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Can national cultural policy approaches be used for sub-national comparisons? An analysis of the Québec and Ontario experiences in Canada

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There has been relatively little comparative research undertaken on sub-national cultural policy. This article aims to contribute to the development of sub-national comparative studies by assessing the utility of national cultural policy approaches for comparative research at the sub-national level in Canada. Drawing on studies of national cultural policy, the authors develop three main approaches to cultural policy and administration – the French, British and hybrid approaches – and explore their applicability to the origin and evolution of cultural policy and administration in the Canadian provinces of Québec and Ontario. This exploratory research suggests there is room for optimism in drawing on national-level experiences to undertake sub-national comparative cultural policy research, particularly for comparisons over broad time periods. The study also suggests that it will be important in subsequent research to further elaborate the models for present-day comparative analysis and to refine and adapt them to reflect specificities at the provincial level of analysis.

Keywords: cultural policy approaches; sub-national cultural policy and administration; Québec and Ontario cultural policy in Canada

Comparative policy analysis is an underdeveloped field of inquiry in Canadian policy studies both at the national level (Bennett 1996) and the provincial level (Imbeau *et al.* 2000). Cultural policy is likewise a domain of policy research in Canada that is relatively underdeveloped (Meisel 1979), with very little attention paid to provincial cultural policy (Harvey 1998).[1] This article aims to contribute to the development of comparative provincial cultural policy analysis. Specifically, we seek to assess the analytical value of utilizing distinctive national-level cultural policy approaches as referents for provincial comparative analysis. Other researchers have developed 'models' for comparative analysis at the national level (see, for example, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey 1989, Mulcahy 1998). While we draw on some of the insights of this research, its applicability to provincial comparative cultural policy analysis is limited in some important respects.

First, these models were developed largely for comparative analysis of arts funding. Second, this research does not adequately capture the extent to which, in the Canadian context, particular countries have served as important analytical referents for development of cultural policy: the historical and cultural connection with France and the United

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Kingdom makes these countries crucial reference points for Canadian cultural policy.[2] As Colbert *et al.* note,

> … the federal and provincial governments each developed their own approach to this sector, with Canada and the English-speaking provinces having adopted the British model of an arm's-length Council for the Arts, while Quebec having chosen to follow the French model, predicated on a Ministry of Culture. This situation has, however, evolved over the years, to the point that Canada now has a mixed system. (2004, p. 1)[3]

   In keeping with this, we develop three main approaches to cultural policy and administration – the French, British and hybrid approaches – which are, as we describe, not watertight analytical compartments, but rather, reference points for comparative analysis. Following this, we explore the applicability of these national approaches to the origin and evolution of cultural policy and administration in the provinces of Québec and Ontario, Canada's two largest provinces in terms of geography, economy and population size. We conclude by discussing the applicability of utilizing the distinctive approaches of France and the United Kingdom, along with the hybrid approaches, for sub-national comparative analysis. Our aim here is exploratory, and we hope this initial foray will begin to lay the basis for future comparative research on provincial cultural policy and administration.[4] We begin with a brief overview of Canada and of provincial governments' intervention in the cultural sector.

A brief overview of Canada and provincial cultural policy

With an area of 10 million square kilometres, Canada is the second largest country in the world and occupies most of North America. A member of the Commonwealth and *la Francophonie*, Canada is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary government in the Westminster tradition and is comprised of ten provinces and three northern territories. The country has a highly decentralized division of powers and the provinces (sub-national governments) have constitutional jurisdiction over health, education and energy resources, and municipalities. Cultural policy is an area of concurrent jurisdiction, and as discussed below, has given rise to jurisdictional conflicts between the federal and provincial governments, most notably with the province of Québec. Canada has a diversified and technologically advanced economy and a population of close to 33 million people, including some eight million Francophones.

   Canada is a multicultural country and is officially bilingual. According to the 2001 Census, English and French are the sole maternal languages of 58.5% and 22.6% of the Canadian population, respectively. In addition, there are approximately 900,000 aboriginal people in Canada (just over 3% of the Canadian population) concentrated mainly in the territories and the western provinces. The 2001 census also showed that Canada includes 34 ethnic groups with at least 100,000 members, concentrated mainly in Canada's three largest cities: Toronto (Ontario), Montréal (Québec) and Vancouver (British Columbia). While the vast majority of Francophone Canadians live in Québec (81.4% of the provincial population), there are also Francophone communities outside of Québec, notably in the provinces of Ontario, Manitoba and New Brunswick. Canada is highly urbanized (77%) and the population is widely dispersed East-West across the country, with the vast majority of Canadians living within 150 kilometres of the Canada-United States border. The country has long had a diverse population, dating back to the first European settlements in the 17th century – this has always shaped the conception of culture, and as a result, cultural policy. Indeed, Canadian culture has historically been influenced by aboriginal, French and British
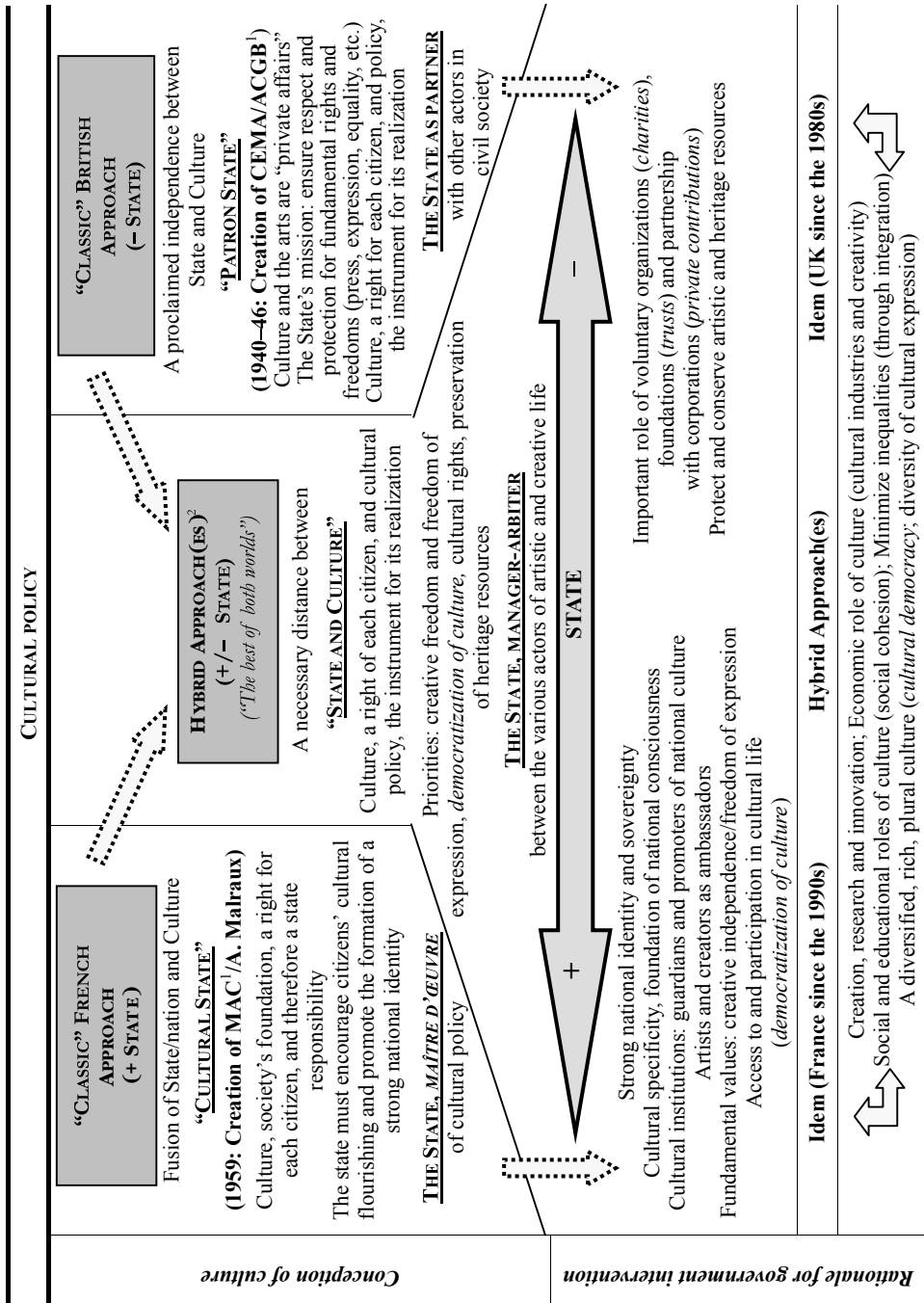
cultures and traditions, by successive waves of immigration from other countries, as well as by American culture, owing to the proximity of and commercial relations with the United States.

