“Saving Heritage”:
Stakeholders, Successes, and Project SUCH

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE

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ABSTRACT

Project SUCH (Save the Ukrainian Canadian's Heritage) was conducted in the summers of 1971 and 1972 in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario. Young, largely untrained fieldworkers were tasked with interviewing Ukrainian pioneers in the target areas about their immigration and settlement experiences.

This study explores Project SUCH as an example of popular folklore, a term referring to the trend of communities that were formerly under study as they began to study themselves. This work is the first study about the SUCH Project, providing a thick description of the project, then looking specifically at the five key stakeholder groups in its success and how they viewed this notion differently. These stakeholders are: the Government of Canada (the granting agency for Project SUCH); SUMK (the Ukrainian Orthodox youth organization which conceived of the project, applied for funding, and acted as administrator for the project); the student fieldworkers hired as summer employees; the pioneer informants; and current and future researchers who might access the project for a variety of research interests. A particular focus was placed on those who worked as fieldworkers on the project, since they were interviewed for this study over four decades later. I assert that Project SUCH was a partial success in the eyes of each of the stakeholder groups.

PREFACE

This dissertation is an original work by Nadya Foty-Oneschuk. The research project, of which this dissertation is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Interviewing the Interviewers: A Meta-Ethnography of Two Ukrainian Canadian Folklore Projects”, No. Pro00040865, 17 July 2015.

DEDICATION

Татові.
Соломійці.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It takes a village.

This has been a longer and more arduous journey than what would be considered “average,” and it simply would not have come to fruition were it not for the dedicated efforts and support of those, whom I would like to acknowledge here.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Andriy Nahachewsky, for being a constant source of advice, support, and positive energy. He has steered me through my academic journey with challenging questions and a kind heart. I learned my love for fieldwork by watching him, first-hand, in the many interviews we conducted together and hope to some day pass on this gift to my own students. Against all odds, thank you for not giving up on this project and for inspiring me to see it through.

Thank you to the other members of my supervisory committee - Dr. Natalia Khanenko-Friesen and Dr. Peter Rolland, for making an often short time-line work and for being dedicated in their support of me and this project. Your valuable comments helped me develop my ideas and challenged me to write more clearly and concisely. An additional thank you to Natalia for her kindness and support of me “locally,” as this project was delayed for its many reasons. I also extend my gratitude to Dr. Mary Ingraham and Dr. Alexander Freund for their time spent reading this dissertation and for offering their constructive observations.

I am genuinely appreciative and thankful for the many ways in which the Kule Centre for Ukrainian and Canadian Folklore, and in particular the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives have shaped my graduate experience. Its founder, Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky, has been a main source of inspiration and support in my graduate work, and his sage words “Вище себе не перескочиш” [“You cannot jump higher than yourself,” meaning you can only do your best] have been posted next to my computer from the day I first began writing. To Maryna Cherniavs’ka and Lynnien Pawluk - thank you for your encouragement and assistance over the years.

Thank you to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies for the Helen Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship awarded to me in 2012. Your support of this project, among many others, was greatly appreciated.

There would be no dissertation were it not for my informants. I was a stranger to most of them and not only did they entertain my request for an interview, but they did so with warmth and great hospitality. Thank you for agreeing to journey into your past and for letting me bear witness. I hope this dissertation gives voice to those memories and allows you to feel as though your efforts all those years ago were not lost.

To Janet Prebushewsky-Danyliuk and the staff at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada - I cannot thank you enough for the back-room tour in 2006 and for all of the cooperation since. It brings me and all those once involved with Project SUCH great peace to know that the project has been formally accessioned and digitized under your careful watch for future researchers.

As the years pass, I am evermore grateful for the support and love of family and friends, who have cheered me on in this pursuit: Radomir Bilash, Brian Cherwick, Marusia Kachkowski, Alanna Kukura, Mariya Lesiv, Sheryl Mayko, Lydia Migus, Emily Morris, John and Marjory Oneschuk, Sarah Oneschuk, and Vincent Rees, among others. Your kindness meant more than you could ever know.

