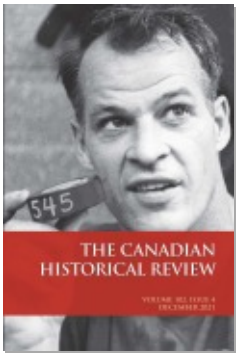
Identity and Industry: Making Media Multicultural in Canada by Mark Hayward (review)



Daniel R. Meister

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depth and scope of women's writing and broadcasting from the middle decades of the twentieth century. It offers a wealth of material in order that future researchers may build on the foundations it establishes. At a time when we are witnessing increasing challenges to feminist, critical race, and queer research, both within and outside the academy, *Hearing More Voices* clearly demonstrates the value of intersectional feminist scholarship in counteracting the effects of social and institutional biases that have elided women's voices from literary and historical records.

ANDREA CABAJSKY *Université de Moncton*

Identity and Industry: Making Media Multicultural in Canada. Mark Hayward. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019. Pp. x + 230, $29.95 paper

Multiculturalism was the federal government's official response to Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism's final report in 1970. Media was an important theme: an entire chapter was dedicated to the subject, and six of its sixteen recommendations related to it. Yet the historiography has been missing a chronological study of ethnocultural media in Canada, how it developed prior to the era of official multiculturalism, how it contributed to debates about bilingualism, biculturalism, and multiculturalism, and how these policies changed it. *Identity and Industry* is not that book. It is, however, an important – if admittedly preliminary – examination of the history of multicultural media in Canada from the 1950s to 2000, written by a scholar of media studies.

This disciplinary focus has shaped this carefully structured book: Mark Hayward is particularly interested in media as infrastructure, both the role that communication media plays in contemporary society as well as the cultural and political infrastructure that enables and inhibits it. "In the broadest terms," he writes, "this book is a contribution to a better understanding of the historical development of ethnocultural media in relation to a context that has been simultaneously supportive and stifling," adding that he intends to "make a modest contribution to how multiculturalism is discussed and debated by developing a more nuanced understanding of the historical development of the relationship between media industries, the state, and various configurations of the public" (5, 11). He further argues that the concept of infrastructure can remedy oversimplified models of media distribution and production (the medium is not the message, he plainly states) and provide a more grounded analysis of how media is produced and distributed. This book theorizes the concept of "infrastructure" far more comprehensively than the concept of "multiculturalism." Indeed, no definition of multicultural or multiculturalism is provided. Hayward engages primarily and at length with Charles Taylor's notion of the politics of recognition, while noting the criticisms raised by such theorists as Himani Bannerji, Richard Day, Eve Haque, and Rinaldo Walcott, and accordingly seeks to analyze "how media infrastructure in Canada evolved not only to accommodate but also to manage, contain, and even erase cultural and linguistic difference" (15).

Identity and Industry is thematically structured, with four main chapters that each examine a different function or product of media infrastructure as well as a different medium: space (film), autonomy (print), format (radio), and scale (television). The first chapter examines the expansion of movie theatres catering to minorities in urban settings in the 1950s and 1960s. He pays particular attention to how they functioned not only as places where communities could gather – much like churches, community halls, and restaurants – but also as places where ethnic communities could encounter other communities as well, arguing that theatres thus offered infrastructural support for "multiculturalism from below" (38). A couple of examples include how migrant labourers had their mail sent to theatres and how labour organizations used theatres as sites to address existing members and recruit new ones. The second chapter examines the relationship between the ethnic press and the Canadian state from the 1940s to the 1960s, focusing specifically on the gatekeeping role of organizations that served as intermediaries between the two and the public in the context of the Cold War. The third chapter demonstrates that radio programming in the Second World War era – conducted only in English – was more about new Canadians than for new Canadians; it was not until 1962 that all radio and television broadcasters were allowed to dedicate fifteen percent of their schedules to "Foreign Language Broadcasts." This chapter contains some curious omissions, most notably John Murray Gibbon's *Canadian Mosaic*, an important pre-war program (later expanded into a book) that popularized this metaphor. And Hayward does not cite Len Kuffert's important study of the longer history of radio in Canada. The fourth chapter deals with "the local" in relation to third-language television. It argues that the emergence of this programming integrated a variety of media genres and practices into Canadian media culture in ways that did not disrupt the "hegemony of the nationalist orientation of Canadian cultural policy ... localism was a strategy of simultaneous engagement and containment" (144).

