
Creating Postwar Canada

Edited by Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherford

Creating Postwar Canada
Community, Diversity, and Dissent
1945-75



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Abbreviations

ACHA	American College Health Association
AGEUM	Association générale des étudiants de l'Université de Montréal
AMS	Alma Mater Society
ARENA	Adoption Resource Exchange Program of North America
Auto Pact	Automotive Trade Products Agreement
AWS	Association of Women Students
CAPs	<i>comités d'action politique</i>
CIC	Committee for an Independent Canada
CLA	Canadian Linguistics Association
CMA	Canadian Medical Association
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
CRAN	Conseil régional d'aménagement du Nord
CSC	Children's Service Centre
CUS	Canadian Union of Students
FAL	Feminist Action League
FANE	Fédération des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse
FLN	Front de libération nationale
FLQ	Front de libération du Québec
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
ICBM	intercontinental ballistic missile
ICC	International Control Commission
ITO	International Trade Organization
IUD	intra-uterine device
LSD	lysergic acid diethylamide
MFN	most-favoured-nation
MSP	Mouvement syndical politique
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North American Treaty Organization

NORAD	North American Aerospace Defense Command
ODS	Open Door Society
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
OJC	Ordre-de-Jacques-Cartier
PA	Parti Acadien
PEO	Programme of Equal Opportunity
PQ	Parti Québécois
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RCSW	Royal Commission on the Status of Women
RIN	Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale
RMA	Retail Merchants Association
RMC	Royal Military College
SANB	Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick
SEC	Security and Exchange Commission
SHS	Student Health Services
SNA	Société nationale acadienne
STR	special representative for trade negotiations
TAC	Therapeutic Abortion Committee
TWL	Toronto Women's Liberation
UBC	University of British Columbia
UCC	Upper Canada College
UGEQ	Union générale des étudiants du Québec
UN	United Nations
UQAM	Université du Québec à Montréal
USJ	Université Saint Joseph
VWC	Vancouver Women's Caucus

Introduction

Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherford

In 1967 the first McDonald's restaurant in Canada opened its doors in the Vancouver commuter suburb of Richmond, British Columbia. Not far away, at approximately the same time, unmarried students at the University of British Columbia were demanding access to the birth control pill. A few months later, at the other end of the country, Acadian students at the Université de Moncton held noisy demonstrations demanding that their French-language institution receive funding commensurate with the Acadian proportion of New Brunswick's population. These three historical moments, drawn from three of the essays in this book, suggest the diversity of the symbols and the battlegrounds of postwar Canada.

Over the past decade, much exciting work has been undertaken on the postwar years in Canada. This book represents the convictions of its editors and authors that there is a place for a collective project that showcases some of this new research, that draws together individual microstudies and case studies in an effort to assess the meanings of this period for Canada as a whole, its regions, and its citizens. A call for papers was sent out by the editors to a number of historians working in the field of postwar Canada, and the result is thirteen essays probing various aspects of this era. Some of these essays are the work of senior scholars; others are studies drawn from recent doctoral research. While several essays adopt a pan-Canadian perspective, most employ a narrower lens, examining particular cities, provinces, or geographical constructs such as "the North" or "English Canada."

Unlike a number of other studies of postwar Canada, this book does not take as its central focus Canada's response to, involvement in, or version of the Cold War.¹ Instead, the new research selected for inclusion in *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent* takes the form of political and social histories of nations, nationalisms, social movements, families, consumer cultures, and countercultures. In contrast to much of the North American historiography, moreover, many of these essays insist on the importance of local or regional contexts, debates, and identities. While the

Canada that emerges from these studies is firmly situated within North America, we also see in many of these essays citizens responding to continentalism, to the process of “Americanization,” and in some cases to the process of “Canadianization.” The “imagined communities” considered in the first section of this book – the Canadian North, Quebec, Acadian New Brunswick, and English Canada – all had specificities that set them apart to some degree from our image of a North American “norm” and thus from much of the North American historiography of the postwar era. Like the contributors to another recent edited collection, the authors and editors of *Creating Postwar Canada* do not necessarily share “a fully agreed-upon project”; rather, we propose here “a diversity of perspectives and approaches.”² This diversity is evident in the topics addressed in this collection but can also be found in the scale and perspective adopted by the authors: histories of day-to-day life rub shoulders here with broad examinations of ideological, political, and economic change.

Assessing the Postwar Period

Sustained attention to the social, political, and cultural history of postwar Canada is relatively recent. In part, this is because the intervening years have provided the distance necessary to pinpointing the characteristics of the postwar years that made them a coherent historical period. Moreover, a new generation of scholars, not yet born in the immediate postwar years, has come along to critically interrogate the era. In contrast to the recent collection edited by Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *Cultures of Citizenship, 1940-1955*, this book examines the thirty years between 1945 and 1975, a period referred to by historians of France, Belgium, and Switzerland as “les trente glorieuses” and by British historian Eric Hobsbawm as the “Golden Age.”³ Taken together, these “thirty glorious years” are generally hailed in Canada and elsewhere as an extended moment of unprecedented prosperity, developed welfare states, high modernity, and advanced capitalism. The editors of this collection concur with Christie, Gauvreau, and other scholars who argue that the immediate postwar years must in many ways be considered separately from what followed: the legacy of the Great Depression and the imperatives of postwar reconstruction shaped the 1940s to an important degree and made of those years something rather different from the 1950s and certainly from the 1960s and 1970s.⁴ Moreover, those who lived through the “Sixties,” in English Canada, Quebec, and French Canada, appear to have felt that they were part of an era unlike the 1950s.⁵ While we recognize that the postwar era was not monolithic, we nonetheless see a historical coherence in the period known as the “trente glorieuses” – a label that applies, in our opinion, as well to Canada as it does to western Europe.

