme Committee on Ontario Folk Festival, 12 March 1957, and 3 April and 2 May 1957.
- 83 MU6416, File: Folk Festival Minutes of Meetings, Report on Workshop Folk Festival at YMCA, 21 June 1957.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 MU6416, File: Folk Festival Minutes, Minutes of Ontario Folk Festival Society, 14 Oct. 1957; MU6413, File: Ethnic Occasions, West, Memorandum, 29 Oct. 1959; MU6472, File: Letters of Appreciation 1959–62; *Intercom*, Nov. 1962.
- 86 MU6416, File: Folk Festival Minutes of Meetings, Minutes of Meeting for Citizenship Day, 29 March, 11 May, and 12 April 1957 and Minutes of Program Sub-Committee, 3 April 1957.
- 87 Ibid. On Moore, see entry by David Gardiner in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 15 August 2007, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/dora-mavor-moore>; and “Dora Mavor Moore (1888–1979),” tribute given at the Association for Canadian Theatre History, Saskatoon, 24 May 1979, <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/TRIC/article/view/7537/8596> (both last accessed 11 May 2020).
- 88 The literature on this topic is large, but for a valuable discussion of the left-wing urban folk revival movement of the late 1960s and the 1970s that paradoxically drew on a radical tradition but attracted a heavily middle-class white audience and enjoyed success within the North American mass-based music industry, see MacDonald, “This Is Important!”
- 89 MU6382, File: Board of Directors Minutes, June 1956–Dec. 1957, Minutes of Meeting of Programme Committee of [potential] Ontario Folk Festival, 12 March 1957. On Geiger-Torel, see the entry in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Canadian Opera Company Archives), 29 April 2007, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/herman-geiger-torel-emc> (last accessed 4 April 2022).
- 90 MU6382, File: Board of Directors Minutes, June 1956–Dec. 1957, Minutes of Meeting of Programme Committee of [potential] Ontario Folk Festival, 12 March 1957.
- 91 Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, ch. 5; Raymond A. Mohl, “Cultural Pluralism in Immigrant Education: The International Institutes of Boston, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, 1920–1940,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 1, no. 2 (1982): 46–8; Costas Melakopides, *Pragmatic Idealism: Canadian Foreign Policy 1945–1999* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 37–51; Adam Chapnick, *The Middle Power Project: Canada and the Founding of the United Nations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

- 92 Quotation from Werner Jabramek, "Philatelic Crusaders for Peace Organization," *Intercom*, Feb. 1962. Other details in MU6442 (B280559), File: Members Council 1960–5, Stamp Club entries, letters, and *Intercom*, April 1961, Feb. 1963. On Nubia, Shehata Adam Mohamed, "Victory in Nubia: Egypt," *UNESCO Courier* 33, nos. 2 and 3 (1980): 5–15.
- 93 West interview with Ralph Hyman, "They Oil the Hinges of Integration's Door," *Globe Magazine*, 20 Feb. 1960 in MU6406 (B280543), File: Clippings – International Institute 1959–70.
- 94 Brookfield, "Modelling the U.N.'s Mission," 248–9.
- 95 Details are interspersed in several files, including in MU6382, File: Board of Directors, Minutes, 12 June 1956–5 Dec. 1957, Minutes of Programme Committee, Embassy, 5 June 1957; MU6423 (B280560), File: Old World Bazaar 1957–9; MU6415, File: Latvian Federation 1957, West to Ian McIntosh, CBC, Toronto, Oct. 1957. See also *Toronto Star*, 22 Oct. 1955, 18 Oct. 1965.
- 96 MU6423 (B280560), File: Old World Bazaar 1957–9, United Nations Week 1957; on the harp, John Shepherd et al., eds., *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, vol. 2, *Performance and Production* (London: Continuum, 2003), 429–30.
- 97 MU6382, File: Board of Directors Minutes, June 1956–Dec. 1957, Minutes of Programme Committee, 5 June 1957, and Memorandum, 8 Oct. 1957; details in MU6423 (B280560), File: Old World Bazaar 1957–9.