With regards to provincial cultural policy, provincial governments collectively spend over two billion Canadian dollars (1.4 billion euros) in the cultural sector, with the bulk of cultural spending targeting libraries and heritage resources. In 2003–2004, expenditures in these two sectors accounted for close to 40 percent (39.1%) and one quarter (25.0%) of provincial cultural spending, respectively (Statistics Canada 2005).[5] While this brief presentation of cultural expenditures identifies collective provincial spending priorities, it masks the underlying diversity across jurisdictions. As Williams notes, 'While all of the provinces have cultural responsibilities, no two have understood the obligation in the same way and the priorities they place on cultural affairs also vary considerably' (1996, p. 197).

National approaches to government intervention in the cultural sector

When examining cultural policy, three key factors must be borne in mind (see Autissier 2006, Saint-Pierre 2003, 2004). First, the very perception and *conception of* '*culture*' and of '*cultural policy*', and the *attendant rationales*, *objectives* and *targets of government intervention*, vary significantly from one jurisdiction to another. The approaches developed below attempt to draw out these distinctions to permit a basis for comparative analysis. Second, cultural policy has the general objective of administering in some respects (e.g., supporting, protecting and conserving) the intellectual and artistic production of a society, nation or country. As such, the measures and provisions enacted to pursue this objective are directly related to the (cultural) public administration of the state or government in question and are reflected in the *cultural powers* of the state, including the *role of main organizations* and *local and regional governments*, and choices regarding *financial support of the arts and culture* (see the variables developed in the rows of Figure 1). Third, most western countries have pursued relatively similar cultural policy objectives and experienced similar tendencies in cultural policy since the middle of the 20th century: the democratization of culture followed by the emergence of cultural democracy (1950–1980), the professionalization of the cultural sector and the growth of cultural industries and new information and communications technologies (1980–1990), and finally, the growing role and influence of the private sector, local governments, and international and supranational organizations in the design and delivery of cultural policy (since the 1990s).

The aim of the approaches developed below is to identify the distinctive policy rationales and interventions characterizing the early origins of cultural policy and administration in two key jurisdictions (France and the United Kingdom), and the set of hybrid approaches[6] that combine characteristics of both the French and British experiences. All jurisdictions – regardless of which approach they approximate – have subsequently been subject to and reflect to greater or lesser degrees the tendencies noted above. The French and British approaches can be characterized as two 'ideal-types' – 'the state as *maître d'oeuvre*' and 'the state as partner' – while hybrid approach(es) seem to position the state as 'manager-arbiter' between the various actors of artistic and creative life (see Figure 1). While most jurisdictions – including France and the United Kingdom – can now be characterized as hybrid cultural policy approaches, our aim here is to identify the distinctive characteristics of these two countries' early policy interventions and to assess their relevance for analyzing the origin and evolution of provincial cultural policy.[7]

CULTURAL POLICY

"CLASSIC" FRENCH APPROACH (+ STATE)

"CULTURAL STATE"

(1959: Creation of MAC[1]/A. Malraux)

Culture, society's foundation, a right for each citizen, and therefore a state responsibility

The state must encourage citizens' cultural flourishing and promote the formation of a strong national identity

THE STATE, *MAÎTRE D'ŒUVRE* of cultural policy

HYBRID APPROACH(ES)[2] (+/− STATE)
(*"The best of both worlds"*)

A necessary distance between **"STATE AND CULTURE"**

Culture, a right of each citizen, and cultural policy, the instrument for its realization

Priorities: creative freedom and freedom of expression, *democratization of culture*, cultural rights, preservation of heritage resources

THE STATE, MANAGER-ARBITER between the various actors of artistic and creative life

STATE

"CLASSIC" BRITISH APPROACH (− STATE)

A proclaimed independence between State and Culture

"PATRON STATE"

(1940–46: Creation of CEMA/ACGB[1])

Culture and the arts are "private affairs" The State's mission: ensure respect and protection for fundamental rights and freedoms (press, expression, equality, etc.) Culture, a right for each citizen, and policy, the instrument for its realization

THE STATE AS PARTNER with other actors in civil society

Strong national identity and sovereignty

Cultural specificity, foundation of national consciousness

Cultural institutions: guardians and promoters of national culture

Artists and creators as ambassadors

Fundamental values: creative independence/freedom of expression

Access to and participation in cultural life (*democratization of culture*)