We see six aspects of the era as particularly important. The first is that this was a prolonged period of prosperity, albeit a prosperity that was unevenly shared and that came later to certain regions of the country than to others.⁶ The postwar economic boom can be attributed, first, to high consumer demand, fuelled in part by high rates of family formation. This boom was also due to the sustained demand, on the part of the United States, for Canadian resources – “new staple” industries such as mining, oil, and gas. After 1948 Canada benefited from European purchases made with American money under the terms of the Marshall Plan. New social-welfare benefits, in addition to the gains made during and immediately after the war by an organized labour movement on a more secure footing, ensured that some sectors of the working class benefited from this prosperity. A Fordist regime premised on high wages and state regulation of industrial relations allowed for consumption that was in some ways truly “mass.” The very idea of “discretionary” or “disposable” income – income that could be “thrown away” on “extras” rather than carefully allocated to essentials – revealed in some of the essays published here must have seemed radically new to most postwar Canadians.⁷ Yet postwar prosperity had its limits. For one thing, it began slowly, as the Canadian economy experienced transitional shocks during the reconstruction period. Moreover, the minor recession of 1957-61 dampened the economic optimism of the 1950s and gave hints of the stagflation that would characterize the Canadian economy after 1973. Finally, the regional disparities that had long characterized the country’s economy persisted. In the long term, a postwar prosperity dependent on exports to the United States and on American investment tied Canada’s economic fate more tightly than ever to that of its neighbour to the south.⁸

A second key characteristic of the period is population growth. The number of Canadians nearly doubled in these years, from 12.1 million in 1945 to 22.7 million in 1975.⁹ This growth was partly spurred by the baby boom, which demographers locate in the years extending roughly from 1946 to 1962. More than simply a demographic concept, “generation” acquired social and political meaning, and the children born of the baby boom ensured that the postwar years would leave an indelible mark on the collective memory of Canadians and Quebecers. Postwar population growth was also attributable to the massive waves of immigration that began in the late 1940s. This immigration changed the ethnic make-up of Canada considerably. While Canada’s population had long been more diverse than was suggested by the rhetoric of two “founding” peoples, this diversity became much more pronounced in the decades after the war as those who were soon termed “New Canadians” arrived not only from Britain but also from Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Greece, Hungary, the West Indies, and increasingly, from the 1970s onward, from China, Vietnam, Hong Kong,

Haiti, Latin America, South Asia, and the Middle East.¹⁰ The baby boom, postwar immigration, and the growing numbers of youth and married women entering the formal labour market ensured that the Canadian paid labour force expanded considerably in the postwar decades.¹¹

A third marker of the period is the extensive urbanization and suburbanization that took place across the country. Neither of these phenomena were new in the postwar years, but they took place at accelerated rates and in parts of the country that had remained relatively rural until the war. As sociologist Gilles Paquet notes, for instance, the number of Quebecers who urbanized in the 1940s matched the total for the entire preceding century.¹² Urbanization and suburbanization meant the growth of networks of free-ways, boulevards, new town centres, and new configurations of home and work. They spurred on building booms in both residential and commercial construction, which created an abundance of new jobs for both long-established Canadians and the newly arrived. What geographer Richard Harris calls the “creeping conformity” of Canada’s postwar suburban peripheries was due, in large part, to the displacement of owner-built housing by the North American phenomenon of the “corporate suburb.”¹³

A fourth characteristic of the period is the establishment and growth of the welfare state. Initially, this development took place principally at the federal level, as Ottawa used the new constitutional powers and financial resources acquired during the war years to implement such important measures as unemployment insurance, family allowances, veterans’ benefits, and more generous old-age pensions. While these measures had their limits, they nonetheless represented an undeniable shift in ways of thinking about poverty, citizenship, and the proper role of the state. Those measures that were universal, such as family allowances, represented a drastic rupture with private charity and with earlier state measures premised on parsimony, classic liberal individualism, and “less eligibility.”

A fifth phenomenon not dissociable from the period is Canada’s complicated and sometimes difficult relationship with the United States. Neighbour, cultural “cousin,” long-time trading partner, and beginning in the 1940s, wartime ally and then Cold War ally, the United States truly was the elephant in the North American bed, as Pierre Elliott Trudeau’s useful aphorism suggested. Historians commonly cite the Gouzenko affair of 1945 as marking the beginning of Canada’s Cold War and the resulting, sometimes intense, pressures for political and social conformity. However, the American empire went beyond the diplomatic and the political: cultural products such as magazines, movies, and beginning in the 1950s, television also advertised the American way of life in the postwar decades.¹⁴ As several of the essays in this collection demonstrate, resistance to American influence on Canadian culture, politics, and economic life was important in the postwar decades and perhaps increasingly so by the end of the 1960s. Yet by the

1970s it was also clear that Canada was integrated into the continental economy as never before and that its economic wellbeing was increasingly dependent on decisions made in the United States.

The social movements commonly grouped together under the rubric of the “Sixties” are a final phenomenon that we see as essential to any history of the postwar era. These movements ranged from those widely seen as political, such as the American civil rights movement, opposition to US involvement in Vietnam, new nationalisms in Quebec, Acadia, and English Canada, and the emergence of the New Left, to those that explicitly sought to expand definitions of the political, such as women’s liberation, gay rights, student protests, and countercultural movements that insisted on the significance of music, fashion, illegal drugs, and “free love.” These movements, like other key aspects of the period, remind us of the extent to which postwar Canada was integrated into and attuned to what was happening elsewhere in the Western world. Ho Chi Minh City, Haight-Ashbury, Mai ’68, the Prague Spring, and Selma, Alabama: the names of these places and moments, among others, were familiar to most postwar Canadians.

Historiography

Writing in 1989, the authors of *Canada since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism* insisted that “No part of Canada’s history is as neglected or as misunderstood as that of the past forty years.”¹⁵ In the nearly two decades since the revised edition of *Canada since 1945* was published, things have changed. Postwar Canada can now hardly be said to be barren historiographical terrain. This collection of new research contributes to the growing literature on the political, social, and cultural history of postwar Canada as well as to a number of more specific historiographies, notably those of nationalism, gender and the family, and consumer cultures.

