

Kanađani u potrazi za identitetom

Nitko ne pozna svoju zemlju. Niti stranac niti njezini vlastiti sinovi¹.

Bruce Hutchison

Potaknut prezentacijom društava visokorazvijenih zemalja zapada kao društava u kojima je multikulturalizam riješio interkulturalne (i interetničke) antagonizme mirnim putem, autor nastoji proniknuti u način na koji se pojam multikulturalizma manifestira u kanadskom društvu. Zaključuje da je i u Kanadi multikulturalizam tek težnja, a ne istinska svakodnevica svih struktura društva.

Ključne riječi: nacionalni identitet, multikulturalizam, društvena struktura, Kanada

Uvod

U proteklom desetljeću termin "multikulturalizam" na području jugoistočne Europe prelaskom iz rječnika struka koje se bave društvom i kulturom u politički rječnik, postao je jedan od onih koji su obilježili drugu polovicu 20. stoljeća. Na žalost, on se uglavnom i najviše koristi tamo gdje u odnosima između nosioca različitih kultura postoje problemi, i nudi se kao čarobni pojam kojim civilizirani svijet rješava nesuglasice. Iz naše nedavne prošlosti znamo kako multikulturalnost ne znači samo bogatstvo jednog područja, već je vrlo često alibi tragičnim događajima, a njegova sama i česta upotreba te isticanje njezinih pozitivnih značajki ovog termina nisu u stanju donijeti rješenje svih problema. Uostalom, neosjećanjem za pravi sadržaj ovog termina, sami smo sebe i doveli u situaciju da **moramo** učiti od zapadnog svijeta razvijene demokracije, "koji je tu lekciju davno savladao" (!?).

¹*No one knows my country, neither the stranger nor its own sons.* Bruce Hutchison, 1942.

Kada se opremljen takvim stavovima (predrasudama) znatiželjnik sa područja koje nije bilo u stanju bez rata i tuđe pomoći realizirati ideju *multikulturalizma* pojavi u razvijenoj zemlji zapada, očekuje da će zateći društvo organizirano u idealnu multikulturalnu formu. Tada tek shvati koliki je raskorak između shvaćanja sadržaja termina, općeg društvenog konsenzusa oko njegovog prihvaćanja i njegove realizacije.

Kanadsko je društvo multikulturalno *par excellence* i kao takvo interesantan obrazac i primjer za usporedbu.

U Kanadi sam boravio od 10. kolovoza do 01. listopada 1999. godine, uz ostalo nastojeći saznati tko su Kanadani. Naime termin "Kanadanin" u meni je izazivao asocijaciju na hrvatske iseljenike u Kanadi. Čak i kada se u razgovoru sa kanadskim dijelom moje familije spominjao "pravi Kanadanin" ili "Kanađanka" (tj. "nehrvatski Kanadanin"), uz to je obično slijedilo i objašnjenje "On/ona je Škot, Englez, Poljak..." Vrlo sam brzo shvatio da takav odgovor nije lako dobiti, da ni mnogim Kanadanima nije jasan. U običnom razgovoru sa strancem "pravim Kanadaninom" se smatra stanovnik koji je već dugo u Kanadi, naročito ako je doselio u mladosti. U međusobnim, pak, razgovorima samih Kanadana, ovo će osporavati rođeni u Kanadi, a naročito potomci doseljenika u drugoj ili trećoj generaciji. U svakom slučaju, s jedne strane susrećemo se sa nedoumicom Kanadana u pogledu vlastitog kulturnog identiteta, a kod vanjskog promatrača sa stereotipom koji, ne sasvim, ali dobrim dijelom vrijedi i za došljaka iz Hrvatske. Blackwell & Stanley-Blackwell taj su stereotip formulirali kao predodžbu po kojoj je *Kanada zemlja snijega, hokeja, Stjenjaka, divljine, neukroćenih prostora, javora, mirovnih snaga, Tim Hortonovih prodavaonica krafni*², sveopće zdravstvene zaštite, Kvebečkog seperatizma i simpatično suzdržanih ljudi. (Blackwell & Stanley-Blackwell: 2) U tom smislu, čini se da tipičnog Kanadanina lakše mogu definirati umjetnici nego sociolozi, antropolozi ili etnolozi. Kanadski publicist i izdavač John Robert Colombo Kanadanina opisuje ovako:

Kanadanin je netko tko

Misli da zna voditi ljubav u kanuu

Navija za Toronto Maple Leafs

Voli objede, deserte i druge obroke Air Canade

Razlikuje Wayna od Shustera

Prisustvuje koncertima Anne Murray i Lione Boyd

Ponosi se time što je Donald Sutherland rođen u New Brunswicku

Ima "zdrav osjećaj za moguće"

Je sesquilingvalan (govori jedan i pol jezik)

² Radi se o lancu odmorišta duž kanadskih autocesta, koja nude okrijepu (kavu, bezalkoholna pića, jednostavne obroke i sjeveroameričku vrst krafni)

Je postao sjeveroamerikanac, a da nije postao

Amerikanac niti Meksikanac

*Zna što znače reference spomenute u ovoj pjesmi*³

John Robert Colombo

Osim što se pitanje "kanadanstva" manifestira najviše kao pitanje kanadskog kulturnog identiteta, ono ima i snažnu rasnu komponentu koja je komplicirana ne samo međusobnim odnosima bijelih, crnih i žutih doseljenika, već poglavito odnosima države i *aboriginskog* stanovništva.

Formiranju kanadskog kulturnog identiteta dodatno je opterećenje blizina ekonomski snažnog, a kulturno agresivnog susjeda, pri čemu je trend globalne amerikanizacije svijeta na kanadsko društvo posebno izražen. Odgovarajući na interes Kanađana za ovu temu, TV mreža CBC emitirala je seriju emisija pod naslovom: *Kakva granica? Amerikanizacija Kanade! (What Border?...)* U Washingtonu je 1969. godine tadašnji kanadski premijer Pierre Trudeau nelagodu zbog takve kulturne agresivnosti s jedne strane i dobrih političkih odnosa s druge, izrazio izjavom: "Živjeti do vas na neki je način kao spavati sa slonom; bez obzira koliko beštija, ako je tako mogu nazvati, bila prijateljska ili čak blaga, ozlijedit će vas svakim svojim trzajem ili gundanjem" (Blackwell & Stanley-Blackwell: 13).

Pravo na Kanadu kao "svoju državu" ističu tri skupine *aboriginskog* stanovništva koje spominje kanadski ustav (Indijanci, Eskimi, Métisi), te doseljenici francuskog i engleskog podrijetla. Ne bez razloga Indijanci i Eskimi odbacuju imena koja su im dali europski doseljenici. Autohtono kanadsko stanovništvo insistira da se termin "*native people*" koji je do nedavno korišten, a koji bi mogli prevesti sa "*urodenici*", za-

³ **A Canadian Is Somebody Who**

Thinks he knows how to make love in a canoe,

Bets on Toronto Maple Leafs

Enjoys Air Canada dinners, desserts and all

Distinguishes between Wayne and Schuster

Attends the concerts of Anne Murray and Liona Boyd

Boasts Donald Sutherland was born in New Brunswick

Possesses "a sound sense of the possible"

Is sesquilingual (speaks one and half languages)

Has become North American without becoming

Either American or Mexican

Knows what the references in this poem are all about

John Robert Colombo, 1984.