To my parents, Professor Yurko and Lesya Foty - my biggest cheerleaders and sources of unconditional support in my academic pursuits. Growing up as a campus kid, I knew that I had a great affinity for university life, but rather than preach “I told you so,” Tato allowed me the time and experiences to come to the decision of following in his footsteps on my own. I cherish having been witness to generations of his students admire, respect, and enjoy him, and I would be so blessed to look back on my career with a fraction of the genuine love that he has for his. Thank you to my sister Ksenya, for similar unwavering faith in my abilities to pursue this achievement - she was the first to predict this venture at my MA convocation, when it was certainly the last thing on my mind or to-do list. I have been blessed with abundant warmth and love from my family from my first day and every day since, and words do not suffice to describe my deep gratitude and love for them.

I thank my dear husband, Yakym Oneschuk. No one has had to endure this process closer to the flame than he did. Thank you for indulging me when there were moments of enthusiasm after fieldwork, and likewise when there were moments of despair when deadlines loomed. Thank you for supporting me in every conceivable way, for sharing my passion for folklore, oral history, and pioneer life on the Prairies, and for never doubting my abilities even when I so often did. In many ways, this PhD is a meterstick of our life together, and I'm so glad that we can now move on to sunnier days that do not include me sitting at a computer.

Finally, perhaps my biggest thanks go to our beautiful daughter, Solomia. Though still so small, my - how you have indelibly left your mark on this dissertation. You prove to be one of my greatest teachers, and it is for you that I devoted time to finishing this dissertation when it seemed like I had nothing more left to give. I hope someday you can look back on this dissertation and be proud of your Mama.

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INTRODUCTION

Brief History

It was all so nice, and now the hall has already fallen apart,
already [they've all] died, the children have left,
and that's it…[1]

In the realm of folklore and ethnography, fieldwork has long been a primary method of collecting information on a given topic. Fieldwork projects not only provide data on various themes, but also allow for a "human" aspect – the interviewer/interviewee relationship – to inform the research. This fieldwork data, combined with numerous other ingredients, builds a multi-dimensional approach to culture, providing a rich and unique account of life in a given time and place, directly created by those who lived it - or so is the optimistic hope. The concept of "meta-ethnography,"[2] that is the ethnography of ethnography, is currently popular among folklore and ethnography scholars.[3] Scholarship suggests now, more than ever, that the research process (including the researcher) affects the data in a significant way, making such dynamics a paramount consideration. These ideas led to changes in how oral histories were collected in the 1970s - a time when this awareness was becoming pervasive, including at the grass-roots level.

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[1] Vera Szewczyk, Personal interview with Mrs. Semotiuk. Project SUCH reel 5, side 1. (Vegreville, AB: 23 July 1971) 02:29. "Там було все файно, а вже тепер галя розпалась, вже повмерали, діти вже виїхали, то всьо…"

[2] Defined generally as the "study of ethnography," this research project will indeed be employing this common definition of the term "meta-ethnography," though other interpretations of the term exist.

[3] Notable literature on the topic in this field include Michael Agar's *Speaking of Ethnography* (1986), Roger Sanjek's *Reflections on Fieldnotes: New Light on Ethnographic Practice* (1991), Marjorie A. Muecke's "On the Evaluation of Ethnographies" (1994), and Yiorgos Anagnostou's *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America* (2009).

The main subject for this study is an academically undiscovered fieldwork project on Ukrainians in Canada, focusing on first-wave pioneers (arriving pre-1914). SUCH (Save the Ukrainian Canadian's Heritage), was conducted by the national executive of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMK) in the summers of 1971 and 1972. At this time, many first-wave Ukrainian immigrants were still alive, and the primary aim of the project was to record information from them on a broad range of topics. Five hundred and thirty-six people in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario were interviewed, and their stories, artifacts and photographs were collected. Following the fieldwork phase of the project, that which was collected was stored in boxes and left unprocessed and untouched for 40 years.