There now exist edited collections and syntheses dealing with the postwar period in Canada.¹⁶ The syntheses focus largely on political developments, emphasizing in particular the expanded role of government in the lives of Canadians after the Second World War. They insist on the significant degree of centralization that took place during and after the war, with the federal government assuming a greater role in the economy and in the provision of social welfare. Such a perspective was seen as early as 1976, at the very end of the “trente glorieuses,” in Donald Creighton’s classic and somewhat cranky polemic *The Forked Road: Canada, 1939-1957*.¹⁷ The accent on the state is likewise evident in *Canada since 1945*, which in some ways is the standard academic overview of the period. Organized around prime ministers – with sections on Mackenzie King, St. Laurent, Diefenbaker, and Pearson – party politics are front and centre in this synthesis. It is a generally optimistic portrait of the period. The authors argue that “Canadian history is a success story – an account of coping with troubles and

triumphing over adversities." Between 1945 and 1975, they claim, Canada enjoyed "thirty years of unprecedented economic advance" and much improved living standards. Acknowledging that this "is a book about our own times" and that these are "events through which the authors have lived," they are even somewhat nostalgic about the immediate postwar decades, what they term "the relatively centralized but outward-looking Canada of the forties and fifties."¹⁸

A rather different perspective can be found in Alvin Finkel's *Our Lives: Canada after 1945*, an overview of the years since the end of the Second World War that is in some ways a reaction to the upbeat version of Canadian history seen in *Canada since 1945*.¹⁹ Finkel acknowledges the unprecedented prosperity of the postwar era but argues that this prosperity was unevenly shared. Like *Canada since 1945*, Finkel's text combines a strong emphasis on political events with an interest in economic, social, and cultural developments. An interpretive synthesis of existing works, *Our Lives* does not showcase new research but does provide a less rosy counternarrative to that provided by *Canada since 1945*.

A number of other studies explore Canada's place in the military, diplomatic, and political alliances of the Cold War. Denis Smith's *Diplomacy of Fear*, for instance, argues that Canadians in the early Cold War years "found not security but new anxiety." Smith also claims that Canada was not simply a pawn of the United States but that it had its own reasons for participating in the Cold War.²⁰ Other works go beyond the high politics of the Cold War to examine its impact on political culture and civil society. We think here of Reg Whitaker's and Gary Marcuse's *Cold War Canada*, of Gary Kinsman, Dieter Buse, and Mercedes Steedman's edited collection *Whose National Security?* and of Richard Cavell's edited collection *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*.²¹ This last collection is a cultural history, a book that examines the "discursive practices" of the Cold War in Canada. In it we see the ways that the regulation of postwar sexuality, in particular, was imbricated with Cold War thinking. Although the insights of these books are important to our understanding of postwar Canada, the editors and authors of the present collection depart from an exclusive focus on the Cold War. As American historian Lizabeth Cohen has recently argued, the Cold War was not necessarily "the fundamental shaper" of postwar society. An overriding preoccupation with the Cold War, Cohen argues in her book *A Consumer's Republic*, "can obscure other crucial developments."²²

One of these "other crucial developments" in the postwar years, and one that has attracted a great deal of attention from historians, was the implementation of a postwar welfare state. James Struthers' *The Limits of Affluence*, for instance, reminds us of the importance of public welfare measures in these years of supposed widespread prosperity.²³ Some researchers have

focused on “the Ottawa men” – the planners and politicians who established the formal structures of these new state measures.²⁴ Others have examined the development of specific programs such as unemployment insurance, family allowances, and veterans’ benefits.²⁵ Studies of federal and provincial measures by scholars such as Ruth Roach Pierson, Nancy Christie, and Ann Porter deconstruct the gendered thinking that structured such programs.²⁶ Yves Vaillancourt’s overview of state welfare in Quebec between 1940 and 1960 and Dominique Marshall’s analysis of family allowances and compulsory schooling in Quebec remind us that the implementation of such programs was a key component of relations – and frequently, of conflict – between Ottawa and the provinces in the postwar years.²⁷ Shirley Tillotson’s *The Public at Play: Gender and the Politics of Recreation in Post-War Ontario* examines the place of organized leisure in the postwar welfare state but also the relationship between welfare and liberal democracy.²⁸ This literature showcases the interventionist liberalism of the period, an ideology and a tendency shared by other Western societies at the same moment. In Canada the social-welfare measures of the wartime and immediate postwar years were part and parcel of Ottawa’s “New National Policy” and meant a considerable centralization of powers. Studies of the 1960s onward, in contrast, tend to emphasize a certain decentralization, with the provinces “repatriating” many of the powers and responsibilities acquired by Ottawa during and immediately after the Second World War. Quebec’s Quiet Revolution, which involved rapid and thoroughgoing state building at the provincial level, was to some degree echoed in other provinces, notably those of western Canada.²⁹

In Quebec, in particular, there exists an abundant literature on the 1940s and 1950s and on what has come to be known as *Duplessisme* or the *grande noirceur* (Great Darkness). Traditionally, the *grande noirceur* of the postwar years was seen as a conservative period during which Premier Maurice Duplessis and the Catholic Church exercised considerable, even authoritarian, control over political and social life in the province. Since the 1970s, however, an entire generation of historians (labelled “revisionist” by Ronald Rudin or “modernist” by Gérard Bouchard)³⁰ has called into question the “darkness” of this *grande noirceur*.³¹ An even more extensive historiography examines the rapid political and social changes generally grouped under the rubric of the Quiet Revolution. Over the past quarter-century, many – perhaps most – historians of Quebec have argued that the Quiet Revolution did not suddenly begin with the election of Jean Lesage’s Liberals in June 1960. They insist, rather, that the Quiet Revolution had long roots that stretch back to the Second World War, to the Great Depression of the 1930s, even, in some cases, to the late nineteenth century.³² What is certain is that by the end of the Second World War, Quebec was an industrialized, largely

urbanized society. Far from being the ideologically monolithic, conservative, clerical society implied by the term *grande noirceur*, the postwar period in Quebec increasingly appears to have been one during which traditional forms of authority were contested and new voices were heard in political life and especially in civil society, such as those of the labour movement, student movements, movements affiliated with the Action catholique, and intellectuals and artists.³³ Moreover, it is abundantly clear that divisions existed within the Catholic Church and that progressive elements within the church were often the source of social change in the postwar years.³⁴