(Blackwell & Stanley-Blackwell: 10; Objavljeno uz dozvolu autora. Prijevod, I.Š.)

Wayne i Shuster su bili zvijezde TV serije CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) televizije šezdesetih godina.

Anne Murray i Liona Boyd su popularne pjevačice sedamdesetih, uz koje se vežu mnogi skandali.

Toronto Maple Leafs je hokejska momčad, tradicionalni rival Montreal's Canadiens.

mjeni terminom "*aborigin people*" (izvorno stanovništvo), koji je hrvatskim etnologima bio poznat kao naziv za australsko domorodačko stanovništvo. Sami za sebe, Indijanci pak zahtijevaju da ih se naziva *First nations* (prvobitni narodi), a Eskimi, *Inuit* (imenom kojim su oduvijek sami sebe nazivali, a znači "ljudi") (Aboriginal Links: Canada & U.S.).

Od 04. travnja 1999. godine, kanadska federalna jedinica *Northwest Territories* je podijeljena na dva dijela kako bi se osnovala nova jedinica *Nunavut* (na Inuktitut jeziku Inuita, "*Naša zemlja*") (Aboriginal Links: Canada & U.S.). Indijanci su svoje rezervate već ranije pretvorili u unosna poslovna područja na temelju znatnih pogodnosti koje su uspjeli izboriti (npr. oslobođenje od poreza i ekskluzivno pravo na kocku na područjima svojih rezervata).

Da bi, međutim, poduprli svoje zahtjeve da ih se smatra "jedinim pravim Kanadanima", sve se više ulažu napori (nerijetko i velika financijska sredstva) da se sačuvaju i prezentiraju ostaci kulturne baštine. S obzirom na narav njihove kulture kao pretežno selilačke i lovačke tradicije, starih je materijalnih artefakata relativno malo, pa se pribjegava rekonstrukcijama, izradi replika pa i onome što bismo mogli nazvati "izumom tradicije". To se prije svega odnosi na nošnju koju koriste u svojim folklornim nastupima pred turistima.

Govoreći o povijesti i kulturi Kanade, potomci engleskih i francuskih doseljenika razilaze se kod pitanja odanosti Kanadi, njezinoj kulturi i povezanosti sa njezinom preddoseljeničkom povijesti. Francuzi Englezima spočitavaju olako prihvaćanje kulturnih značajki iz Sjedinjenih Država pri čemu u svojim optužbama idu toliko daleko da ih se optužuje i za koketiranje sa idejom o političkom ujedinjenju sa SAD. Koliko su te (ekstremne) optužbe opravdane, na temelju oskudnih informacija teško je reći, no činjenica je da u anglosaksonskim krugovima nisam naišao na izričito demantiranje ovih optužbi, dok sam u British Columbiji (doduše u krugovima doseljenih Hrvata) bio uvjeren kako doista ne bi ništa imali protiv ujedinjenja sa SAD. Osim tvrdnji kako se jedino kultura kanadskih Francuza može smatrati autentičnom kanadskom kulturom, jer je anglosaksonska asimilirana pod utjecajima iz SAD, promatrač sa strane može steći dojam (mada možda i pogrešan) kako Francuzi svoje izvorno kanadanstvo potkrjepljuju i uvjerenjem da su oni jedini most koji premošćuje preddoseljeničku i doseljeničku Kanadu samim postojanjem kulture koju su razvili Métis-i. Za Métise, mješance doseljenika i Indijanaca (dotično bijelih doseljenika i Indijanki), najčešće se kaže da su mješanci Francuza i Indijanki, iako sami o sebi govore kao o **naciji i kulturi** stvorenoj miješanjem različitih europskih doseljenika, a ne samo Francuza.⁵ S obzirom na današnju političku konstelaciju, francuski Kanadani svoj etnicitet (i kulturni identitet) smatraju jedinim autentično kanadskim⁶, nasuprot Englezima sklonim amerikanizaciji.

⁴ Podatak o nazivu jezika preuzet je sa web stranica. National Library of Canada, međutim, termin "Inuktitut" koristi kao naziv i za narod i za njegov jezik.

⁵ U drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća, najveća kanadska naseobina Métisa na rijeci Red River, brojala je 5720 frankofonskih Métisa i 4080 anglofonskih. (*Metis Nation History*:4)

⁶ Pri čemu misle na suvremenu kanadsku državu.

Anglosaksonci donekle priznaju frankofonske argumente koji se tiču njihovih kulturnih posebnosti, jer je svijest o njihovom etnicitetu (pa i kulturnom identitetu) dugo bila zamijenjena političkom dominacijom. Francuzima spočitavaju njihove separatističke ambicije.

Ono što je najuočljivije u razmatranju ovog problema su njegove tri razine na kojima se on različito manifestira. Dok je s jedne strane primjetan velik napor države da edukacijom, propagandom i financijskom potporom različitim etničkim skupinama osigura ravnopravnu egzistenciju svima, čini se da učinak na prosječnog Kanađana nije odgovarajući. Treća je razina društvenih znanosti koje prate sve procese od početaka formiranja kanadskog društva do suvremenosti.

Ovim radom želim sistematizirati vlastite utiske i formulirati zaključak u vezi sa ovom temom za samog sebe, i upoznati sa njima druge zainteresirane. Rad je pisan na temelju vlastitih ("terenskih") bilješki, podataka sa izuzetno kvalitetnih web stranica i literature. Bilješke se odnose na vlastita zapažanja kao i na razgovore s običnim ljudima i kolegama, poglavito sa profesoricom *Ženskih studija winnipeškog univerziteta* Pauline Greenhill, i voditeljicom odjela - kustosa *Kanadskog muzeja civilizacije* u Hullu, Carmelle Bégin.

