Aya Fujiwara. *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919-1971*. U of Manitoba P, 2012. Studies in Immigration and Culture 7, edited by Royden Loewen. xii, 260 pp. Tables. Notes. Selected Bibliography. Index. $27.95, paper.

Multiculturalism is surely one of the most distinctive features of Canada as a nation. Not only did it contribute to resolving the constitutive British-French duality but it also proposed a new formula for integrating many different ethnic communities within one political nation. Multiculturalism expressly opposed the United States' "melting pot" strategy for governing ethnic diversity, and it was even exported to other developing national communities, like Australia. But before multiculturalism was conceived and inaugurated, Canada was characterized by a strong Anglo-conformity and sometimes even racism. The story of this transformation is therefore of greatest interest. In fact, a whole series of specific studies would be needed in order for the story to fully be told. Aya Fujiwara's book *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919-1971* constitutes an important step in this direction, as it examines the contributions of three ethnic groups in the formation of Canadian identity. The author states in the introduction that this research deals with the ways in which ethnic elites secured their leading role in relation to both their ethnic community and the country's British leadership. However, the focus, in fact, is placed on the history of the interactions between these three communities and government authorities in the course of the formation of a distinctive Canadian national identity.

The choice of the three ethnicities examined in the book was made with the specific aim of including one ethnic group that was already part of the national elite (the Scots), one migrant community that was European and therefore "racially assimilable" (the Ukrainians), and one group that was deemed to be "racially different" from the Anglo-Saxon core (the Japanese). This choice allowed the author to trace each group's development of specific strategies for affirming the importance of its own cultural traditions and language and claiming a dedicated place for itself within Canadian society. The Scots, however, despite their cultural peculiarities, were too similar to and integrated with the leading elite of the Canadian state, so their case has less heuristic potential, to the point where one may wonder if including a different group (the Irish or the Germans, for instance) would have been more productive. The author's centre of analysis is therefore very often found in comparisons between the Ukrainian and Japanese groups.

The book's argument proceeds chronologically. It identifies six evolutionary phases in the relationship between minorities and the Anglo-Saxon mainstream: community formation up to World War I, events of the

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interwar period, events during World War II, postwar reorganization, the merger between ethnic and mainstream identities in the 1950s and 1960s, and, finally, the development of the notion of multiculturalism in the 1960s and early 1970s. The comparison between Ukrainian Canadians and Japanese Canadians works extremely well in highlighting the reasons for the success achieved by the former and the difficulties experienced by the latter.

Ukrainians, owing to their Caucasian appearance, were considered more similar to the British. They were dispatched primarily to cultivate the Prairies (Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba), where they became the leading element within that society. Despite being considered enemy aliens during World War I, they built a dense network of associations in the interwar period, and the group emerged as an economic and political actor. During World War II, with the help of some British advocates of integration, Ukrainians progressively marginalized supporters of the Soviet Union and proved themselves to be trustworthy Canadians; they even fought within the ranks of the Canadian army. Their community life was revitalized by new migrants who arrived after the end of the war, but the core of the group was linked to a specific region. Ukrainian Canadians started to identify themselves more and more with the Prairie pioneer myth, seeing themselves as a third constitutive component in the formation of the Canadian nation. Thus, they developed the concept of the "Third Element," which relates to the contributions made to the Canadian nation by nationalities other than the British or the French. Championing this idea, Ukrainians were able to play a key role in expanding bilingualism and multiculturalism in Canada, gaining recognition and funding for the preservation of their language and culture.

In contrast, the Japanese were consistently considered alien in a nation that the British-led government wanted to keep white. Certain rigidities in the group's internal organization followed by the worsening of relations between Canada and Japan contributed to a minimized integration of Japanese migrants. World War II saw the Canadian government take preventive punitive measures against those whom they considered to be potential enemies. Such actions included the isolation and forced migration of Japanese communities from the Pacific Coast to the internal regions of British Columbia, the expropriation of assets, and exclusion from Canadian armed service. Partly because of these traumas, the renovated associationism of Japanese Canadians after the war insisted more on the affirmation of citizenship and individual human rights than on the affirmation of the group's right to cultural expression. As Fujiwara acutely points out, also proposing a reasoning for this definition of ethnicity, the Japanese had to cope with white Canadians' racially based aversion toward them (that is, an aversion based on physical characteristics rather than cultural ones), and therefore they insisted less on elements that could isolate

them from the rest of the nation. As a result, they contributed only marginally to the expansion of multiculturalism. However, from the 1960s, both groups along with the Scots joined the efforts of the rest of the country in inventing the idea of Canada as a multicultural society—a notion that was epitomized by the formula "unity in diversity." Thus, they helped offset the appeal of the United States, and Canada was able to emerge as a well-defined and distinct nation.

Fujiwara's book is a well-written and illuminating study about the interactions of several ethnic communities in the processes of group transnational and multicultural self-identification. It will be a stimulating read not only for those interested in Canadian history but for anyone involved in nationalities and migration studies. Furthermore, its comparative perspective makes it a perfect benchmark for use in examinations of interactions among multiple national groups.

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