Important role of voluntary organizations (*charities*), foundations (*trusts*) and partnership with corporations (*private contributions*)

Protect and conserve artistic and heritage resources

Idem (France since the 1990s) **Hybrid Approach(es)** **Idem (UK since the 1980s)**

Creation, research and innovation; Economic role of culture (cultural industries and creativity)
Social and educational roles of culture (social cohesion); Minimize inequalities (through integration)
A diversified, rich, plural culture (*cultural democracy*; diversity of cultural expression)

Conception of culture

Rationale for government intervention

	("CLASSIC" then HYBRID) FRENCH APPROACH	Hybrid Approaches	("CLASSIC" then HYBRID) BRITISH APPROACH
Targets of intervention	Population in general and future generations; Institutions (heritage resources) and cultural industries; Creators and artists; Cultural organizations	Population in general; Creators and artists; Cultural organizations; Cultural communities (urban and rural); Industries and governmental cultural Institutions	Population in general; Creators and artists; Cultural organizations (operational support); Industries and cultural institutions
Objectives of intervention	Often political ends, even ideological; Ensure national/international visibility; Transmission of culture (national pride); Favours policies supporting supply; Cultural education of the public	Citizen participation in cultural life; Access to culture and heritage resources; Education and exposure to arts and culture; Vitality of artistic organizations; Economic and social development; Supporting creators and the arts; Conservation, preservation and recognition of heritage resources; Foreign affairs: international cultural relations	Citizen participation/access to arts/culture; Autonomy of culture and the arts; Promoting excellence and self-management in the cultural sector
	Idem (France since the 1980s) ⇨	**Hybrid Approaches** — Increasing support to cultural industries; Increasing support to national cultural activities; Intercultural exchanges; Promoting cultural education and intercultural dialogue (cultural diversity)	**Idem (UK since the 1990s)** (post-Thatcher (79–90): renewed spending) ⇨

(CULTURAL) PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

	("CLASSIC" then HYBRID) FRENCH APPROACH (Centralized and often hierarchical[3])	HYBRID APPROACH(ES) (+ / - Centralised/Decentralised[3])	("CLASSIC" then HYBRID) BRITISH APPROACH (Decentralised[3])
Cultural powers[3]	Deconcentration: local/regional branches of government. National government approach supported with devolution (local/regional governments – since 1982–83). Since the 1990s: culture, an issue crossing all ministries (horizontal approach)	Deconcentration: within government (regional offices). Delegation: on the margins of central administration (arm's length/non-interference). Devolution: local/regional governments	Delegation (arm's length): non-interference; peer-adjudicated grants. Since the mid-1990s: ministerial directives and stronger regulation. To some extent: devolution (local/regional) and privatization

Main organizations	(1) **Ministry of Culture***, a **predominant** administrative structure * Responsible for major cultural policy orientations of the government; **horizontal approach**: all ministries intervening in the cultural domain must necessarily liaise with the Ministry of Culture…	(1) **Ministry of Culture or other ministry with major** "Culture" branch/division (2) Other organizations **often present**: agencies/Arts Councils (*arm's length*) (3) **Possible presence** of *National Cultural Funds* or *Foundations* (4) **Possible presence** of interministerial or intergovernmental committees	(1) **Necessary presence** of other organizations: Autonomous agencies/ Arts Councils (*arm's length*) (2) **Necessary presence** of *National Cultural Funds* or *Foundations* (3) **UK, since 1992:** Ministry of Culture
Role of local & regional governments	**(France before 1980s**, before the decentralization laws of 1982–83) Initially **limited role** of municipal cultural policies, thereby limited role of local/regional governments * Municipalities, Departments & Regions in France (48% of public spending, 2003)	In **"dialogue"** with other levels of government or tending towards decentralization and a growing role	**(Since the 1970s:** *UK Urban regeneration*) Regional and/or local levels: **partnerships** with the private sector as well as with higher orders of government with some targeted programs
Financial support to the arts and	**Central government** the source of the vast majority of funding (France: approx. twice the level of UK) Substantial financial support from the state 1990s: search for new sources, increased financial controls	**Variable** (across European countries)	**Private sector** (*charities, funds, private enterprises*) continue to have an essential role State support, mainly for operational expenditures **The state operates in partnership** with other actors in civil society

1- **MAC**: Ministère des Affaires culturelles; **CEMA**: Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts; **ACGB**: Arts Council of Great Britain.

2- These hybrid approaches were developed following a study of 14 of 39 cultural policy profiles of the Council of Europe/ERICarts *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*, 8th edition 2007 (<http://www.culturalpolicies.net>): Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

3- See D.A. Rondinelli and J.R Cheema S. 1983. *Decentralization in Developing Countries: A Review of Recent Experiences*. World Bank Staff working paper, n° 581.

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Figure 1. National cultural policy approaches.

The French approach

Although one could return to the French Revolution and even to the time of the monarchy to retrace the origins of what is often referred to as the 'Cultural State', it was only under the Fifth Republic, with President Charles de Gaulle and André Malraux, that French cultural policy became focused and ambitious. Beginning with the *conception* of belonging to a nation, the French approach flows from the tenet that the state has the right to use its power to encourage the cultural flourishing of its citizens and to promote the development of a strong national identity. This manner then of conceiving the role of the state – with a 'top-down' approach – has given rise to a specific approach, in which the ministry dedicated to this end, created in 1959 and headed by André Malraux, played a central role.

Beginning in the 1980s, France began to align deconcentration and devolution.[8] During this period, the arrival of leftist governments in many cities led to the creation of municipal cultural policies, at first observed, and then supported by the national government. The French state also undertook its policy of *grands travaux* at this time, with some initiatives, like the renovation of the Louvre, completed over the span of two decades. With the objective of endowing France with large cultural institutions (*guardians and promoters of a national culture*), this construction was concentrated above all in the capital, Paris (Moulinier 2002). The growing importance of the media and cultural industries contributed to the considerable growth in cultural activities, and in the process, to the Ministry of Culture's budget. In keeping with this ever closer relationship between the economy and culture, France, through its cultural policy, supported creators and professional artists (*ambassadors of French culture*). It also supported the information and communications technology sector, a means *par excellence* to expand the *national and international reach of French culture* in reaction to the growing predominance of English culture. In response to a number of imperatives, notably an increasingly difficult fiscal situation and growing public demand, the French state undertook to bring together the government, corporations and private foundations.[9] For their part, local communities, cities, departments, and regions were increasingly compelled to invest in culture. The latter's contributions are such that they currently furnish an equivalent – if not greater – amount than the French state.