Prvi poticaj za ovu temu bila je primjedba Petera, Kanađanina engleskog podrijetla kojom se požalio kako se kanadske doseljeničke etničke skupine trude da sačuvaju jezik i ne napuštaju svoje tradicije. "Pa kako ćemo onda postati Kanađani", kaže.⁷ Svakako, uporno nostalgичno čuvanje tradicija usporava formiranje kanadskog kulturnog amalgama, no nikako ga ne može spriječiti. Ne bi se moglo reći da nove generacije sasvim zapostavljaju vlastite kulturne tradicije, no u svakom su slučaju njihovi pripadnici veoma skloni preuzimanju tuđih vrijednosti, što se očituje u svakodnevnom životu u rječniku, kuhinji, oblačenju, nakitu pa i obrednim svečanostima. Bez obzira na prisutnost međuetničkih i međurasnih antagonizama⁸ u svakodnevnom se životu može susresti bezbroj primjera preuzimanja kulturnih elemenata. Moglo bi se npr. reći da se u različitim omjerima prosječna kanadska kuhinja sastoji od, prije svega jela koja pripadaju nacionalnoj kuhinji kojoj pripada kuhar(ica), a zatim od kineskih, talijanskih, poljskih i drugih specijaliteta. Tome pridonosi i industrija gotove i polugotove hrane koju ljudi kupuju, pa i bez znanja o tome kojoj nacionalnoj kuhinji izvorno pripadaju. Na taj se način primaju, ne samo gotova jela, nego i njihovi recepti i izvorni (često anglizirani) nazivi. Kao karakterističan primjer prodora domorodačkih kulturnih elemenata u svakodnevnicu prosječnog Kanađanina je izrada "nakita prijateljstva". To je nakit od sitnih perli nanizanih na konac u apstraktnoj formi ili obliku neke životinje. Izrađuju ih roditelji svojoj djeci, ili djeca poticana od roditelja za srodnike ili prijatelje. Drugi je primjer "*inukshuk*", kamenje naslagano u različitim formama. Prvi sam puta "*inukshuk*" antropomorfne forme vidio u *Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature*

⁷ Petera sam upoznao na krstikama njegove kćeri Alexije. Možda je ilustrativno za ovu temu da je Peter Kanađanin u drugoj generaciji, njegova supruga Heidi hrvatskog podrijetla Kanađanka u prvoj generaciji. Jedan od središnjih događaja na proslavi krštenja bilo je sviranje prigodne irske narodne melodije, koju je maloj Alexiji odsvirao violonist Irac.

⁸ Npr. Crnci su prljavi, "Kinezi" (tj. svi azijski doseljenici) su najgori i opasni vozači, Indijanci imaju previše privilegija, Poljaci su glupi...

u Winnipegu, gdje sam saznao da ih ima različitih oblika i veličina, a funkcija im je da označavaju putove i podsjećaju na događaje važne za pojedinca ili zajednicu. Kasnije sam takve veće i manje forme zamjećivao uz putove i puteljke u parkovima prirode, ali i autoceste, gdje su ih posjetioci i putnici u prolazu slagali u obliku lukova, stupova sa poprečnim gredama ili nekim drugim, sasvim apstraktnim oblicima.

U tom smislu, mislim da je samo pitanje vremena kada će se kultura etničkih skupina doseljenih početkom stoljeća asimilirati. Očito će mnogo više problema biti u prevladavanju antagonizama između eminentno kanadskih etničkih skupina (domorodačkih, engleskih i francuskih) koji zbog snažne političke komponente teže konsolidaciji i preciznom definiranju vlastite kulturne tradicije. To se prije svega odnosi na probudenu svijest Indijanaca, Eskima i Métisa koji se revitalizacijom (nerijetko i rekonstrukcijom) vlastite tradicije žele suprotstaviti dominaciji Engleza.

Paradoksalno je pak da se engleski etnicitet, s pozicije struke, dokazuje tek od nedavno, jer je termin "engleski" do sada bio zasjenjen simbolikom **moći** na koju je asocirao (Greenhill, 1994:4). S pozicije moći inferiorni, ostali su etniciteti već ranije smatrali da im je čuvanje atributa vlastitog etniciteta neophodno za održanje.

Pauline Greenhill konstatira da Kanadani etnicitet doživljavaju festivalski i karnevalski, na manifestacijama kao što su "Karavana" u Torontu ili "Folklorama" u Winnipegu. Ova mogućnost da svatko neometano i na nekonvencionalan način izrazi svoj etnicitet, ponekad je široko pluralistički shvaćena, kao npr. na Folklorami 1992. godine kada je QCC podigla Multi-Culti-Queer paviljon (Greenhill, 1994: 4) ⁹.

Na pitanja o ovakvim problemima njihovog društva, svi Kanadani u pravilu odgovaraju da rješenje leži u multikulturalizmu iako je, čini se, samo intelektualcima jasno o čemu je riječ. Na državnoj razini multikulturalnu politiku vodi *Sekretarijat za multikulturalizam i status žena* koji već više od 25 godina provodi *multikulturalni program*¹⁰. Ciljevi multikulturalne državne politike su: identitet, građanska participacija i društvena pravda, a provodi se pomaganjem organizacijama dobrovoljaca koje odražavaju bilingvalnost kanadskog društva i potporom aktivnostima u interesu uzajamnog razumijevanja frankofonskog i anglofonskog stanovništva (*Message*).

Formuliranje termina "Kanadanin", u ovom je momentu moguće razmatrati samo u okviru pojma državljanstva i globalnog kulturnog identiteta, dok formiranje kanadskog etniciteta treba smatrati imaginarnim. Kada u vezi s Kanadom razmatramo kategoriju etniciteta, tada se prije svega misli na elemente bogatog kanadskog etničkog mozaika, u kojem je svaki kamenčić jasno razgraničen od susjednog.

Muzejska i "paramuzejska" prezentacija baštine

Kanadski multikulturalizam odrazio se i na različitost poimanja znanosti koje se bave istraživanjem kulturne baštine. Termin *etnologija*, pretežno se koristi na kanadskom

⁹ Queer Culture Canada - kulturna udruga homoseksualaca. Organizatori su odgovorili tužbom zbog korištenja imena manifestacije bez dopuštenja.

¹⁰ Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and the Status of Women

francuskom govornom području, gdje se *folklore*, *folklorique* izbjegava kao stručni termin, zbog negativne konotacije koju sobom nosi (zaostao, glup). Tako je kanadskom društvu stručnjaka koji se bave tradicijskom kulturom engleski naziv *Folklore Studies Association of Canada*, a francuski *Association canadienne d'ethnologie et de folklore*

U Kanadskom muzeju civilizacije u Hullu¹¹, odjel antropologije u prizemlju prezentira domorodačku kulturu, na drugom je katu folklorno/etnološka prezentacija *Kanadskog centra za proučavanje folkloru (Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies)* koji se uglavnom bavi kulturom engleskih i francuskih doseljenika, te na najgornjem katu povijesni odjel koji prezentira povijest engleskih i francuskih doseljenika.

Potomci francuskih i engleskih doseljenika negiraju aboriginima isključivo "pravo na Kanadu" činjenicom da prije dolaska Europljana, Kanada kao politički entitet nije postojala. Od tuda i tvrdnje o Kanadi zemlji mlade kulture i povijesti, što za Europljane koji na svojim državnim područjima nastoje pronaći što starije artefakte kako bi dokazali da je njihova država nastala na kulturno bogatom području i tako nastavila jedan kontinuitet, nije sasvim razumljivo.