Analysis of the social history of postwar Canada was launched, to some degree, by the publication in 1996 of Doug Owram's *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation*. A study constructed around the idea of generation, *Born at the Right Time* addresses questions of family, domesticity, consumption, student movements, and countercultures in these years. François Ricard's *La génération lyrique* might be seen as its Quebec equivalent, with a similar focus on the demographic, social, and political ramifications of this storied generation.³⁵ Within the broad category of social history, an abundance of works explore family and gender roles in postwar Canada. These works are attuned to historiographical developments in the United States, where initial historical interpretations of the postwar period tended to depict the era as almost uniformly prosperous, conservative, and conformist. Women, in particular, were assumed to be safely ensconced in suburbia amid the comforts of consumer goods. This perspective is best represented by Elaine Tyler May's *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*.³⁶ This 1988 publication has become a classic in the field of postwar North America, often used as a point of departure and sometimes as somewhat of a "straw-book," a book from which many historians of postwar North America now distance themselves. It remains useful, however, in that it reminds us that the "postwar demographic explosion" was a temporary disruption of long-term trends. It was also a pioneering study in that it drew explicit connections between political and familial values in the postwar United States.

May's perspective has been called into question by more recent American studies, such as Joanne Meyerowitz's edited collection *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* and Sylvie Murray's *The Progressive Housewife: Community Activism in Suburban Queens, 1945-1965*.³⁷ In Canada, however, most historians of gender and the family in the postwar period have been "revisionist" almost from the start, calling into question the supposed complacency, conformity, and universal prosperity of the postwar era and emphasizing women's political activism even during the "doldrum years" of the 1940s and 1950s.³⁸ Mary Louise Adams' study of postwar campaigns to encourage conformity through sex education suggests that such conformity was not easily achieved. Mona Gleason's *Normalizing*

the Ideal likewise underlines the concerted efforts of psychologists and educational professionals to construct the “normal” in postwar English Canada.³⁹ Veronica Strong-Boag’s research on women in postwar suburbs and Valerie Korinek’s study of *Chatelaine* and its readers uncover a range of experiences among postwar women, while Joan Sangster’s *Earning Respect* reveals the growing importance of married women’s paid work in the postwar years despite social pressures for them to confine their work to the home. Franca Iacovetta’s *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* studies men and women who departed in numerous ways from postwar prescriptions that assumed an economically comfortable, Anglo-Celtic model.⁴⁰ Joy Parr’s edited collection *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980* includes studies of urban, suburban, and rural women, consumption, labour activism, wage-earning women, immigrant women, First Nations women, and francophone women in Ontario in the years between the end of the Second World War and 1980. Yet alongside this diversity and what Parr in her “Introduction” calls the “permissive moment” between 1968 and 1972, there existed, she argues, conformity, consensus, denial, and anxiety.⁴¹ Finally, Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, and Frances Swyripa’s edited collection *Sisters or Strangers?* reminds us once again of the variety of experiences lived by postwar women, experiences that varied not only according to their urban or rural settings, their social class, and whether they were married or unmarried, but also according to their racial and ethnic ascriptions and identities.⁴² All of these works contribute to our understanding of postwar women and of postwar families. Our knowledge of fatherhood and of postwar masculinity has been similarly enriched through studies by historians Robert Rutherford, Christopher Dummitt, and Vincent Duhaime.⁴³

A final literature that inspires this collective work and to which it contributes is the growing historiography of consumption and consumerism. One of the key recent studies of consumption in the international literature is Lizabeth Cohen’s *A Consumers’ Republic*. There are many ways, Cohen acknowledges, to write the history of the postwar United States; she has chosen to do so through the history of mass consumption. She insists on the importance in the United States of the “pursuit of prosperity” in the decades following the Second World War. The vision of what she calls the “consumers’ republic” placed mass consumption at the centre of plans for a prosperous postwar America. Cohen refuses, however, to settle for an uncomplicated portrait of a “Golden Era” that extended from 1945 to 1975, arguing that a “period of unprecedented affluence did much more than make Americans a people of plenty.”⁴⁴ Joy Parr’s *Domestic Goods*, a key Canadian contribution to the international literature on consumption, likewise forces us to rethink conventional wisdom. Parr paints a picture of postwar Canada that is one of scarcity rather than abundance, of caution rather than abandon. It is a study of consumption “precisely located in time and

in geographical and social space,” a study that insists on local experiences of consumption and of the postwar period.⁴⁵ Like Parr’s book, many of the essays in the present collection focus on the local, the regional, the distinctive, the departure from American patterns. *Domestic Goods* exemplifies the recent historiographical interest, perhaps especially for the postwar years, in the consumer/citizen pairing, another theme taken up in the present collection. Wartime economic controls, Keynesian policies, and Cold War politics encouraged a certain degree of convergence between citizenship and consumption in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴⁶ They also remind us that consumption and consumerism must be examined through the lens of political economy, not simply through that of self-expression.⁴⁷

The essays in this book thus draw on the existing postwar historiography, both Canadian and international, and on criticisms of this historiography. They nuance common understandings of postwar continentalization and “North Americanness” by insisting on the importance of community, or communities, in the postwar years – communities that were sometimes national, often local, and occasionally defined by sex, gender, class, occupation, age, ethnicity, “race,” or ideology. In response to what was once the received wisdom, namely that postwar Canada was characterized by ideological homogeneity and Cold War consensus, these essays join other recent studies of the postwar period in emphasizing diversity and dissent while nonetheless recognizing the important pressures that existed for conformity.

The Essays

Imagining Postwar Communities

The thirteen essays in this collection are divided into two broad categories: those dealing with “imagined” postwar communities and those examining forms of diversity and dissent. The essays in the first section examine the various nations that made up postwar Canada and the various expressions of national sentiment articulated during these years. To allude to Benedict Anderson’s idea of “imagined communities,” as we do in the title of our first section, is not to imply that these communities were not real or that the bonds of nation and belonging were not meaningful for individuals. It is to argue, rather, that such communities existed within, and were structured by, systems of meaning, representations, and symbols.⁴⁸

Linked to the redefinition of Canadian identities in the wake of the Second World War was the “discovery” and colonization of a “new” region of Canada: the North. If some postwar Quebecers and Canadians were attempting to dismantle imperial and colonial legacies, Joan Sangster’s study of southern constructions of Inuit peoples reminds us that the Canadian state stepped up its colonization projects in the far North throughout this period, in part as a response to what were seen to be Cold War imperatives.