In France as elsewhere, the country experiences pressures simultaneously from organizations within its external environment in Europe (especially the Council of Europe and the European Union) and internationally (particularly UNESCO and the World Trade Organization), as well as from its own domestic cultural and artistic milieus. However, even if the French state adapts its interventions over time and in so doing its cultural policy, its *rationale* still rests on a number of fundamental precepts: culture contributes to a strong national identity and strong national sovereignty; cultural policy must support cultural specificity, the foundation of national consciousness;[10] creative autonomy and freedom of expression constitute fundamental values; the state must support access to and participation in cultural life for all French citizens, and government interventions must contribute to a diversified and rich culture (*diversity of cultural expression*).

The British approach

In the United Kingdom, culture and the arts are above all 'private affairs' and, contrary to France, the British approach seems to be characterized by a 'bottom-up' style of intervention (the *State as partner* with other organizations and actors in civil society). This conception of culture and the arts as 'private' does not mean there is no role for the state or that the private sector dominates in the cultural sector, but rather, that culture and cultural expression are affairs of the 'private' or 'individual' sphere. In this conception, the

state's mission is to ensure respect and protection for fundamental rights and freedoms (freedom of the press, freedom of expression, equality before the law, etc.) and the *role of government* is to support cultural expression as an end in itself for its intrinsic value, as opposed to linking it to the fundamental interests of culture (society's foundation and a right for each citizen) and state (a fundamental interest of the state and a state responsibility), as in the 'Classic' French approach. This view translates into a policy approach characterized by independence *vis-à-vis* public authorities, the famous *arm's length* principle[11] (this is evident notably in funding decisions but also in cultural programming such as public broadcasting).

Traditionally, the arm's length principle is to the British approach what the Ministry of Culture is to the French approach. These two approaches represent two very different means of administering cultural policy: one that opts for a ministry with local and regional 'branches' of the government, the other that is based on a system of autonomous agencies beyond the political influence of public authorities. In contrast to France, where state support of the arts is a longstanding tradition, the United Kingdom, for its part, adopted this approach much later, first with the creation of the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB) in 1946 (formerly the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts established in 1940), an organization with a fair degree of autonomy. Then, on the initiative of the new Secretary of State for the Arts, Labourite Jennie Lee, the country began to promote culture through her 1964 white paper, 'Cultural Policy', which saw the tripling of the Arts Council's budget in nine years.

While the ideas of democratization of culture and cultural democracy tended to dominate in the 1970s (notably as a result of increases in public expenditures on culture[12]), the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 heralded important changes. Upon assuming power, the new Conservative government undertook a vast program to reduce the size of the state. Almost all sectors were affected by privatization initiatives. During this period of state disengagement, the Arts Council budget stood static. After a difficult period, public financing of culture increased somewhat at the beginning of the 1990s, but this was only to last for a short time. A new period of economic austerity led to further freezing of cultural budgets and restructuring of public finances. In addition, the ACGB lost its dominance in 1992 and 'a re-elected Conservative government established for the first time a co-ordinated Ministry … called the Department of National Heritage', which became the Department for Culture, Media and Sport in 1997[13] (Fisher 2007, n.p.). Beyond national heritage, this department became responsible for fine arts, museums, libraries, leisure, media, sport and tourism. This was a major change – the new department increased the level of state (and ministerial) intervention in the cultural domain. Two years later, in another major decision, the ACGB lost its responsibilities for Wales and Scotland, and became the Arts Council of England. Finally, in 1995, two years after creation of the national lottery, the government decided to allocate a portion of lottery revenues to culture (Devlin and Hoyle 2001, 2006, Fisher 2007).

The hybrid approach(es)

It is not easy to define a single hybrid approach. There are a large number of varieties across states (and their *conceptions of culture*) and across state systems (centralized/decentralized, unitary, federal, etc.). Notwithstanding this diversity, one factor seems common to many hybrid arrangements and is often mentioned in Council of Europe studies (see Council of Europe/ERICarts 2007). This is the tendency since the 1990s to bring together both autonomous agencies and departments of culture (Northern Europe, the Netherlands, Ireland, and the United Kingdom after 1992). Devlin and Hoyle observe the shift in the UK away

from arm's length funding of national arts companies towards direct departmental funding of these organizations, stating that these changes 'erode the traditional British mechanism of arm's-length funding, replacing it, at least in part, with a *hybrid* model …' (2006, n. p.; emphasis added). Through this relatively new conception of cultural intervention, it seems governments are seeking to pursue advantages of both the 'Classic' French and British approaches to cultural policy and administration while maintaining a sort of necessary distance between the state and culture.[14] Other states, instead of adopting this twinned mechanism of functioning, join to their existing structure (agencies or department) other government organizations, such as national cultural funds or foundations, intergovernmental committees or inter-ministerial committees (Germany, Spain, Portugal, Austria, France and Italy). Finally, a small number of countries, such as Canada (as well as Belgium, Finland and Sweden), utilize all of these organizational approaches.

As with the French and British approaches, hybrid approaches generally accord significant attention to creative freedom and freedom of expression, to democratization of culture, cultural education, cultural rights, the preservation of heritage resources, and, more recently, to 'cultural diversity' and 'social cohesion'. This would seem to evidence a convergence in the very concept of culture and cultural policy across most western countries, although understandings of some concepts may vary both within and across jurisdictions (see for example, Svob-Đokić and Obuljen (2003) on different understandings of 'cultural diversity'). In contrast to the idea of the state as *partner*, present in the British approach or the state as *maître d'œuvre*, characteristic of the French approach,[15] the hybrid approach, for its part, seems to view the state's position vis-à-vis culture as, to paraphrase Autissier (2006, p. 7), '*manager-arbiter* between the various actors of artistic and cultural life'. This new approach would appear to call into question or stimulate a rethinking of the role of the state in the cultural sector.

Provincial cultural policy in Canada: the case of Québec and Ontario

We now turn to the case of provincial cultural policy and administration in Canada with an analysis of the origins and evolution of cultural policy in Québec and Ontario, applying the three approaches developed above. Québec and Ontario are the largest provinces in Canada in terms of geography, population and economy. Québec consists of a majority francophone population and political life has been heavily marked by Québec nationalism,[16] a factor that has influenced government intervention in the cultural sector since the 1960s independent of the political party in power (see Saint-Pierre 2003, 2004). Ontario has an Anglophone majority but is very multicultural. In Ontario, conservative governments dominated in the 1943 to 1985 period and successive governments since this time have mainly alternated between the Liberal and Conservative Parties. This stands in contrast to Québec, where the province has shown a relatively greater affinity with social-democracy – at least until the election of the Liberal Party in 2003. Since the 1960s, Québec has often been in conflict with the federal government, calling for, as was the case in the early 1990s, repatriation of federal competencies and funds dedicated to culture. Ontario, for its part, has tended to have much smoother relations with the federal government in the cultural policy domain, in part because Ontarians' political interests and identity have often been closely aligned with those of the federal government.