Aborigini pak sve agresivnije prezentiraju svoju povijest 19. stoljeća kada su ustanovljeni temelji Kanade, ističući da procesi stvaranja kanadske države, ne samo da su bili praćeni mnogo slabijim indijanskim otporom nego što je to bilo stvaranje SAD, već da su indijanski ratnici odigrali odlučujuću ulogu u obrani od nastojanja SAD da pripoji područje Kanade. S druge strane, Métisi su položili temelje formiranju provincije Manitoba i insistirali na njezinom pripojenju Kanadi, a ne SAD. (*Métis Culture*).

U vezi s tim je i nastojanje da se naglasi i prisutnost te tradicije u suvremenoj kanadskoj kulturi u kojoj su u svakodnevnoj upotrebi riječi izvorno *aboriginske (mokasin, kajak, kanu...)*. Poglavitito se to odnosi na toponimiju, a napose na samo ime države, čije podrijetlo tumače huronskom imenicom *kanata* - što znači *selo, seoce* (Aboriginal Links: Canada & U.S.).

Prikupljanje građe, obrada i prezentacija kao osnovne zadaće muzeja i njegovog funkcioniranja, čine ga *ipso facto "tvornicom identiteta"*. Politički značaj identiteta, ne samo u Kanadi, daje i njegovoj "tvornici" izuzetan značaj, pa se mnogi problemi *multikulturalnog društva* odražavaju u muzejima, sa svim slabostima i prednostima, kako multikulturalizma, tako i muzeja (Kolbas, 2000). Kada je riječ o slabostima muzejskih prezentacija, prije svega se misli na karakteristike muzeja 18. stoljeća koje su nerijetko prisutne i danas, a radi se o raširenom nastojanju da se prezentira poželjna istina. Tvrdnji Irene Kolbas da su muzeji rađeni prema svijetu bijelaca, treba dodati da neki kanadski primjeri pokazuju da to vrijedi i u slučajevima kada npr. Indijanci sami prezentiraju svoju baštinu. Tu treba podrazumijevati one slučajeve koji odnose vlastite kulture sa doseljeničkom prikazuju u idealiziranom obliku, ali i one iz čije se osnovne ideje ne čita prikaz povijesti već povijest antagonizma.

U Kanadi ima 899 registriranih muzejskih ustanova (Museums...: 49-65). Velikim su to dijelom "General museums" (kompleksni), a ima još specijaliziranih (poljoprivred-

¹¹ Hull je gotovo predio Otawe, od koje ga dijeli rijeka Ottawa, koja je ujedno i granica između Ontaria i Quebeca.

ni, povijesni, vojni, sportski...). Uz to česte su i ustanove koje ne odgovaraju posve definiciji muzejske ustanove, pa nose nazive *Historic Sites ili Interpretive Centre*. Ovakve ustanove su u svom naslovu jasno označene kao ustanove koje u potpunosti ne odgovaraju muzejskoj ustanovi, no katkada nije jasno da se radi o nekoj vrsti "paramuzeja" dok se ne razgleda postav.

Ovakve ustanove imaju svoje mjesto u okviru turističke ponude, no ne može se oteti dojmu da u okviru međukulturnih odnosa i polaganja prava na naslov "pravih Kanadana" imaju i značajnu političku ulogu.

Jedan od takvih primjera je lokalitet *Saint - Marie among the Hurons*. Radi se o rekonstruiranoj utvrdi koju su 1639. izgradili francuski Isusovci, a prospekt doslovce ističe da je ...1648. *Saint Marie bila dom jednog petini Europljana u Novoj Francuskoj*. Zbog napada proengleskih Irokeza i bolesti, godine 1649., misija je spaljena i napuštena.

Mjesto je dobro posjećeno od organiziranih grupa turista i slučajnih namjernika obaviještenih upadljivim panoima na obližnjem *autoputu 400*, stotinjak kilometara sjeverno od Toronta. Za povijest Kanade, osnutak i postojanje ove misije vjerojatno je zaslužilo pažnju, no muzeološki kut gledanja sugerira nekoliko pitanja. Naime, u okviru rekonstruirane utvrde, nalazi se i muzej koji dobrim dijelom govori o povijesti Isusovačkog reda, od njegovog osnutka u Španjolskoj, dok se u dijelu koji se izravno tiče ove misije a koji govori o načinu života u utvrdi, izložba sastoji od replika. Naravno, pravu muzejsku ustanovu i izložbu nije bilo moguće ustanoviti jer su stanovnici napuštajući utvrdu ponijeli sve što su mogli, dok je drugo stradalo u paljevini. Postavlja se pitanje, ako je već ovakva institucija turistička atrakcija, nije li za nju važno i to da u anglosaksonskom okruženju poučava svakog tko naiđe da su u ovom dijelu Ontarija prvi doseljenici bili francuski Isusovci.

Istovremeno, ovaj nam primjer ukazuje i na nekadašnju podjelu Indijanaca na profrancuska i proengleska plemena. Ova je podjela danas ponešto zastarjela, jer kao što je već objašnjeno, suvremeni se Indijanci snažno bore za vlastitu kulturnu i političku emancipaciju, ističući svoja isključiva prava da ih se smatra autentičnim Kanadanima. Blackfoot Indijanci u nacionalnom parku Banff u Alberti (nedaleko Calgarya), svoj folklorni program za turiste započinju podizanjem Kanadske zastave¹², sviranjem himne i govorom poglavice (koji je ujedno i voditelj programa), o njihovoj odanosti Kanadi, te o nepravdi koju trpe od bijele vlade u Otawi.

Stotinjak metara od dvorišta uprave *Nacionalnog parka Banff* u gradiću Banff, na čijem se travnjaku folklorne priredbe održavaju, lokalni je muzej (*Luxton Museum of the Plains Indians*) koji dobrim dijelom tradicijski način života Indijanaca prezentira na, sa stajališta muzejske struke, prihvatljiv način. Drugi dio krajnje pojednostavljeno prezentira indijansku prošlost. Nemam preciznih informacija o tome je li ta ustanova doista pravi muzej, tj. ima li depoe, bavi li se prikupljanjem i čuvanjem artefakata baštine ili samo njezinom prezentacijom. Izložba započinje fotografijama indijanskih članova upravnog odbora Muzeja, a dalje se nastavlja dioramama (*tipi* sa

¹² Koja je prihvaćena 15. veljače 1965. godine.

psima upregnutim u saonice, lov na bizone tjeranjem niz liticu, lov na orlove i nekoliko vitrina koje objašnjavaju ulogu muškarca odnosno žene unutar tradicijske zajednice). Veliki dio izložbe, na interesantan, ali krajnje pojednostavljeno romantičarski način prezentira odnose sa bijelcima, dotično Englezima: na velikoj se umjetničkoj slici vidi idiličan prizor trgovine Indijanaca i bijelaca ispred vojne utvrde, a diorama prikazuje susret indijanskog poglavice sa pratnjom i engleskog časnika. Svi su likovi u svećanim odorama, a poglavica i časnik si pružaju ruke. To je izložba kakvom nas mijani upravni odbor sa fotografija kraj ulaza smatra da treba poručiti bijelcima: mi smo Kanađani, mi smo kulturni, miroljubivi i otvoreni prema civilizaciji bijelog čovjeka. Ova blagonaklonost prema kulturi bijelaca ide toliko daleko da od bijelaca preuzimaju i njihovu interpretaciju vlastite tradicije. Tako je prizor inicijacijskog obreda (takoder diorama), očigledno preuzet iz filma "*Čovjek konj*", u sekvenci kada glumca Richarda Harrisa probodenog kroz kožu na prsima konopima dižu u vrh obrednog šatora. Je li ovakav obred doista dio tradicije Blackfoot Indijanaca, ne znam, no prizor doista djeluje groteskno.