Sangster's essay reveals how a vast region unknown to most postwar Canadians was made familiar to a southern readership through white women's travel narratives and the pages of *The Beaver*. It thus demonstrates that nations were "imagined" from without as well as from within. Sangster's article also underlines the way that gender and race were central to constructions of nation. In this study, the travel narratives of white women sojourning in Arctic communities as nurses, teachers, or the spouses of physicians, missionaries, or Hudson's Bay Company traders offer a revealing set of colonial "gazes." According to Sangster, the conviction of these white, formally educated, southern Canadian women that they were "modern, rational, progressive, and scientifically superior" shaped their sense of the otherness of Inuit people. Such certitudes also structured their imagining of the Canadian "South." As Sangster writes, "portrayals of the Inuit as stubborn adherents to a premodern culture could only reinforce existing power relations, perpetuating Canada's distinctive brand of internal colonialism which involved not only 'geographical incursion' but also the *ideological* construction of a hierarchy of white progress, culture, and history."

Although the Second World War threw some extreme forms of nationalism into disrepute, the second half of the twentieth century saw the resurgence of nationalist aspirations around the globe. Decolonization movements, national awakenings, and ethnic revivals took place in such parts of the world as Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, Brittany, the Basque country, and Catalonia. The most striking example of this in the Canadian setting was the transformation of national identities in Quebec. While nationalism was by no means a new phenomenon in Quebec or in French Canada, it took new forms in the postwar years, particularly the 1960s. If in the immediate postwar years the most public defender of provincial autonomy was Premier Maurice Duplessis and his political party, the Union nationale, other, more progressive nationalist voices emerged in the 1950s, such as the historians belonging to the *École de Montréal* and the "neo-nationalists" who worked with their federalist counterparts on the journal *Cité libre*. The reforms of the Quiet Revolution, in the 1960s, were undertaken under the auspices of a liberal, interventionist, progressive nationalism centred more closely on Quebec than on older political entities such as "French Canada."

As *Éric Bédard's* essay shows, on the heels of the Quiet Revolution, many in Quebec demanded recognition of their society's distinctiveness in the form of new political structures, notably sovereignty-association or independence. *Bédard's* work also reveals that the technocratic reforms implemented in Quebec in the 1960s shared the political stage with other nationalist currents, inspired by decolonization movements around the world (the civil rights movement in the United States, for instance, along with uprisings in Algeria and Vietnam) and by contemporary countercultural

influences. Some of the most radical demands for independence came from the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ), a movement inspired in part by Algeria's Front de libération nationale (FLN). Bédard's intellectual history of *felquist* thought argues for the existence of both millenarian and "spontaneous" currents within the FLQ. His innovative article contends that faith and spirituality were not lost amid the mid-twentieth-century secularization of Quebec society and institutions. Rather, his reading of the FLQ publication *La Cognée* suggests that while religious institutions appeared to have lost their following during these years, the spiritual was invested in other objectives, such as the movement for the independence of Quebec.⁴⁹

The nationalism and interventionist liberalism of Quebec's Quiet Revolution were echoed elsewhere in the country. Joel Belliveau's essay recounts the little-known story of the social and political transformations – indeed, the ideological paradigm shifts – experienced by New Brunswick's Acadian community in the postwar years. During the *trente glorieuses*, in a parallel Quiet Revolution of sorts, Acadian New Brunswick embraced the ideology of "participation" – that is, integration into New Brunswick's and Canada's formal political and economic structures. By the late 1960s, however, the participationist ideology was being called into question by a neo-nationalist ideology that advocated autonomy and differentiation – that is, separate institutions for the French speakers of the region – rather than integration.

While perhaps less dramatic, English Canada underwent its own nationalist awakening in the 1960s and 1970s. Although the 1951 Report of the Massey Commission suggested a distinct lack of national consciousness in the immediate postwar years, this would rapidly change. With political, economic, and cultural ties to Great Britain receding into the past, English Canadian national identity became defined in relation to, and often in opposition to, the United States.⁵⁰ Such a redefinition frequently took shape on the cultural front, as efforts were made to develop a distinctly Canadian literature and to establish better-funded Canadian universities staffed by Canadian scholars. Concern about Canada's economic autonomy was also pressing, as was the desire to claim some political autonomy, particularly in the context of Cold War politics and American involvement in Vietnam. Federal nation-building policies such as welfare-state measures were accompanied by national anxieties, such as those evident in the Massey Report, in George Grant's *Lament for a Nation*,⁵¹ in the economic nationalism of Walter Gordon, in the "Waffle" movement within the New Democratic Party, and in the founding of the Canadian Automobile Workers in the early 1980s.

Such national anxieties were the backdrop to the invention of "Canadian English" in the 1950s and its promotion in the 1960s, developments analyzed in Steven High's essay in this collection. Through an examination of a series of new Canadian dictionaries of English, containing distinct vocabulary,

spellings, and pronunciations, High points to the ways that language served as a marker of national difference. The “small differences” identified and occasionally celebrated by linguists, educators, and the media were used to distinguish Canada from Great Britain and especially from the United States in the postwar years.

Similarly concerned with postwar English Canadian nationalism, Robert Wright’s essay studies the incomplete and uneven trajectory of Canadian author and editor Peter C. Newman from free-market liberalism to nationalism. Wright constructs his analysis of Newman’s political thought “not only in the light of his five-decade writing career but also in the context of the resurgence of continentalism as the predominant economic paradigm in post-Free Trade Agreement (FTA) North America and the concomitant rise of neo-liberalism as its ideological handmaiden.” One of the country’s most prolific political commentators, Newman had also become by the early 1970s one of the staunchest defenders of Canadian nationalism. Yet Wright argues that Newman never entirely abandoned his fundamental belief in liberalism. In hindsight, as Wright argues, it is clear that Newman’s conflicted views reflected Canada’s own economic policy quandaries in the 1960s and early 1970s. How could the country best achieve a balance between private initiatives and state intervention, between economic prosperity and political sovereignty? In Wright’s view, “Newman never relinquished his deep, formative commitment to the fundamentals of the postwar liberal consensus in North America, including laissez-faire capitalism, anticommunism, and fiscal conservatism. Thus even at the height of his nationalist piety in the 1970s, he continued to work toward some kind of reconciliation of these two deeply ingrained ideological impulses, however uneasily.”