The main strengths of retaining Québec and Ontario for this exploratory study are two-fold. First, these are Canada's two largest provinces, which minimizes diversity between the two cases in terms of independent variables related to size (population, economy and geography). Second, as the analysis below attests, the origins and evolution of cultural

policy in these two jurisdictions varies substantially, not only in terms of their conception of, approach to and spending on culture,[17] but also in their response to federal intervention in the cultural domain.[18] The main limitations of retaining Québec and Ontario for study are also two-fold. First, as central Canadian provinces, this closes off the possibility of discerning characteristics of provincial cultural policy development outside of central Canada. Second, federal spending accounts for roughly half of cultural expenditures in both provinces. While this similarity enables comparisons across two jurisdictions where federal spending is relatively high, it also might mask from view important factors characterizing the origins and evolution of cultural policy in jurisdictions where domestic provincial spending constitutes the bulk of expenditures.[19]

The origin and evolution of cultural policy and administration in Québec

Four main *conceptions of culture* have structured the relationship between the state and culture in Québec since the beginning of the twentieth century. In keeping with evolution in cultural policy in many western countries, these successive conceptions build on one another and have flowed from evolving representations of the concept of culture over time.

First, the *humanistic conception*, embodying the positivist modernist spirit of the 19th century, led the Québec government, notably politicians and senior public servants, to intervene in the area of high culture (*culte du beau*) beginning in the 20th century. This was the case for Louis-Athanase David, Secretary of the province from 1919 to 1936, who distinguished himself as a true 'minister of culture' (Harvey 2003, p. 33). Up until the 1960s, government initiatives were based on one major objective: protecting, increasing and transmitting, for purposes of prestige and philanthropy, Québec's national heritage in all of its forms. Various laws creating an ensemble of cultural institutions were the work of those looking to modern France (and its 'Classic' approach). These laws not only proclaimed the state's cultural responsibilities, they also reflected the need to resist Americanization (Saint-Pierre 2003).

Second, the *liberal conception* associated culture with fine arts in a context where the concepts of cultural rights and democratization of culture increasingly infused western governments' interventions. The concept of democratization corresponded to a more centralized approach to cultural development, and oriented policies to supporting creation, developing infrastructure for production and broadcasting, professionalizing cultural activities, and promoting widespread participation. The establishment of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of Québec in 1961 and the desire of its first minister to extend the *bienfaits de la culture* to the greatest number of people (with a rather elitist conception of culture), were mainly inspired by the emerging French approach and flowed from this liberal approach or tradition. It was during a trip to France in June 1960 that Lapalme found an intellectual guide in the French Minister André Malraux. Lapalme asked his legal adviser to draw on the French law that created the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in France and modify it to suit the political environment of Québec (see Saint-Pierre and Thuriot 2006, 2007). The 1960s stand out as a period during which a broad range of cultural organizations was created, often with nationalist objectives: *Office de la langue française* in 1961, *Délégation générale du Québec* in Paris in 1962, *Service du Canada français d'outre frontières* in 1963, *Direction générale de l'immigration* in 1966[20] and finally, *Radio Québec* in 1968.[21] For then premier Jean Lesage, the Government of Québec was affirming its

> moral obligation to take a major share of the responsibility [for cultural development in Québec] by putting in place necessary administrative structures, and through them, stimulating

the dynamic movement of French Canadian cultural expression. (cited in Turi 1974, p. 23, authors' translation)

In the 1970s, after a decade focused on establishing the administrative structure of the Ministry, putting in place national cultural institutions and creating links with foreign countries, notably within *la Francophonie*, a new *approach focusing on the national identity of Quebecers* came to characterize Québec's cultural policy. The Québec government presented itself as *maître d'œuvre* of cultural development and the protector of French Canadian culture, which, in the meantime, had transformed into Québec culture. The concept of culture broadened to extend beyond the domain of fine arts and was conceived of in a more anthropological sense.[22] This approach draws on the symbols, ideas and values of Québec society and focuses on the concept of 'popular culture', understood as the cultural production of the Québec people, associated particularly with crafts, folklore and built heritage (historic buildings, structures, monuments, etc.). It was likewise the period of substantial conflicts over linguistic rights, culminating in 1977 in the adoption of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), as well as many initiatives seeking to counter federal intervention in the cultural domain.

Finally, beginning in the 1980s, the *neoliberal conception,* which aligns culture and the economy and associates culture with industry, has focused on the cultural output of mass media and cultural industries. Growth in cultural expenditures accompanied these new economic beliefs and there was also a focus on strong cultural management and the importance of cultural employment. At the outset of the 1980s, the Québec government adopted functional programs benefiting municipalities, regions and large cultural institutions, but also artists and creators. In 1982, it developed a plan to regionalize part of its cultural management, while the other part was conferred to a network of crown corporations. One of the principal instruments of change in the 1990s undoubtedly remains the adoption of Québec's cultural policy, the *Politique culturelle du Québec* (1992). The policy's development was stimulated by a very specific context: the crisis in public finances and the divisive constitutional debate. While this change was inspired by practices prevailing in France and had already been tried to some degree with the creation of the Ministry of State for Cultural Development (1978–1982), the new policy represented a major reorientation for the ministry. The Ministry's mandate was enlarged to encourage some twenty ministries and crown corporations, as well as other partners, to address the cultural domain in their sphere of responsibility. The policy is based on three key objectives: affirmation of Québec's cultural identity (French language, cultural heritage) while remaining open to the world and making space for cultural dialogue (with aboriginal people, new immigrants and ethnic minorities, Anglophone minorities, etc.), development of artistic creation, and citizen access to and participation in cultural life. The policy also requires functional decentralization of arts support with the creation of the *Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec* – an independent arm's length organization the artistic community had been recommending for 40 years[23] (Saint-Pierre 2003; 2007). Currently, one national institution reports to the department, *the Centre de conservation du Québec*, while 14 organizations report to the *Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine* (the latter, a new responsibility added in April 2007).[24]

The origin and evolution of cultural policy and administration in Ontario

Four periods characterize the origin and evolution of cultural policy in Ontario. In the first period, prior to the 1950s, Ontario, with its 'weak tradition of state support for culture'