Nedaleko od Calgarya nalazi se i "*Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump Interpretive Center*", na lokalitetu koji je korišten za lov. To doista nije muzej, ali je uvršten u UNESCO-v popis lokaliteta svjetske baštine: Mnogi muzeji dioramama prikazuju način lova bizona tako da ih se tjera da skaču s litice, no ovdje je tome posvećena cijela izložba kao stalni postav. Sam objekt je impresivan: ukopan je u liticu, sa ulazom u podnožju. Izložba je postavljena na četiri etaže, tako da se od ulaza u prizemlju, penjući razgleda izložba, da bi se nakon gornje etaže izašlo izvan zgrade i razgledalo sam rub litice sa kojeg su bizoni tjerani da skaču. Niti jedan od izloženih predmeta nije pronađen na ovom lokalitetu, i izložba se sastoji od recentnih akvizicija. Iz uvodnog govora voditelja, može se saznati da je svrha ovog centra da se sačuva pamćenje na nepravdu koju su Indijanci pretrpjeli (i dalje trpe) od bijelog čovjeka. Izložba je artikulirana tako da se posjetiocu sugerira zaključak kako su Indijanci živjeli u skladu sa prirodom i ubijali samo onoliko životinja koliko im je bilo neophodno. Dolaskom bijelog čovjeka sa suvremenim naoružanjem bizoni su istrebljeni što je nasilje protiv prirode ali i jednog načina života i tradicijske kulture. Ovaj je zaključak naglašen impresivnim fotografijama bijelih lovaca na velikim hrpama lubanja pobijenih bizona na kraju izložbe.

U svim je prostorijama dozvoljeno snimanje, osim u dvorani u kojoj se prikazuje film o lovu. Film ima duhovnu i popularno filozofsku podlogu, a u njemu Indijanci iz rezervata glume lov. Nije jasno koji su razlozi za ovu zabranu, pa se o tome može samo nagađati, no sam film može se ocijeniti kao kič.

U kontekstu teme koju ovdje razmatramo, mislim da je važno primijetiti da ovakvih lokaliteta ima širom Kanade, pa se postavlja pitanje zašto je baš ovaj lokalitet, za koji je utvrđeno da je za lov korišten samo pet puta, odabran za izgradnju Centra. Ovo pitanje se nameće, iako odgovor i vjerojatno nije bitan (moguće je da se radi o spretnoj grupi inicijatora, financijskim pogodnostima ili sl.). Ono što je važno uočiti je činjenica da Indijanci osjećaju opasnost da bi ih, zapostave li baštinu kao argument, ostale skupine i politički mogle nadjačati. U skladu s tim motivom je i nastojanje da

se kod mladih naraštaja pobudi samosvijest. Osim ovoga, zamjetna je i činjenica da su svi ovdje zaposleni Indijanci, a navodno je to praksa u svim objektima koji pripadaju Indijancima i u drugim rezervatima (hoteli, kockarnice i sl.).

Zaključak

Ključno je pitanje kanadskog društva, kako od mozaika koji tvori skup etniciteta veoma različitih kulturnih identiteta, stvoriti barem više zajedničkih regionalnih, kanadskih identiteta. Čini se da je sam termin "multikulturalizam" jednog područja, na kanadskom i europskom primjeru, opravdanije promišljati kao nužnost, a manje kao prednost. Što nas dakle, "*kanadsko multikulturno društvo*" može naučiti? Na žalost, samo to da postoje multikulturalna društva čiji antagonizmi ne rezultiraju oružanim sukobima, i potrebi snažnog angažmana države. Multikulturalizam kao životna praksa ni u Kanadi nije istinska svakodnevica svih struktura društva. Očito je da je jedna od bitnih razlika u odnosu na područje jugoistočne Europe u znatnom neposrednom angažmanu države putem vlastitih tijela kao što je *Državni sekretarijat za multikulturalizam i položaj žena*, ili *Odjel za kanadsku baštinu*, koji svojim *Službenim programom za jezike* podupire bilingvalnost i potiče razumijevanje između frankofonske i anglofonske zajednice. Na pitanje je li to razlog zbog kojeg su u Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini, i drugim dijelovima bivše Jugoslavije izbili oružani međuetnički sukobi, a u Kanadi ne, ovaj rad ne može odgovoriti. On samo prezentira osobno autorovo iskustvo kojim je propitivao vlastiti kompleks manje vrijednosti zbog toga što potječe iz dijela svijeta koji vlastiti "multikulturalizam" nije usvojio kao "bogatstvo".

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5.01



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UDK 159.923.2(71):316.7
316.347(71)
Original scientific paper / Izvorni znanstveni rad
Received / Primljeno: 08.10.2003.
Accepted / Prihvaćeno: 02.12.2003.

Canadians in Search of Identity

No one knows my country, neither the stranger nor its own sons.

Bruce Hutchison

Prompted by the perception of societies of highly-developed countries as societies where multiculturalism has solved intercultural (and interethnic) problems by peaceful means, the author attempts to fathom the way in which the concept of multiculturalism is manifested in the Canadian society. Multiculturalism as lifestyle is even in Canada still a process rather than the true everyday life of all social structures.

Key words: national identity, multiculturalism, social structure, Canada

Introduction

In the last decade, the term multiculturalism in the region of south-eastern Europe crossed over from the glossary of social and cultural sciences to the political vocabulary, thus becoming one of the terms that marked the second half of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, it is mainly used wherever there are problems in relationships between carriers of different cultures and has been offered as the magic word used by the civilized world to solve its disputes. Our recent history has taught us that multiculturalism does not refer only to the treasures of a region, but is very often an alibi for tragic events, and that the frequent use of the term itself and the promotion of its positive characteristics cannot solve all problems. Through our lack of feeling for the actual content of this term, we have gotten ourselves into the situation where we are **forced** to learn from the Western world of developed democracy, "which has mastered this lesson long ago" (!?).

When an inquisitive individual equipped with such attitudes (prejudices) from a region that has failed to realize the idea of *multiculturalism* without war and foreign help arrives in a developed western country, he expects to find a society organized into an ideal multicultural form. Only then does he realize how great the gap is between understanding the content of the term, the general social consensus about its acceptance, and its realization.

The Canadian society is multicultural *par excellence* and as such is an interesting example for comparison.