Dimitry Anastakis’ essay in this collection also explores the relationships between nationalism and continentalism, between protectionism and free trade, in the postwar years. In his examination of Canada’s negotiations with nonstate actors such as America’s major car producers, Anastakis uses the 1965 Auto Pact as a case study through which to view a range of possible postwar trading relationships: multilateralism, economic nationalism, and bilateral free trade. He argues that “all three strains of postwar Canadian trade policy” could be found in the Auto Pact. In the long run, the Auto Pact contributed to continentalization and the integration of the North American market. Anastakis’ essay thus helps us to understand the political decisions that structured, to a certain degree, postwar prosperity and adds to our comprehension of the broader economic history of the postwar period.

Automobiles had implications for national trade policy, but they also shaped urban planning, work, leisure, relationships among individuals, and relationships between these individuals and their communities. The imagined community explored in Steve Penfold’s essay is “a drive-thru nation”

structured by ties of commerce rather than by national sentiment. The new fast food restaurants that began to dot the Canadian landscape in the 1960s and 1970s created a new mental map of the country and new signposts along the freeways and strip malls that linked communities and municipalities. However, the market created for fast food was continental, even global, rather than strictly national: McDonald's, for instance, became the symbol "of an increasingly homogenized, global mass culture." Fast food restaurants thus integrated Canadian consumers into a North American market and, perhaps, a North American "community." Penfold insists, however, that in practice this market was not entirely homogeneous and that fast food could be delivered in ways that took into account the local and the regional. The "early history of fast food," he proposes, "was not really a 'national' story, except insofar as fringe populations in metropolitan and urban centres shared some broad economic and social developments."

Diversity and Dissent

The essays in the second part of this collection insist on the diversity of Canadian experiences in the postwar years and on the ways that these years witnessed various forms of dissent despite (or because of) the pressures for conformity, for which the early postwar years, at least, are well known. By "diversity," we mean differences structured by politics and ideology, social class and occupation, gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, language, and region. The dissent discussed here includes the well-known rebellions and revolutions of the "Sixties," which were played out on the nightly news, on university campuses, in downtown coffeehouses, and in "the bedrooms of the nation," to borrow Trudeau's well-worn phrase. We also insist, however, on the lesser-known currents of dissent present throughout the late 1940s and 1950s: debates around Cold War politics, around conformity, and around domesticity.

Michael Dawson's essay, "Leisure, Consumption, and the Public Sphere: Postwar Debates over Shopping Regulations in Vancouver and Victoria during the Cold War," shows how an international Cold War vocabulary of free enterprise, democracy, and dictatorship was deployed in local battles around store openings and closings in postwar Vancouver and Victoria. Dawson points out that Cold War rhetoric, while politically useful, was also "malleable" and could be appropriated by actors with competing visions. He insists, moreover, that while Cold War concerns were important, they were not the sole influence on public debate in postwar Canada. Furthermore, contrary to the received wisdom, Cold War politics did not always shut down debate – in the story told here, they fuelled it. As Dawson writes, "postwar debates over consumerism and leisure show the public sphere to have been more dynamic and vibrant than the existing literature on the Cold War period would suggest."

Postwar debates over questions of consumerism and leisure are also evident in Becki Ross' contribution to this collection, "Men Behind the Marquee: Greasing the Wheels of Vansterdam's Professional Striptease Scene, 1950-75." Ross demonstrates that early postwar emphases on domesticity and conformity co-existed with, and were challenged by, other postwar realities. Vancouver's professional striptease scene promoted an explicit sexuality, discretionary spending, and an urbanity far removed from the postwar bedroom suburbs. Ross' essay also introduces us to a diversity of historical actors largely absent from most postwar histories: women employed as exotic dancers, for instance, alongside entrepreneurial businessmen – often first- or second-generation Canadians or men of colour – involved in industries considered by many citizens to be far from respectable. Finally, Ross shows us a Vancouver starkly divided along lines of class, race, and norms of acceptable behaviour. "There is little doubt," she writes, "that the East End cabarets pushed hardest against the limits of postwar Anglo Vancouver's 'community standards.'"

Robert Rutherford's essay in this anthology underlines the centrality of breadwinning to fatherhood and to masculinity in the 1950s. Yet his pan-Canadian study also allows us to see the ways that experiences of fatherhood differed according to class, ethnicity, and region. He argues that breadwinning as an economic function transformed the "faces" of postwar fathers. They became, in broader terms, *providers* for families who saw them navigating the threshold between public and private life. "The return to normalcy, so eagerly sought by younger couples raising children during Canada's baby boom," Rutherford concludes in a study that draws on both oral histories and life-writing, "revived and reconfigured the father's central role as provider within families that strove for security through income, consumption, and demonstrated social status." His essay presents various portraits of fathers as providers to explore how all family members conceived of fatherly breadwinning as a complex activity that linked family life to work outside the home.

Like Rutherford, Karen Dubinsky addresses the question of postwar families. However, her essay, "'We Adopted a Negro': Interracial Adoption and the Hybrid Baby in 1960s Canada," departs considerably from the home-centred literature that we now know quite well. Rather, her study of the adoption of black babies by white, primarily anglophone couples in postwar Montreal interrogates the ways that children have been and continue to be "used as markers of racial and national boundaries." As Dubinsky suggests, "All adoptive parents in this era were in the curious position of reconciling essentialist notions of blood, heredity, and familial sameness and security – mainstays of North American culture in the mid-twentieth century – with the practice of introducing complete genetic strangers into their lives forever." Transracial adoptions were even more destabilizing in

that they crossed “the apparently secure biological borders of race.” Like Christabelle Sethna’s essay on the sexual revolution as seen in the pages of the University of British Columbia’s campus newspaper, Dubinsky’s essay evokes the impact of social activism. The interracial adoptions examined here took place in the context of the American civil rights movement, decolonization movements, and the activism of parent groups such as Montreal’s Open Door Society. Sethna’s analysis, however, reminds us that “revolutions” do not always mean social justice for all. She provides evidence, the sexual revolution notwithstanding, that the sexist portrayal of single female students in the pages of *The Ubysey* waned only when the women’s liberation movement, or “second-wave” feminism, influenced the discussion of sex in the student newspaper and challenged its “traditional masculinist bias.”