(Files 1989, p. 18) was a *reluctant partner* in the cultural sphere. This reluctance of political leaders to intervene in the arts and culture was not uncommon in English Canada at the time, and likely, as Ostry notes, 'an inheritance from Britain … [where] … the Puritans bequeathed their suspicion of the arts to the common people…' (1978, p. 28). Prior to the second World War, a very British and 'fiercely protestant' Ontario, simply did not support substantive government intervention in 'creative play, crafts, ballet, theatre and sports' (Files 1989, p. 15). Arts and culture were regarded as *private affairs*, with many current cultural institutions and early programming across the cultural sector originating in and delivered by nongovernmental actors.[25] Public intervention, such as it was, was mainly reactive, with the government responding to periodic demands from civil society to provide financial support or to 'adopt' existing institutions created largely through private initiative. The Royal Ontario Museum, the Art Gallery of Ontario, and expanded funding and coordination in the library sector following the conclusion of Carnegie library construction reflect this pattern (see Beckman *et al.* 1984, Files 1989). Of crucial importance, the provincial government conceived of these initiatives in *educational* rather than cultural terms. Those advocating government support were most successful where the initiative was educational in nature, and when the government responded favourably, its actions were undertaken largely through the education ministry (Ontario, Ministry of Citizenship and Culture 1984). It is perhaps not surprising then that *access* and *education* were key objectives during this period.[26] This reactive, *bottom-up* pattern characterized Ontario's cultural policy interventions up until the 1950s.

A conscious government effort to develop and implement cultural policy in Ontario only began to emerge in the postwar years in response to an increasingly affluent, educated, and leisure-conscious population demanding public intervention in the sector (Files 1989, p. 5). This ushered in the second period of cultural policy development in the province, during which the government slowly began to emerge as a *patron state*. In the 1950s, the province began to take some tentative steps, including the first grants to community museums and to the major cultural organizations in the province (including the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, the Canadian Opera Company, and the National Ballet of Canada). In the 1960s, boosted by a context of healthy government finances, the government began to intervene in a much more direct fashion. While Québec was putting in place branches, services and programs to support its burgeoning Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the Ontario government established a large number of cultural agencies.

The Ontario Arts Council (OAC), created in 1963 as the main funding body for individual artists and professional arts organizations, was the most noteworthy development. The federal government's establishment of the Canada Council in 1957 led to increasing calls for and pressure on the Ontario government to create a provincial arts council.[27] The OAC reflected the British arts council approach:

> … the Ontario Arts Council['s] mandate and initial operating method were essentially the same as those of the Canada Council, which, in turn, were based on those of the Arts Council of Great Britain. (Fortier and Schafer 1989, p. 12)

The OAC promoted excellence in the arts and arts management, with an understanding of culture as a right of citizenship – but it was more community-oriented and understood arts more broadly than its federal counterpart. The Council understood its role as serving *all* Ontarians: it focused on broadening arts audiences through arts education, touring to rural communities, serving the Franco-Ontarian community, seeking to achieve a balance between funding major arts institutions and smaller non-traditional art forms, and providing grants

to the non-performing arts (MacSkimming 1983, p. 13). In this period, the government continued its focus on access (*democratization of culture*), understood in regional, ethnic, demographic, and socio-economic terms. However, while it began to emerge as a *patron state*, it continued to conceive of culture in educational terms. The raft of cultural agencies created during the 1960s,[28] along with grants to major cultural organizations and community museums, were administered by or formed part of the Ministry of Education, and no overarching policy statement or approach guided provincial intervention.

The conception of *culture as a separate and identifiable sphere of government activity* was only to emerge in the third period beginning in the 1970s. In 1974, the government created the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, the first ministry in the province dedicated to culture, and virtually all cultural agencies and programs were transferred to the new ministry from the Ministry of Education. At the same time, the concept of culture itself was shifting in line with demographic and political shifts in society, in particular, growing ethnocultural diversity in the province and increasing recognition of linguistic minority communities. The government's response to this evolving environment was to build on *democratization of culture* (access and equality) by adopting *cultural democracy* (inclusiveness and equity), all the while retaining a focus on excellence. This can be seen in the objectives of the Ministry: increasing access to the benefits of citizenship for Ontarians (including participation in sports, recreation and culture), preserving and strengthening the cultural heritage of all Ontario residents, fully recognizing their diverse backgrounds and traditions, and promoting individual and community excellence in cultural expression. During this period, the province enacted heritage legislation, undertook to provide greater recognition of French language minority rights, and put in place mechanisms ultimately leading to funding for community radio in French, the creation of a French channel on the provincial educational broadcaster (TVOntario) and greater recognition of aboriginal culture in provincial cultural programming.

During the 1970s, the province became increasingly interested in the potential economic spin-offs of cultural activities (Files 1989, p. 5), but it was not until the fourth period of cultural policy development, beginning in the 1980s, that the government began to adopt, as in Québec, a *neoliberal conception* of culture. Ontario – notably Toronto – has traditionally been home to a large share of Canada's cultural industries (particularly in publishing but also in broadcasting, audiovisual production and sound recording). In the main, though, the province had implicitly relied on federal programs to support the cultural industries.[29] But in the 1980s, it began to intervene more forcibly, undertaking a study to profile the cultural industries (Ontario 1982, to be followed by Ontario 1994), and put in place mechanisms of support (e.g., the Ontario Film Development Corporation in 1986 to administer tax credits and funding programs and the Cultural Attractions Fund in 1999 to support cultural tourism). At the same time, the province has also come to privilege funding models requiring organizations to secure matching private support for their activities.[30]

Discussion and conclusion: can national cultural policy approaches be used for sub-national comparisons?

This exploration of cultural policy development in Québec and Ontario suggests that the Québec government was inspired by the 'classic' French approach (*ministry of culture* and *fusion of state-culture*) but, beginning in the late 1970s, the province's cultural interventions began to resemble a hybrid approach. In Ontario, meanwhile, the history of cultural policy and administration can be characterized as a progression from a British (arm's length arts council and culture as a 'private affair') to a hybrid approach in the 1970s.

In Québec, government cultural intervention since the 1960s has been closely aligned with nationalist sentiment. The 1960 election of Jean Lesage's Liberal government and the contributions of a generation of intellectuals, politicians and administrators, reflected a transformation in Québec society (*Révolution tranquille*, the Quiet Revolution). Québec was faced with delicate political challenges, with one of the solutions being affirmation of Québec's culture and identity. Faced with a federal government that seemed ever-more inclined to establish a common cultural policy for all of Canada, Québec turned to a formidable ally, France, that inspired it with … *des façons de faire*. This affinity of *vues de l'esprit* between ministers Lapalme and Malraux concretized with the 1961 creation of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in Québec, a first in the Americas.