I stayed in Canada from the 10th of August to the 1st of September 1999, where, among other things, I tried to find out who the Canadians are. The term "Canadians" made me think of the Croatian immigrants in Canada. Even when a "real Canadian" (i.e. "a non-Croatian Canadian") was mentioned in conversations with the Canadian part of my family, it was usually followed by an explanation "He/she is Scottish, English, Polish..." I realized very soon that it is not easy to get such an answer, that it is not clear even to many Canadians. In normal conversation with a foreigner, a "real Canadian" is considered to be someone who has stayed in Canada for a long time, especially if he or she had immigrated while still young. In conversations between the Canadians themselves, this will be disputed by the ones born in Canada, especially the second or third generation descendants of immigrants. In any case, we encounter on the one hand the perplexity of Canadians about their own cultural identity and on the other hand the stereotypes typical for outsiders, which are not completely but to a great extent also valid for a stranger from Croatia. Blackwell & Stanley-Blackwell formulated this stereotype of the perception of *Canada as a land of snow, hockey, Mounties, wildlife, untamed spaces, maple trees, peacekeepers, Tim Horton's doughnut shops¹, universal health care, Quebec separatism, and congenial, reserved people* (Blackwell & Stanley-Blackwell: 2). In that sense, a typical Canadian seems to be more easily defined by artists than by sociologists, anthropologists or ethnologists. This is how the Canadian publicist and publisher John Robert Colombo describes the Canadians:

A Canadian Is Somebody Who

Thinks he knows how to make love in a canoe,

Bets on Toronto Maple Leafs

Enjoys Air Canada dinners, desserts and all

Distinguishes between Wayne and Schuster

Attends the concerts of Anne Murray and Liona Boyd

Boasts Donald Sutherland was born in New Brunswick

Possesses "a sound sense of the possible"

¹ A chain of highway outlets offering refreshment (coffee, soft drinks, simple meals and the north American type of doughnuts)

Is sesquilingual (speaks one and half languages)

Has become North American without becoming

Either American or Mexican

*Knows what the references in this poem are all about*²

John Robert Colombo

The issue of "Canadianship" manifests itself not only as the ultimate question of the Canadian cultural identity, but it also has a strong racial component, complicated not only by interrelations between European, Black and Asian immigrants, but especially by relations between the state and the *aborigine* population.

The formation of the Canadian cultural identity is additionally burdened with the proximity of an economically strong and culturally aggressive neighbour, with the global Americanization trend being particularly evident in Canadian society. In reaction to the interest of Canadians in this topic, the CBC television network had a series of broadcasts titled: *What Border? The Americanization of Canada!* The then Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau expressed in 1969 in Washington his discomfort at such cultural aggressiveness on the one hand and good political relations on the other hand, stating: "*Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant; no matter how friendly and even-tempered is the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt.*" (Blackwell & Stanley-Blackwell: 13).

On the 4th of April, 1999, the Canadian federal unit *Northwest Territories* was divided in two parts to form the new territory *Numavut* ("*Our country*" in Inuktitut, the language of Inuit³) (*Aboriginal Links: Canada & U.S.*). The Indians had earlier transformed their reserves into profitable business areas based on considerable benefits they managed to secure (such as tax exemptions and the exclusive right to hold gambling establishments on their reserves).

However, to enforce their claims to be regarded as the "only real Canadians", there have been increasingly investing efforts (often also considerable funds) to preserve and present the remains of their cultural heritage. As their culture was by nature dominated by nomad and hunting traditions, there are relatively scarce material artefacts, which is why they resort to reconstructions, the production of replicas and even to what might be termed "the invention of tradition". This refers primarily to the costumes they wear in their folklore performances for tourists.

²John Robert Colombo, 1984. (Blackwell & Stanley-Blackwell: 10; published with the permission of the author). Wayne and Shuster were TV stars of CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) in the 1960s. Anne Murray and Liona Boyd are popular singers of the 1970s, related to many scandals.

Toronto Maple Leafs is a hockey team, the traditional rival of Montreal Canadiens.

³This term for the language has been taken over from the web site of the National Library of Canada; however, the term "Inuktitut" is used both for the people as well as for their language.

Talking about the history and culture of Canada, the descendants of English and French settlers have diverging views on the issue of loyalty to Canada, its culture and the connection to its pre-settlement history. The French resent the English for their indiscriminate adoption of cultural traits from the United States. Their reproaches go to the length of accusing the English even for flirting with the ideas of a political union with the USA. Due to scarce information, it is hard to tell to what extent these (extreme) accusations are justified, but it is a fact that I have not heard an explicit denial of these accusations in Anglo-Saxon circles, while in British Columbia (admittedly, in Croatian immigrant circles) I was assured that they really would have nothing against a union with the USA. Besides the claims that only the Canadian French culture can be regarded as the authentic Canadian culture because the Anglo-Saxon one was assimilated under USA influences, an outsider can get the (perhaps wrong) impression that the French corroborate their original Canadian identity also by their conviction that they are the only bridge between the pre-settlement and post-settlement Canada by the mere existence of the culture developed by the Métis. The Métis, cross-breeds between the settlers and the Indians (i.e. white settlers and Indian women), are mostly regarded as the mixed-blood offspring of French men and Indian women, even though they speak of themselves as a **nation and culture** emerged from the inter-breeding of various European settlers besides the French.⁴ In view of the current political constellation, the French Canadians consider their ethnicity (and cultural identity) to be the only authentically Canadian ethnicity⁵, as opposed to the English who are rather well-disposed toward Americanization.

The Anglo-Saxons acknowledge to a certain degree the francophone arguments regarding their cultural specifics, since the awareness of their ethnicity (and even cultural identity) has been replaced by political domination for a long time. The French, on the other hand, are resented for their separatist ambitions.

The most obvious element in the elaboration of this problem are the three different levels of its manifestation. While the state is evidently investing huge efforts to secure existence on equal footing to all ethnic groups through education, propaganda and funding, the effect on the average Canadian seems not to be commensurate. The third level in this context is the level of social sciences, which tracks all processes from the early formation of the Canadian society to the present day.

The intention of this paper is to systematise my own impressions, formulate a personal conclusion on this topic and communicate it to whoever may be interested. The paper is based on my own ("field") notes, information from good-quality web sites and literature. The notes are a record of my own observations, as well as my conversations with ordinary people and colleagues, primarily with Pauline Greenhill, professor of *Women's Studies at the University of Winnipeg*, and Carmelle Bégin, department head and curator of the *Canadian Museum of Civilisation* in Hull.

⁴ In the second half of the 19th century, the biggest Canadian Métis settlement on Red River housed 5720 francophone Métis and 4080 anglophone Métis. (*Métis Nation History*:4)

⁵ Meaning the contemporary Canadian state.