- 98 Brookfield, "Modelling the U.N.'s Mission," 249–50 (quotation on 249). See also Michael K. Carrol, *Pearson's Peacekeepers: Canada and the United Nations Emergency Force, 1956–67* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).
- 99 M6400, File: Administration 1958–66, Festival of Nations Flyer, Information, Publicity, 1960, and Report on Festival of Nations, 11 Jan. 1961; Knowles, *First Person*.
- 100 Ibid. On the organization see "About Us," *Save the Children*, <https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/about-us/our-history> (last accessed 5 Nov. 2020)
- 101 Brookfield, "Modelling the UN"; Gentile, *Queen of the Maple Leaf*, esp. ch. 4; Cohen et al., *Beauty Queens*.
- 102 MU6407, File: Community Folk Art Council (CFAC), 1963–74, clippings of *Toronto Star Week* cover story, Peter Goddard, "Visit 42 cities in eight days during Metro Caravan," n.d., but date is 24 June 1972; CFAC Report, 9 Nov. 1970, to A.M. Campbell, Chair, Municipality of Toronto; Press release 15 Jan. 1970; "Thousands Dance at City Hall Birthday," *Toronto Star*, 2 July 1969.
- 103 Ross Skoggard, "Mary Jean MacKay Ross Skoggard, 1917–2003," 4 May 2004, https://section15.ca/features/people/2004/05/04/mary_skoggard/; obituary, *Montreal Gazette*, 29 March 1967 (both last accessed 13 Nov. 2021).
- 104 Photos in *Globe and Mail*, 15 Feb. 1961.
- 105 MU6413, File: Lists of Ethnic Federations 1957–64, Director West to Godfrey Barrass, Citizenship Branch, Queen's Park, 28 July 1960 (with correspondence).

- 106 A partial exception was 1970 Scandinavian Night, which included a ski-fashion show. MU6446 (B280583), File: Recreational Activity, Notices, 1969, Flyer Scandinavian Night, 7 Feb. 1970.
- 107 See clippings in MU6427, File: Publicity Scrapbook; MU6413, File: Ethnic Groups – Clippings, 1971–4; MU6398, File: Croatian Organizations, File: Bulgarian 1961–4; MU6411, File: Mrs Stewart's Log; MU6413, File: Ethnic Organization Lists, Godfrey Barrass to West, 27 June 1960; on male hosts, MU6446 (B280583), File: Recreational Activity, Notices, 1969, Flyers, Greek Night, 23 Nov. 1969; MU5405, File: Xmas 1957/8, Flyer, Christmas Tea, 21 Dec. 1958.
- 108 *Intercom*, Feb. 1963.
- 109 On challenging sixties stereotypes, see, for example, Lara Campbell, Dominique Clement, and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).
- 110 Liisa Malkki, "Citizens of Humanity: Internationalism and Imagined Community of Nations," *Diaspora* 3, no. 1 (1994), 41–68 (esp. p. 60).
- 111 *Intercom*, Feb. 1963.
- 112 Abril Liberatori, "'Family Is Really All Over the Place': Ethnic Identity Formation within a Transnational Network" (PhD diss., York University, 2017), 105–8.
- 113 Images and captions from *Globe and Mail*, 31 May 1965.
- 114 On Hill, see, for example, "Daniel Grafton Hill III, 1923–2003," *Ontario Archives*, https://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/dan_hill/introduction.aspx; entry by James Walker in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 21 Feb. 2008, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/daniel-grafton-hill> (both last accessed 5 Nov. 2020); entry in Frances J. Turner, ed., *Canadian Encyclopedia of Social Work* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 76.
- 115 The thesis was entitled "Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group" (Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto, 1960). On Hill's own experiences with racism at this time, see Lawrence Hill, "My Pain Was Your Pain: On Wrestling with My Racial Inheritance at a Moment of Reckoning," <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-my-pain-was-your-pain-on-wrestling-with-my-racial-inheritance-at-a/> (last accessed 7 July 2021).