Beginning in the 1970s, however, Québec began to move away from the French approach. The province came to adopt hybrid arrangements, delegating responsibilities to crown corporations and to relatively autonomous funding organizations (the hallmark of the British approach), and developing in more recent times strategies to build *financial partnerships* with the private sector,[31] all the while maintaining a central role for the Ministry of Culture with direct powers to disburse government subsidies (as in France). With respect to cultural decentralization, it has remained relatively limited in Québec, while deconcentration and decentralization have continued to grow in France since the end of the 1970s. This should perhaps not be surprising given that Québec's cultural policy seeks to reinforce Québec's place in the Canadian federation and to promote the province at the international level.

In Ontario, meanwhile, the predominant theme of early cultural policy development is a reactive and reluctant government responding to periodic demands from the private sector and civil society for government intervention. Culture and the arts were above all 'private affairs' and there was a very strong role for voluntary organizations and individual philanthropy. The cultural sphere was simply not viewed by the government as a legitimate domain for government intervention in the prewar years, unless for educational purposes benefiting the population at large. While tentative steps were taken in the 1950s, it was with the creation of the Ontario Arts Council in 1963 that the government developed a stronger footing in the British approach and could begin to be properly referred to as a *patron state*. The conception of culture as a distinctive and identifiable sphere of government activity was only to follow a decade later, with the establishment of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation in 1974. In policy terms, the new Ministry emphasized key elements of the hybrid approach: the economic and social contributions of the arts, and the importance of access, equality and cultural diversity. In administrative terms, the creation of the Ministry alongside the OAC reflected a hybrid approach and marked the consolidation of cultural programming under one administrative roof, for what then Premier Bill Davis referred to in the provincial legislature as 'added emphasis' (see Files 1989, p. 12).

But despite the province's shift towards hybrid arrangements, it still retains important vestiges of the British approach: independence between the state and culture (numerous arm's length agencies), the state as partner (shared funding with the private sector), promoting excellence and self-management in the sector, presence of public and private foundations (e.g., the Trillium Foundation, which distributes provincial lottery proceeds and the non-governmental Ontario Arts Foundation), and the continued strong role of the private sector in financial support.

The findings above suggest there is room for optimism in applying national-level approaches to sub-national cultural policy studies. The approaches did much to illuminate the distinctive policy and administrative trajectories of Québec and Ontario, beginning from

their early interventions in the cultural sector to the present day. Having said this, the analysis only examined two provinces. It will be crucial to extend the analysis to all of the provinces in order to comprehensively assess the relevance of the French, British and hybrid approaches for provincial comparative studies. Early findings of the pan-Canadian research study co-directed by the authors[32] suggest that these three approaches could do much to illuminate provincial cultural policy development in Canada: for example, questions of identity and the fusion of state-culture appear to be relevant in the provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador and New Brunswick, while British conceptions of culture and administration seem to characterize experiences in a number of other provinces, including Nova Scotia and Manitoba.

It is our hope that this exploratory article will spark further efforts to lay an analytical framework for comparative cultural policy analysis at the sub-national level. Future research would do well to pursue three main avenues. First, given that most jurisdictions can now be characterized as hybrid, a finer-grained analysis of hybrid approaches is required. Second, there are a number of particularities at the sub-national level of analysis that may require modification or adaptation of existing national approaches. The discussion of Québec pointed to the relevance for this province of countering federal interventionism in the province and securing Québec's place in the Canadian federation (this stands in contrast to Ontario and most other provinces in English Canada, where federal intervention does not tend to trigger provincial reactions rooted in jurisdictional considerations). In addition, at the provincial level, culture is often closely associated with education (a provincial jurisdiction), sports and recreation (programming is often undertaken at the municipal level), and libraries (again, often delivered at the municipal level). Third, it will be important to examine the American approach to cultural policy and administration given Canada's geographical proximity to the United States, but also because the American approach displays characteristics distinct from the British and French approaches (e.g., greater government focus on support for charitable giving through the tax system and a stronger role for local communities).

Notes

1. Internationally, cultural policy is likewise recognized as a relatively immature field of study (Bennett and Mercer, n.d.) with very scant research conducted at the sub-national level (Schuster 2002).
2. Recent research also points to the influence of American foundations in cultural policy development in Canada (Brison 2005). Given space limitations, this article limits itself to the French and British cases, although it will be important to examine the American approach in subsequent research, a point to which we return in the conclusion.
3. Other European researchers note the influence of the British and/or French approaches in the cultural domain, for example, research on the national cultural policy of Nordic countries such as Norway (Council of Europe/ERICarts 2007).

4. Comparative studies can be classified as 'case-oriented' or 'variable-oriented', with case-oriented studies tending to adopt a historical-institutionalist approach emphasizing differences among cases, and variable-oriented analyses focusing on similarities and attempting to draw out generalizations (Imbeau *et al.* 2000). In comparison to the variable-oriented approach, where analysts tend to rely on statistical techniques at broad levels of generalization, the case study approach permits for a finer-grained analysis. It is also preferable in the early stages of comparative research, where a variable-oriented approach could lead to faulty interpretations of quantitative data (Négrier 2005). The analysis we adopt in this article is case-oriented.

5. Broadcasting and performing arts were the next largest spending categories, representing 8.7% and 8.2% of expenditures, respectively (Statistics Canada 2005).

6. The hybrid approaches were developed following a study of 14 of 39 cultural policy profiles of the Council of Europe/ERICarts *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*. See note 2 of Figure 1 for the list of countries studied.

7. The development and use of these approaches for comparative analysis does not necessarily imply or require that sub-national cultural policy-makers directly emulate France and the United Kingdom, but rather, that the distinctive approaches of these countries might assist analytically in comparative studies.

8. The Defferre decentralization laws of 1982–1983 gave more responsibilities (these were optional) to territorial communities to undertake local projects: archives, libraries, specialized arts schools, museums and heritage projects. The constitutional reform of 2003 transformed France into a 'decentralized Republic'. This reform was soon followed by a new decentralization law in August 2004 that transferred cultural powers and properties to communities (Saint-Pierre and Thuriot 2006).

9. For an interesting history of private sponsorship in France, see De Durfort (2006).

10. In 2002, the French government's total spending was 6.2 billion euros compared to some 5.8 billion for other levels of government (departments, regions, communes, *Établissements publics de coopération intercommunale* (France. Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication 2006, p. 6).