In his introduction, Hayward makes it clear that his book "is not 'the history' of something called multicultural media" but, rather, "a brief and useful history of the multicultural media industry in Canada" (7, 30). While concurring with Hayward's argument that "it is important to bring the significant insights into media industries found in media and communication studies to bear upon debates about how multiculturalism has taken shape, and continues to evolve" (12), I cannot help but conclude that the subject matter requires further studies taking a more traditional historical approach.

In its final chapters particularly, *Identity and Industry* uses a study of multicultural media to illuminate the nationalistic nature of early official multiculturalism and its antecedents. In so doing, the book offers insights into how and why multicultural media in recent history and the present bear little resemblance to their predecessors. Official multiculturalism might make it possible for the creation of new media, but it does not provide "the cultural or political horizon of its existence.... In the digital media economy, national borders are of secondary importance to discoverability and the ability to hold the attention of users" (170). In his conclusion, Hayward convincingly suggests that the challenge of

the twentieth century was finding a way of supporting and managing diversity within cultural and technological forms that mandated uniformity but that "we are now confronted with the problem of how to build common spaces within cultural and technological forms that operate by means of individuation" (170).
DANIEL R. MEISTER *Independent scholar*

The Third Man: Churchill, Roosevelt, Mackenzie King, and the Untold Friendships That Won WWII. Neville Thompson. Toronto: Sutherland House, 2021. Pp. xii + 484, $39.95 cloth

Titles can be deceiving! This book, we are told, examines the "friendships" of Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and William Lyon Mackenzie King that "won WWII." But calling William Lyon Mackenzie King "the third man" in the Roosevelt-Churchill relationship implies that he was the third apex of a triangle that made key decisions about the Western allies in the Second World War. That was not true. Indeed, there is an immense literature covering virtually all aspects of the Churchill-Roosevelt relationship that essentially began when Churchill joined the British War Cabinet as first lord of the admiralty on September 3, 1939. Churchill and Roosevelt then continued a voluminous correspondence that, in itself, tells much of the story of the Anglo-American relationship during the war.

American historian Jon Meacham named his 2004 book on the Churchill-Roosevelt relationship *Franklin and Winston: An Intimate Portrait of an Epic Friendship* (Random House, 2004) and showed how that relationship shaped a large part of Second World War strategy. No one, and certainly not Neville Thompson, can make the claim that King's relationship with Roosevelt and Churchill ever rose even close to the importance of the personal relationship between the British and American leaders. What Thompson does show, however, is that King was a witness to history because of his frequent visits to Roosevelt (he had far fewer interactions with Churchill) and that the observations and impressions recorded in his diary give useful accounts of some of the interactions between those towering figures. But it is almost certainly true that in the ten-year relationship between King and Roosevelt, King was influential only once – in the making of the Hyde Park Declaration of April 1941 – and played virtually no role whatever in any of the other key decisions that Churchill and Roosevelt arrived at.

We can wonder who came up with this title. Publishers often embellish. But Thompson himself says that King was an "ideal eyewitness to Churchill and Roosevelt," which is surely correct in that King recorded his views on his relationships with those two leaders (9). However, King's relationship with them was unbalanced. He saw Roosevelt close to twenty times in their decade-long friendship, Churchill far less.

As for the King-Roosevelt relationship, Thompson demonstrates conclusively what Nigel Hamilton already showed in his three-volume biography of Roosevelt as a war president – that King popped up in all sorts of circumstances