- 116 "The Ontario Human Rights Code," *Intercom*, Oct. 1962; Carmela Patrias and Ruth Frager, "'This is our country, these are our rights': Minorities and the Origins of Ontario's Human Rights Campaigns," *Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (March 2001): 1–35; and their "Human Rights Activists and the Question of Sex Discrimination in Postwar Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review*, 93, no. 4 (Dec. 2012): 583–610.
- 117 "Toronto Youth for Human Rights," *Intercom*, May 1964.
- 118 "Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Intercom*, Summer 1969.
- 119 Ellen D. Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), ch. 3. On this theme, see also Russel Kazal, "Rethinking the Origins of Multiculturalism: New

- Perspectives on American Pluralist Ideologies” (an article manuscript in preparation for submission to a journal); and [chapter 2](#).
- 120 *Intercom*, Nov. 1962, John Gillin, “Race.” On its ideals, see “National Conference on Christians and Jews,” *Social Networks and Archival Context*, <https://snaccooperative.org/view/31617957> (last accessed 11 May 2020).
- 121 Immigration History Research Center Archives, Elmer L. Andersen Library, University of Minnesota (hereafter IHRCA), American Council for Nationalities Service records, which contain the American Federation of International Institutes (AFII) collection (hereafter II), Box 271, File: 2, II Philadelphia, Clarence King et al., 1943 and 1946 Reports. On the subject, see Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
- 122 IHRCA, II Milwaukee, Box 278b, File: 14, Willette Pierce, “Group Work, Case-work and Community Organization Practices with Ninety-two Newly Arrived Dutch Immigrants,” May 1958.
- 123 *Ibid.*, Willette Pierce, “Potential Impact of Puerto Rican Americans Eased by Community Planning,” 21 May 1957.
- 124 Daniel Immerwahr, “The Greater United States: Territory and Empire in U.S. History,” *Diplomatic History* 40, no. 3 (2016): 373–91.

Conclusion

- 1 After vacating 321 Davenport Road, the Institute set up a central downtown office (2084 Yonge Street), an east end branch (1985 Danforth Avenue), the Weston Branch (based in an Ontario Housing Corporation building at 5 Bellevue Crescent), and the Welcome House Branch (8 York Street).
- 2 Archives of Ontario (AO), International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Fonds 884, MU6431 (B280568), File: Staff, Minutes 1970, Memorandum, M.D. Stewart, Director, to Staff, 6 April 1971; MU6384, File: Board Minutes 1973–4, Minutes of Board of Directors, 18 March 1974, 4 and 21 Feb. 1974.
- 3 Established in 1966. On Head, see <https://blackthen.com/wilson-head-american-canadian-sociologist-community-planner/> and <https://peoplepill.com/people/wilson-a-head/> (both last accessed 15 Nov. 2021).
- 4 MU6409 (B2800546), File: Seminar/Board and Staff, Notes on Seminar, York University, 12 May 1973, led by Head; MU6384, File: Annual Reports 1962–73, Director’s Report, 4 April 1974.
- 5 Notes on Seminar, York University, 12 May 1973 in MU6409 (B2800546), File: Seminar/Board and Staff.
- 6 The policy would later be enshrined in law with the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988.
- 7 Laurence Brosseau and Michael Dewing, *Canadian Multiculturalism: Background Paper*, Library of Parliament, Research Publications, no. 2009-20-E, 15 Sept. 2009/rev.

- 3 Jan. 2018, https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/200920E (last accessed 20 April 2022); Sheyfali Saujani, “‘Kind of Like a Bible.’ Book IV & the White Paper: A Road Map for the Multiculturalism Directorate,” paper presented to the Toronto Immigration Group, April 2016.
- 8 The Welcome House model would be replicated by other governments, though the provincial government ended the program in Ontario in 1995.