11. In the cultural sector, the principle of *arm's length* (or of non-interference) is generally based on two main concepts: no dependence on politicians or the political level and the presence of peer-adjudicated grants promoting artistic excellence.

12. As Fisher (2007) notes, this expenditure expansion was accompanied by debate about the 'traditional' approach to funding (excellence in classic or contemporary arts) versus 'alternative culture' (emerging from community arts and the local level), with advocates of the latter characterizing the ACGB's approach as 'elitist'.

13. The new government also reduced the number of arm's length cultural agencies through mergers (see Fisher 2007).

14. The aim here is not to suggest that the influence of France and the United Kingdom as jurisdictions in and of themselves is mounting, but rather that elements characteristic of the 'Classic' French and British approaches (i.e., at their origins) have been utilized by other jurisdictions.

15. France spends twice the amount on arts and museums as does the United Kingdom (Devlin and Hoyle 2001, p. 96).

16. For an analysis of Québec nationalism, see Brouillet (2006).

17. While total cultural spending in Québec and Ontario in 2003–2004 was far greater than that of the other provinces, on a per capita basis, expenditures (current dollars) in Québec close to double those of Ontario: 96.36 dollars or 67.2 euros (the highest of all provinces) as compared to 50.69 dollars or 35.3 euros (the lowest) (Statistics Canada 2005).

18. While Québec and Ontario may be said to occupy distinctive places in Canada's federation and distinctive approaches to cultural policy as a result, this should not be viewed as a limitation of selecting these provinces for study. Rather, it is an opportunity to explore and test the analytical framework in two provinces with distinctive histories, political cultures, and relations with the federal government. Moreover, as discussed in the first section of this article and briefly in the conclusion, all provinces have understood culture and cultural policy in different terms, although Québec is not the only province to be concerned with questions of identity in its cultural policy approach and Ontario is neither alone in its relatively smooth relations with the federal government in this policy domain.

19. While space limitations preclude the treatment of other provincial cases, we reference briefly other provinces' experiences in the concluding section of this article.

20. This openness of the Québec government to the international domain is founded on the principle elaborated by Liberal Minister Paul-Gérin Lajoie on the extension of provincial constitutional competencies into the international milieu. The Gérin-Lajoie Doctrine has since been defended by all Québec governments.
21. Other Ministries with a 'cultural vocation' were created: the Ministry of Immigration in 1968 and the Ministry of Communications in 1969 (integrated into the Ministry of Culture in 1994).
22. The most eloquent example of this change remains the 1978 societal/cultural project of the Parti Québécois minister Camille Laurin, *La politique québécoise du développement culturel*. In this document, the concept of culture involves very broad targets because culture is understood as '*milieu de vie*' and '*l'ensemble de l'existence est produit de la culture*' (all existence is a product of culture) (Québec, *Livre blanc* 1978, p. 9).
23. A provincial arts council (advisory council for the Minister of Cultural Affairs) was created in the early 1960s, only to be abolished a few years later.
24. Of these organizations, some of which originated at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, three are provincial museums (*Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec* and *Musée de la civilisation*, which includes the *Musée de l'Amérique française*), two are funding bodies administering grants or tax-credits (*Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec-CALQ, Société de développement des entreprises culturelles-SODEC*), and two promote heritage and maintain heritage properties (*Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec-BANQ, Commission des biens culturels du Québec*). The remainder serve a variety of purposes in the cultural sector (the *Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique du Québec, Commission de reconnaissance des associations d'artistes et des associations de producteurs, Conseil du statut de la femme, Régie du cinéma, Société de la Place des Arts de Montréal, Société de télédiffusion du Québec* and the *Société du Grand Théâtre de Québec*) (see the Ministry's website: http://www.mcccf.gouv.qc.ca/).
25. Many provincial cultural institutions and cultural infrastructure originated in donations by private individuals (see Files 1989). These include the Art Gallery of Ontario (originating in the donation of Goldwin Smith's home, the Grange, to the City of Toronto), the Royal Ontario Museum (originating in donations from faculty and citizens for a collection for teaching and research purposes at the University of Toronto), the McMichael Canadian Art Collection (donation by the McMichael family to the Government of Ontario), and Hart House at the University of Toronto, a donation by the Massey family. In the library sector, these actors included the American philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, with 111 of the 125 Carnegie libraries established in Canada in the early twentieth century located in the province of Ontario (see Beckman, Langmead and Black 1984).
26. Where the government did intervene of its own initiative, it did so mainly in areas closely related to education or with measures conceived in educational terms, e.g., legislation in the late 1800s to provide book grants for libraries and to empower municipalities to levy taxes to support free libraries, establishment of the Bureau of Archives in 1903 to conserve historical and government papers, and establishment in 1917 of the Ontario Motion Picture Board to produce films for educational purposes in the province.
27. In contrast to Québec, in Ontario, federal intervention in the cultural sector does not tend to trigger provincial reactions rooted in jurisdictional considerations, but rather, intervention to respond to calls from civil society for provincial equivalence
28. In addition to the Ontario Arts Council (1963), these agencies include the McMichael Canadian Art Collection (1965), Ontario Educational Television (1965), the John Graves Simcoe Memorial Foundation (1965), the Ontario Art Gallery (1966), the Ontario Heritage Foundation (1967) and the Ontario Science Centre (1969).
29. In addition to establishing the provincial film office, Ontario created a Royal Commission on Book Publishing in the early 1970s to examine the challenges of the Canadian publishing sector in the face of American competition.
30. The Arts Endowment Fund, created in 1998, is administered by the Ontario Arts Foundation (a non-government organization established in 1991 to provide a vehicle for private giving to the arts) and requires organizations to secure funds to match those received from the government. The Arts Education Partnership Initiative, established in 2006 to support arts education projects, operates on a similar logic.
31. For example, in 1997, the SODEC and *Fonds de solidarité* of the FTQ created a fund, the *Fonds d'investissement de la culture et des communications* (FICC) in order to provide financial partnerships for cultural enterprises seeking to access risk capital. In 1999, a sponsorship organization

was created: the *Financière des entreprises culturelles* (FIDEC). Finally, in 2005, the Québec government launched *Placements Culture,* a program intended to encourage individuals, corporations and private foundations to contribute generously to organizations in the culture and communications sectors.
32. The authors are co-directors of a three-year comparative study of provincial and territorial cultural policies in Canada, funded in part by the Institute of Public Administration of Canada (IPAC). In addition, Diane Saint-Pierre is responsible for the research axis 'Politiques culturelles' of the *Chaire Fernand-Dumont sur la culture*, of the Institut national de la recherche scientifique.

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