Sethna’s study of postwar youth cultures and a “New Morality” addresses themes also found in Marcel Martel’s discussion of reactions to illegal drug use in 1960s Canada. Like Sethna’s analysis of student sexuality and Éric Bédard’s examination of *felquiste* thought, Martel’s essay points to the importance of 1960s countercultures, particularly among younger Canadians and Quebecers and perhaps especially in urban centres. Martel demonstrates the range of opinions that existed in 1960s Canada on the use of drugs such as marijuana and LSD. He focuses particularly on the opinions of two powerful interest groups: law enforcement agencies and the medical community. The liberalism of many members of the medical profession reflected a new tolerance of drug use, as users increasingly came from the middle class and from the student population. However, the medical profession was itself divided over the question of drug use, a situation that allowed the views of its more liberal members to be defeated by law enforcement agencies, which were united against the liberalization of drug laws. Because of internal divisions within the medical community, Martel argues, law enforcement officers ultimately “won the battle over the orientation and goals of public drug policy.” What Martel, following Kenneth J. Meier, calls “morality politics” was far from new in the postwar decades. The ways that such politics were received, however, may well have been changing in a period when the very idea of social “norms” appeared to be under attack from a variety of directions.

By the mid-1970s many of the markers of the postwar “Golden Age” no longer seemed quite as evident. Seemingly boundless prosperity had given way to stagflation; the postwar settlement and welfare-state thinking had disintegrated, to be replaced by neo-liberalism and worries about deficit reduction; collective quests for liberation appeared to have ceded to the “Me Generation.”⁵² The coherence of the period 1945-75 is perhaps most visible in retrospect, at a moment when some of what was built in the postwar period has been dismantled or called into question. As historian Eric

Hobsbawm noted recently, “private lives are embedded in the wider circumstances of history. The most powerful of these was the unexpected good fortune of the age. It crept up on my generation and took us unawares, especially the socialists among us who were unprepared to welcome an era of spectacular capitalist success. By the early 1960s it became hard not to notice it. I cannot say that we recognized it as what I have called ‘The Golden Age’ in my *Age of Extremes*. That became possible only after 1973, when it was over.”⁵³ The essays in this collection provide new perspectives on what we might call Canada’s “*trente glorieuses*,” on the three postwar decades that are only now coming into focus as a distinct historical moment. They reveal the ways that citizens imagined and reimagined their communities – national and otherwise – during these years, and they insist on the diversity of Canadian experiences and on the important currents of dissent that ran through the postwar era.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

- 1 See especially Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); and Richard Cavell, ed., *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
- 2 Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, and Frances Swyripa, eds., *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 6, 15.
- 3 Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, eds., *Cultures of Citizenship in Post-War Canada, 1940-1955* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); Jean Fourastié, *Les trente glorieuses, ou La Révolution invisible de 1946 à 1975* (Paris: Fayard, 1979); Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1995), 1-2, 258.
- 4 Christie and Gauvreau, eds., *Cultures of Citizenship*; Magda Fahrni, *Household Politics: Montreal Families and Postwar Reconstruction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). Christie and Gauvreau usefully point to the British historiography, which typically considers the Atlee years and the “Age of Austerity” to be a discrete historical period.
- 5 See François Ricard, *La génération lyrique: Essai sur la vie et l'oeuvre des premiers-nés du baby-boom* (Montreal: Boréal, 1992); Yves Bélanger et al., eds., *La Révolution tranquille: 40 ans plus tard – Un bilan* (Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 2000); Myrna Kostash, *Long Way from Home: The Sixties Generation in Canada* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1980). On the “Sixties” in Canada, see also Dimitry Anastakis, ed., *The Sixties: Style and Substance* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, forthcoming).
- 6 James Struthers, *The Limits of Affluence: Welfare in Ontario, 1920-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).
- 7 On Canada's cautious postwar consumption patterns, see Joy Parr, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
- 8 On Canada's postwar economy, see Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owram, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991), Chapters 20-21; Paul Phillips and Stephen Watson, “From Mobilization to Continentalism: The Canadian Economy in the Post-Depression Period,” in Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Readings in*

- Canadian Social History*, vol. 5, *Modern Canada, 1930-1980s* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984); David A. Wolfe, "The Rise and Demise of the Keynesian Era in Canada: Economic Policy, 1930-1982," in *ibid.*
- 9 See <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/11-516-XIE/sectiona/sectiona.htm>.
 - 10 On postwar immigration, see Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press and the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1972).
 - 11 Norrie and Owram, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 581-84.
 - 12 Gilles Paquet, "Les années 1950 au Québec," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 3, 1 (Fall 1994): 15-18 at 15.
 - 13 Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 7.
 - 14 Paul Rutherford, *When Television Was Young: Primetime Canada, 1952-1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
 - 15 Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 7.
 - 16 In addition to Christie's and Gauvreau's *Cultures of Citizenship in Post-War Canada*, we might point to Donald Avery's and Roger Hall's collection of previously published essays *Coming of Age: Readings in Canadian History since World War II* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1996). Designed for classroom use, the collection acknowledges the extensive production of social history during the past thirty years but also "unashamedly resurrect[s] politics" (3). Diversity, the editors argue, is their "chief narrative theme" (2) – a theme that is also central to the present collection.
 - 17 Creighton's synthesis of the years between 1939 and 1957 (the beginning of the Second World War and the end of twenty-two years of Liberal power in Ottawa) is focused largely, although not exclusively, on formal politics. One of the principal narrative thrusts of Creighton's *The Forked Road: Canada, 1939-1957* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976) is condemnation of what he calls "the obsequious Liberal acceptance of American economic control and political influence" (289).
 - 18 Bothwell et al., *Canada since 1945*, 3, xi, 4.
 - 19 Alvin Finkel, *Our Lives: Canada after 1945* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1997).
 - 20 Denis Smith, *Diplomacy of Fear: Canada and the Cold War, 1941-1948* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 5.
 - 21 Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*; Joseph T. Jockel, *No Boundaries Upstairs: Canada, the United States, and the Origins of North American Air Defence, 1945-1958* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987); Bruce Muirhead, *The Development of Postwar Canadian Trade Policy: The Failure of the Anglo-European Option* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Merrily Weisbord, *The Strangest Dream: Canadian Communists, the Spy Trials, and the Cold War*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1994).
 - 22 Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 8. For similar cautions, see Parr, *Domestic Goods*; and Christie and Gauvreau, eds., *Cultures of Citizenship*.
 - 23 Struthers, *Limits of Affluence*.
 - 24 J.L. Granatstein, *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1982); Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).
 - 25 James Struthers, *No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914-1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Dominique Marshall, *Aux origines sociales de l'État-providence: Familles québécoises, obligation scolaire et allocations familiales, 1940-1955* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1998); Peter Neary and J.L. Granatstein, eds., *The Veterans' Charter and Post-World War II Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).
 - 26 Ruth Roach Pierson, "Gender and the Unemployment Insurance Debates in Canada, 1934-1940," *Labour/Le Travail* 25 (Spring 1990): 77-103; Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Ann