 - 9 MU6431 (B280568), File: Staff, Minutes 1970, Staff Minutes, 2 March 1973.
 - 10 Ibid. See also *ibid.*, Staff Minutes, 23 Feb. 1973.
 - 11 MU6411 (B280548), File: Director Correspondence 1970, J.G. Korn, Secretary-General, Czechoslovak National Association of Canada, 2 Oct. 1970, and M.D. Stewart, Director, 16 Oct. 1970; MU6411 (B280548), File: Mrs M.D. Stewart 1970–2, translated excerpt from “*Hlas Novych*,” 15 Oct. 1970 (incorrectly says 1979). The directories otherwise received a positive reception. MU6384, File: Annual Reports 1975 [1973–4], Annual Report, M. Streeruwitz, 29 March 1974; File: Annual Reports 1962–73, Report by M. Streeruwitz, 1973.
 - 12 See, for example, MU6468 (B436172), File: Catherine Lee 1973, Weekly Reports, 22 and 23 May 1973; MU6384, File: Annual Reports 1975, Report by C. Lee, 1974.
 - 13 MU6431 (B280568), File: Staff, Minutes 1970, Staff Minutes, 18 Jan. 1973. The LIP was a federal program established by the Liberal government in 1971 to provide grants to community and cultural projects. Billed as part of Pierre Trudeau’s effort to create “a just society,” Conservatives criticized it as a program that funded radical causes: <https://www.connexions.org/CxLibrary/Docs/CxP-LocalInitiativesProgram.htm> (accessed 15 Nov. 2021); Donald E. Blake, “LIP and Partisanship: An Analysis of the Local Initiatives Program,” *Canadian Public Policy/Analyse de Politiques* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 17–32.
 - 14 MU6384, File: Annual Report 1975, Director’s Report, 17 Jan. 1974.
 - 15 Ibid., Report on Involvement with Black Community, 29 March 1974. The social worker-dominated domestic workers’ committee also included Bromley Armstrong, president of the Jamaican Canadian Association. *Montreal Gazette*, 20 Sept. 1972.
 - 16 The new centre was located in St Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic School on Glenholm Avenue, east of Dufferin Street. MU6384, File: Board Minutes 1973–4, Report by K. Symons, 1 March 1974. As chair of the National Black Coalition (Ontario region), Canadian broadcaster and activist Kay Livingstone had earlier criticized the Secretary of State for providing funds to the Institute for a Black social worker rather than to community-based organizations like the NBC. MU6417, File: Department of Manpower and Immigration (Mr. A.A. Ewen, From 1971), Otto E. Lang to Kathleen Livingstone, 6 May 1971. On Livingstone, a founder of the Canadian Negro Women’s Association (1951), later Congress of Black Women of Canada (1973), see *Canadian Encyclopedia* entry by Eli Yarhi, 5 March 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/kay-livingstone>,

- and *Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, <https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/activism/organizations/congress-of-black-women-of-canada-cbwc/?highlight=Kay%20Livingstone> (both last accessed 15 Nov. 2021).
- 17 On Nair's commitments, which included preparing professional resumes and meeting with the Indian Immigrant Aid Group, see MU6431 (B280568), File: Staff, Minutes 1970, Staff Minutes, 15 and 23 Feb. 1973.
 - 18 Ibid., Staff Minutes, 18 Jan. 1973.
 - 19 MU6384, File: Board Minutes 1973–4, Minutes of Board Meeting, 21 Feb. 1974, Minutes of Emergency Meeting, 4 Feb. 1974; MU6384, File: Annual Report 1975 [1973–4], Director's Report, 17 Jan. 1974. (Stewart herself retired on 1 April 1974.)
 - 20 Scholarly exceptions include Richard J.F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
 - 21 Polish Language & Literature, University of Toronto, Donor Irene Ungar, <https://sites.utoronto.ca/slavic/polish/donors.html> (last accessed 12 Nov. 2021); Janet Morris, "Appointment Delights," *Vancouver Sun*, 23 Jan. 1969; "New citizenship judge started life in Canada as a domestic," *Toronto Star*, 25 Sept. 1973.