The first impulse for this subject was triggered by comment of Peter, a Canadian of English origin, who felt sorry that Canadian immigrant ethnic groups try to preserve their language and keep their traditions. "How will we then become Canadians?" he says⁶. The persistent nostalgic keeping of traditions does slow down the formation of the Canadian cultural amalgam, but it can in no way prevent it. It would be impossible to say that the young generations completely neglect their own cultural traditions, but their members are in any case quite willing to assume foreign values, which are reflected in everyday life, vocabulary, cuisine, clothing, jewellery and even rituals. Regardless of the presence of interethnic and interracial antagonisms⁷, everyday life is full of countless examples of taken-over cultural elements. It could be said, for instance, that the average Canadian cuisine consists predominantly of the dishes typical for the national cuisine of the cook, and then of Chinese, Italian, Polish and other specialties to varying proportions. This is also contributed to by the industry of ready and semi-ready food which people buy without knowing to which cuisine it originally belongs. Not only ready meals are used in this way, but also their recipes and original (often anglicized) names. A typical example of the penetration of native culture elements into the everyday life of the average Canadian is the making of "friendship jewellery". This jewellery is made of tiny beads threaded to form abstract or animal shapes. Parents make them for their children or encourage their children to make them for relatives or friends. Another example is *Inukshuk*, stones arranged to form various shapes. I first saw the *Inukshuk* anthropomorphic forms in the *Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature* in Winnipeg, where I learned that they had been erected in various forms and sizes and have served as landmarks along roads and reminders of important events for the individual or the community. Later I noticed such larger or smaller forms along roads and paths in nature parks, but also along highways, where visitors and travellers in transit erected them to form arches, columns with transversal beams or other completely abstract forms.

In that sense, I believe that the assimilation of the cultures of ethnic groups that have settled in Canada is only a question of time. A much bigger problem will be obviously the overcoming of antagonisms between the eminently Canadian ethnic groups (native, English and French) who tend - because of a strong political component - to the consolidation and precise definition of their own cultural tradition. This refers primarily to the growing awareness of Indians, Eskimos and Métis, who try to resist the English domination by revitalizing (and often also reconstructing) their own tradition.

It is a paradox though that the English ethnicity, from the professional point of view, has been given prominence only recently, since the term "English" has been overshadowed by the symbolism of the **power** it has evoked so far (Greenhill, 1994: 4).

⁶ I met Peter at the christening of his daughter Alexia. It is perhaps illustrative for this topic that Peter is a second-generation Canadian, his wife Heidi is a first-generation Canadian of Croatian origin. One of the central events at the christening celebration was an Irish violinist playing an occasional Irish national tune for little Alexia.

⁷ E.g. Blacks are considered as dirty, the "Chinese" (i.e. all Asian immigrants) as the worst and most dangerous drivers, the Indians as over-privileged, drunk and lazy, the Polish as dumb...

More inferior in terms of power, other ethnic groups have realized earlier that the preservation of their own ethnic attributes was imperative to their survival.

Pauline Greenhill has stated that Canadians perceive ethnicity through festivals and carnivals, through events such as the "Caravan" in Toronto or "Folklorama" in Winnipeg. This possibility for everyone to express their ethnicity freely and unconventionally is sometimes understood in wide pluralistic terms, like at the 1992 Folklorama when the QCC opened a Multi-Culti-Queer pavilion⁸ (Greenhill, 1994: 4).

When asked about such problems of their society, the Canadians usually respond that multiculturalism is the solution, although only intellectuals seem to understand what it is all about. The multicultural policy on the state level is represented by the *Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and the Status of Women*, which has been implementing the *multiculturalism program* for over 25 years now. The objectives of a multicultural state policy are: identity, citizen participation and social justice, which are implemented by supporting volunteer organizations, who reflect the bilingual character of the Canadian society, and by promoting activities in the interest of the mutual understanding of the francophone and anglophone population (*Message*).

At this point, the formulation of the term Canadian can be considered only as part of the concept of citizenship and global cultural identity, while the formation of the Canadian ethnicity must be regarded as imaginary. If we regard the category of ethnicity in relation to Canada, then it refers primarily to elements of the rich Canadian ethnic mosaic, in which each stone is clearly distinguished from the next one.

Presentation of heritage in and beyond museums

Canadian multiculturalism has also influenced different perceptions of the sciences dealing with the research of cultural heritage. The term *ethnology* is primarily used in the French-speaking territory of Canada, where *folklore* (*folklorique*) is avoided as a technical term due to its negative connotation (backward, dumb). The association of experts researching traditional culture is thus in English called *Folklore Studies Association of Canada*, while the French correspondent name is *Association canadienne d'ethnologie et de folklore*.

At the Canadian Museum of Civilisation in Hull⁹, the Anthropology Department exhibits the native culture on the first floor, the second floor houses the folklore and ethnological presentation of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, focusing on the culture of English and French settlers, while the History Department exhibiting the history of English and French settlers is located on the top floor.

The descendants of French and English settlers deny the *Aborigines* the exclusive "right to Canada" by reference to the fact that Canada did not exist as a political enti-

⁸ *Queer Culture Canada* - a cultural association of homosexuals. They were sued by the organizers of the fair for unauthorized use of the event name.

⁹ Hull is almost a part of Ottawa, separated from it by the river Ottawa, which is also the borderline 11. Accepted on February 15, 1965.

ty before the arrival of the Europeans. Hence the claims that Canada is a country of young culture and history, a claim that is not fully understandable to Europeans, who strive to find the oldest possible artefacts on their territory to prove that their country was established on a culturally rich area and has maintained a cultural continuity.

The *Aborigines*, on the other hand, are becoming increasingly aggressive in presenting their nineteenth-century culture, when the foundations of Canada were laid, stressing that the creation processes of the Canadian state not only encountered a much weaker Indian resistance than was the case during the creation of the United States of America, but that Indian warriors played a critical part in protecting parts of Canada from encroachments by the USA. On the other hand, the Métis laid the foundation for the creation of the Province Manitoba and insisted on a federation with Canada, and not with America (*Métis Culture*).

In relation to this, there also have been efforts to emphasize the presence of this tradition in contemporary Canadian culture, where indigenous *Aboriginal* words (*moccasin, kayak, canoe...*) are used on an everyday basis. This refers in particular to toponymes, especially to the name of the country, the origin of which is traced back to the Huron noun *kanata*, meaning *village, settlement*. (*Aboriginal...*)

The collection, preparation and presentation of material as the basic task of the museum and its operations makes it *ipso facto* "a factory of identity". Due to the political significance attributed to identity in and beyond Canada, its "factory" is extremely important. This is why many problems of the *multicultural society* are reflected in museums, showing all strengths and weaknesses of both multiculturalism and the museums (Kolbas, 2000). The weaknesses of museum presentations are mainly visible in the characteristics of 18th century museums which have often persisted to the present, in particular the prevalent attempts to present the desirable truth. With respect to the observation of Irena Kolbas that museums have been created according to the white man's world, it should be added that some Canadian examples show that this is true also in cases where Indians, for instance, present their heritage. This should imply cases where the relationships between their own native culture and the settlers' culture are presented in an idealised way, but also cases where the basic idea is a reflection not of history but of the history of antagonism.