- Porter, *Gendered States: Women, Unemployment Insurance, and the Political Economy of the Welfare State in Canada, 1945-1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).
- 27 Yves Vaillancourt, *L'évolution des politiques sociales au Québec, 1940-1960* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1988); Marshall, *Aux origines sociales*; P.E. Bryden, *Planners and Politicians: Liberal Politics and Social Policy, 1957-1968* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).
 - 28 Shirley Tillotson, *The Public at Play: Gender and the Politics of Recreation in Post-War Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).
 - 29 John Richards and Larry Pratt, *Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979).
 - 30 Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Gérard Bouchard, *Genèse des nations et cultures du Nouveau Monde: Essai d'histoire comparée*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: Boréal Compact, 2001).
 - 31 See, for example, the two volumes of Paul-André Linteau et al., eds., *Histoire du Québec contemporain* (Montreal: Boréal Compact, 1989).
 - 32 See Paul-André Linteau, "Un débat historiographique: L'entrée du Québec dans la modernité et la signification de la Révolution tranquille," in Bélanger et al., eds., *La Révolution tranquille*, 21-41.
 - 33 Michael D. Behiels, *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism versus Neo-Nationalism, 1945-1960* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Jacques Rouillard, *Histoire du syndicalisme québécois* (Montreal: Boréal, 1989); Jean-Pierre Collin, *La Ligue ouvrière catholique canadienne, 1938-1954* (Montreal: Boréal, 1996); Nicole Neatby, *Carabins ou activistes? L'idéalisme et la radicalisation de la pensée étudiante à l'Université de Montréal au temps du duplessisme* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); Lucie Piché, *Femmes et changement social au Québec: L'apport de la Jeunesse ouvrière catholique féminine, 1931-1966* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003); Louise Bienvenue, *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène: L'action catholique avant la Révolution tranquille* (Montreal: Boréal, 2003).
 - 34 Lucia Ferretti, *Brève histoire de l'Église catholique au Québec* (Montreal: Boréal, 1999); Jean Hamelin, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois: Le XXe siècle*, vol. 2, *De 1940 à nos jours*, ed. Nive Voisine (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1984); Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).
 - 35 Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Ricard, *La génération lyrique*.
 - 36 Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).
 - 37 Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Sylvie Murray, *The Progressive Housewife: Community Activism in Suburban Queens, 1945-1965* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
 - 38 The expression "doldrum years" is from Dorothy Sue Cobble, "Lost Visions of Equality: The Labor Origins of the Next Women's Movement," *Labor's Heritage* 12, 1 (Winter/Spring 2003): 6-23 at 7.
 - 39 Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
 - 40 Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-60," *Canadian Historical Review* 72, 4 (1991): 471-504; Valerie J. Korinek, *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

- 41 Joy Parr, ed., *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 7, 5.
- 42 Epp, Iacovetta, and Swyripa, eds., *Sisters or Strangers?*
- 43 See, for example, Robert Rutherford, "Fatherhood and the Social Construction of Memory: Breadwinning and Male Parenting on a Job Frontier, 1945-1966," in Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, eds., *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996); Chris Dummitt, "Finding a Place for Father: Selling the Barbecue in Postwar Canada," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9 (1998): 209-23; Vincent Duhaime, "'Les pères ont ici leur devoir': Le discours du mouvement familial québécois et la construction de la paternité dans l'après-guerre, 1945-1960," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 57, 4 (Spring 2004): 535-66.
- 44 Cohen, *Consumer's Republic*, 403.
- 45 Parr, *Domestic Goods*, 10.
- 46 Magda Fahrni, "Counting the Costs of Living: Gender, Citizenship, and a Politics of Prices in 1940s Montreal," *Canadian Historical Review* 83, 4 (December 2002): 483-504; Donica Belisle, "Exploring Postwar Consumption: The Campaign to Unionize Eaton's in Toronto, 1948-1952," *Canadian Historical Review* 86, 4 (December 2005): 641-72.
- 47 On this debate, see Parr, *Domestic Goods*, 9-10.
- 48 As Benedict Anderson writes in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 6: "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined."
- 49 See also E.-Martin Meunier and Jean-Philippe Warren, "De la question sociale à la question nationale: La revue *Cité Libre* (1950-1963)," *Recherches sociographiques* 39, 2-3 (1998): 291-316.
- 50 J.L. Granatstein, *How Britain's Weakness Forced Canada into the Arms of the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).
- 51 George Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965).
- 52 See, for example, Nicole F. Bernier, *Le désengagement de l'État providence* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2003). According to Norrie and Owrarn, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 541, 600, and to Phillips and Watson, "From Mobilization to Continentialism," 33, the end of postwar prosperity can be traced to 1973, a year characterized by oil crises and by stagflation.
- 53 Eric Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life* (London: Abacus, 2002), 222.