 - 22 This is my emphasis, but see, for example, Will Kymlicka, Multiculturalism Policy Index, Multiculturalism Policies in Contemporary Democracies, Entries for United States and Canada, <https://www.queensu.ca/mcp/immigrant-minorities/> (last accessed 15 April 2022); John Biles, "The Government of Canada's Multiculturalism Program: Key to Canada's Inclusion Reflex?," in Jack Jedwab, ed., *The Multiculturalism Question: Debating Identity in 21st-Century Canada* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 31–50; Theme Issue on Immigrant Organizations, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 5 (2005), with guest editors Marlou Shrover and Floris Vermeulen, esp. the essays by Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán (New York City) and Irene Bloemraad (Toronto); David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 79, 101; Russell A. Kazal, "Rethinking the Origins of Multiculturalism: New Perspectives on American Pluralist Ideologies" (an article manuscript in preparation for submission to a journal); and my [chapter 2](#).
 - 23 On the IIAS, see <https://www.costi.org/whoweare/history.php> (last accessed 15 Nov. 2021); on JIAS, Jack Lipinsky, *Imposing Their Will: An Organizational History of Jewish Toronto, 1933–1948* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), ch. 4.
 - 24 Himani Bannerji, "Multiple Multiculturalisms and Charles Taylor's Politics of Recognition," in Barbara Saunders and David Haljan Leuven, eds., *Whither Multiculturalism? A Politics of Dissensus* (Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2003), 35–45, esp. 35, 44. On the new racism, see, for example, Rita Chin, *The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 140–66; Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70's Britain* (London: Routledge, 2004); Paul Gilroy et al., "A

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- 25 See, for example, Rafeef Ziadah, “Disciplining Dissent: Multicultural Policy and the Silencing of Arab Canadians,” *Race & Class* 58, no. 4 (2017): 7–22; Alan Sears and Mary-Jo Nadeau, “This Is What Complicity Looks Like: Palestine and the Silencing Campaign on Campus Social Movements,” *The Bullet*, 5 March 2011, <https://socialistproject.ca/2011/03/b475/> (last accessed 25 June 2020).
 - 26 Chin, *Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe*, ch. 4 and passim; Joan W. Scott, “The Culture Veil: The Real Crisis on European Multiculturalism,” *The Nation* (a review of three books, including Chin’s, on the multicultural backlash in Europe), <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/the-culture-veil/> (last accessed 21 July 2021). See also Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendork, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses and Practices* (London: Routledge, 2010), esp. their Introduction. See also the Introduction and essay on multiculturalism and honour killings by Marlou Schrover in Marlou Schrover and Deirdre M. Moloney, eds., *Gender, Migration and Categorisation: Making Distinctions between Migrants in Western Countries, 1945–2010* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013).
 - 27 Chin, *Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe*.
 - 28 Ibid.; Scott, “The Culture Veil.”
 - 29 See, for example, “Compounding Misfortunes: Changes in Poverty since the Onset of COVID-19 on Syrian Refugees and Host Communities in Jordan, the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Lebanon,” Dec. 2020, <https://World%20Bank%20-%20UNHCR%20MENA-%20COVID%20Compounding%20Misfortunes%20-2-1.pdf>; “OECD Policy Responses to Coronavirus (COVID-19), What Is the Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Immigrants and Their Children?,” 19 Oct. 2020, <https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/what-is-the-impact-of-the-covid-19-pandemic-on-immigrants-and-their-children-e7cbb7de/>; Migrant Workers Alliance, *Unheeded Warnings: COVID-19 and Migrant Workers in Canada*, June 2020, <https://migrantworkersalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Unheeded-Warnings-COVID19-and-Migrant-Workers.pdf> (all last accessed 14 April 2021).
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