There are 899 registered museum institutions in Canada (Museums...: 49-65). In addition to the predominant "General Museums" (complex), there are also specialised museums (agricultural, historical, military, sports...). There are also many institutions which do not fully correspond to the definition of a museum institution and which are called *Historic Sites or Interpretive Centres*. Such institutions are clearly marked by their name as not fully consistent with museum institutions; however, it is sometimes not clear that it is a sort of "para-museum" until one sees the exhibits.

Such institutions have their place in the tourism, but one cannot help feeling that they also play a significant political part in the context of intercultural relations and the claims to bear the name of "real Canadians".

A case in point is the site *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*. It is a reconstructed fortress originally built in 1639 by the French Jesuits, and the brochure literally reads that ...*in*

1648 Sainte-Marie was home to one fifth of the Europeans in New France. Attacked by pro-English Iroquois and diseases, the mission was put to the torch in 1649 and abandoned.

The site is frequently visited by organized tourist groups and chance travellers attracted to it by conspicuous billboards on the nearby *highway* 400, some hundred kilometres away from Toronto. The founding and existence of this mission probably merits attention in the context of Canadian history, but there are some questions posed from the museological aspect. The reconstructed fortress also houses a museum focusing on the history of the Jesuit order since it was established in Spain, while the part of the exhibition dealing directly with the Sainte-Marie mission and the life in it consists of replicas. Naturally, it was impossible to create an exhibit of genuine artefacts, since the inhabitants took everything they could carry as they fled from the mission, leaving the rest to the fire. The question is: if such an institution is a tourist attraction, is it not significant that it teaches every visitor that the first settlers in this Anglo-Saxon part of Ontario were the French Jesuits?

This example is at the same time also indicative of the former division of Indians into pro-French and pro-English tribes. This division is somewhat obsolete today, because contemporary Indians, as already explained, fight strongly for their own cultural and political emancipation, putting forward their exclusive right to be regarded as authentic Canadians. The Blackfoot Indians in the National Park Banff, Alberta (near Calgary), open their folklore program for tourists by hoisting the Canadian flag¹⁰, playing the national anthem with the chief (who is at the same time the master of ceremonies) delivering a speech about their loyalty to Canada and the injustice they have suffered from the white government in Ottawa.

In the small town of Banff, some hundred meters from the *National Park Banff* administrative building and its lawn, which is used to stage folklore performances, stands the local museum (*Luxton Museum of the Plains Indians*), where the traditional Indian way of life is presented acceptably from the museological aspect, at least for the largest part. The other part of the exhibition presents the Indian history in an extremely simplified way. I have no information whether this institution is an actual museum, i.e. whether it holds storage facilities and engages in collecting and safe-keeping, or only in the presenting of heritage artefacts. The exhibition starts with photographs of the Indian members of the Museum management, followed by dioramas (a *tipi* with dog sleigh, a buffalo hunt by chasing the animals over a precipice, an eagle hunt) and several showcases explicating the roles of men and women in a traditional community. The major part of the exhibition presents the relations with the white settlers, in this case the English, in an interesting, but extremely simplified romantic way: a big painting shows the idyllic scene of Indians and white men trading in front of a military fortress, while the diorama shows the meeting of an Indian chief with his accompaniment and an English officer. All the characters wear their appropriate ceremonial dress, and the chief and the officer are shaking hands. It is precisely an exhibition which the smiling board of managers in the photographs

¹⁰ Accepted on February 15, 1965.

at the entrance considers suitable to convey the message to the white people: we are Canadians; we are cultured, peaceful and open for the civilization of the white man. This benignancy towards the white culture goes to the length of taking over the white people's interpretation of their own culture. The scene (also a diorama) of a rite of passage, for instance, is obviously taken from the movie *"A Man Called Horse"*, where the actor Richard Harris is pierced through the chest, fastened to a rope and pulled to the roof of the ritual tent. It remains unknown whether this ritual is really a part of the Blackfoot Indian tradition, but the scene appears truly grotesque.

Not far from Calgary, on a place that was used for hunting, there is a site called *"Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump Interpretive Centre"*. It is not really a museum, but it has been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Many museums show dioramas of hunting the buffaloes by forcing them to jump from a precipice, but here the entire permanent exhibition is dedicated to this theme. The centre itself is impressive: it blends with the cliff and is entered at the foot of the hill. The exhibition is staged on four levels and the visitors can see it by climbing the stairs from the base to the top level, where they exit the building to see the precipice from which the buffaloes were forced to jump. None of the exhibited objects were found on this site and the exhibition consists of recent acquisitions. The introductory speech of the guide informs the visitors about the purpose of this centre, which is to preserve the memory of the injustice the Indians suffered and still suffer from the white man. The exhibition is articulated so as to make the visitor conclude that the Indians lived in harmony with nature and killed only as many animals as needed to survive. After the arrival of the white man and his modern weapons, the buffaloes became extinct, which is violence against nature, but also against a way of life and traditional culture. This conclusion is corroborated by striking photographs of white hunters posing on huge piles of killed buffalo skulls, which wrap up the exhibition.

Recording is permitted on all premises, except for the movie projection room. The movie, in which Indians from the reserve act as hunters, has a spiritual and popular philosophic background. The reasons for the recording prohibition are unclear and open for speculation, but the film itself can be characterised as kitsch.

In the context of the subject elaborated in this paper, I think it is important to notice that such hunting sites exist all over Canada and the question arises why this one was chosen for the construction of the Centre, even though it has been proved that it was used for hunting only five times. The answer to this inevitable question is probably not even important (it possibly has to do with an agile group of investors, financial advantages, etc.). What is important here is to notice the fact that the Indians feel the threat that, should they neglect their heritage, they could end up being politically overpowered by other groups. In keeping with this motive is the striving to awaken self-awareness in younger generations. What is also noticeable about the Centre is the fact that all employees are Indian, which is allegedly also the practice in other establishments belonging to Indians in other reserves (hotels, gambling houses etc.).

Conclusion

The key issue of Canadian society is how to create at least several common regional Canadian identities from the mosaic composed of ethnic groups with profoundly different cultural identities. It seems more justified to regard the concept of "multiculturalism" of a certain area, on both the Canadian and the European example, as a necessity rather than as an advantage. What then can we learn from the "Canadian multicultural society"? Unfortunately, only that there are multicultural societies whose antagonisms do not end in armed conflicts and the need for strong action by the state. Multiculturalism as a lifestyle is, even in Canada, still a process rather than the true everyday life of all structures of society. It is obvious that one of the key differences, in comparison to South East Europe, is the considerable indirect involvement of the state through governmental bodies such as the *Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and the Status of Women* or the *Department of Canadian Heritage*, whose *Official Language Program* supports bilingualism and promotes understanding between the French and English speaking communities. This paper cannot answer the question whether this is the reason why ethnic conflicts erupted in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of former Yugoslavia, but not in Canada. It only presents the author's own experience in questioning his own inferiority complex for coming from a part of the world where "multiculturalism" has not been accepted as a "treasure".

Translated by Sanja Novak