I am the first to conduct any analytical work on the SUCH project. My work intersected with SUCH by pure happenstance. Just weeks after first learning that this project had taken place in the 1970s, I visited my hometown of Saskatoon, and stopped by the Ukrainian Museum of Canada (UMC), where a friend had recently taken over directorship. Given my role as an archivist in Edmonton at the time, the director indulged me in an informal back-room tour of the storage areas. I had grown up at the Museum in my childhood and teenage years, but some things had changed, and there were places that had previously been inaccessible to me. A set of boxes stood in a corner of one storage room, and thanks to genuine curiosity, we took a peek and discovered the original reels of Project SUCH. At the risk of sounding melodramatic, this was a discovery of a lifetime, one which I could not ignore. In cooperation with the UMC, the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (University of Alberta) digitized the collection (a few reels were unsalvageable). Digitized copies were shared with the UMC, and the audio collection is now housed at the BMUFA.

New interviews were conducted with many of the original fieldworkers of the SUCH project in an attempt to gain information about the research process and the outcome or success of the project. This new fieldwork data illuminates the corpus of information gathered as part of the SUCH project in a new analytical light, bringing awareness to several factors that contributed to shaping the data gathered and the individuals hired as fieldworkers for the project. By conducting new research about old research, thereby creating two "layers" of ethnographic research, the approach taken in

this study may be considered meta-ethnographic according to Noblit and Hare's definition - that is, the synthesis of two qualitative studies within one theme: "[Meta-ethnography] is a term we use to characterize our approach to synthesizing understanding from ethnographic accounts... interpretive rather than aggregative... it should take the form of reciprocal translations of studies into one another."[4]

Objectives

This dissertation has two main objectives, broadly speaking: first, to provide a thick and detailed description of the SUCH project focusing on historical context, project design, motivation, methodology, fieldworker training, implementation; second, to explore how the SUCH Project was a success[5] (or not) for a diverse group of stakeholders, including those who funded it (the Canadian Government); the organizers; the student fieldworkers; the informants[6], and any future researchers who may find the collection of interest. The term "stakeholder" is chosen deliberately to portray the roles and investments of each group involved in Project SUCH. By examining each group of stakeholders and how they saw the completion and/or success of the Project in separate chapters, various intersecting ideas will be discussed, with a particular focus on those who worked as fieldworkers on the project, and with whom new interviews for this study were conducted. Was Project SUCH a success? If so, how? These are the questions this dissertation seeks to answer.

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[4] George W. Noblit and R. Dwight Hare, *Meta-Ethnography: Synthesizing Qualitative Studies*. *Qualitative Research Methods Series* 11. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1988) 10-11.

[5] The word "success" is deliberately chosen for use in this dissertation as a tool for understanding and mining Project SUCH. I believe that each of the identified stakeholders, in their unique roles vis-a-vis the project, wanted for positive outcomes or successes.

[6] The term "informant" is commonly used in the fields of folklore and anthropology, and one which became an industry standard in my academic experience. This term has become widely acceptable, though some argue that "consultants" is a more respectable choice. Anthropologist Janice M. Morse in her editorial "Subjects, Respondents, Informants, and Participants," argues that anthropology uses the term "because the investigator is considered naive and must be instructed about what is going on in a setting, about cultural rules, and so forth." [*Qualitative Health Journal*. 1(4), 1991, 403.

Methodology and Analysis

Theoretical background

My review of the relevant literature for this research generally fits into two main categories: the main focus is on ethnography/folklore (including ethnographic methodology) and for contextual purposes, Ukrainian Canadian studies.

Most of the Ukrainian Canadian sources focus on the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, the organization of Ukrainian community life in Canada, general cultural adaptation to the Canadian context, as well as the development of Ukrainian folklore in Canada. These sources allow the building of a contextual framework for the SUCH project, including its final project report.

This dissertation is informed by and aims to contribute to the fields of Ukrainian folklore and Ukrainian Canadian studies. The first folklore research on a Ukrainian Canadian topic was produced by ethnographer Volodymyr Hnatiuk in Ukraine in 1902. Hnatiuk included mention of the "New Country" in a collection of folk songs, including seven songs about Canada specifically, sourced from North American publications and a personal letter from Canada. The first collection of Ukrainian folklore *in situ* occured in the 1940s, when folklorist Volodymyr Plaviuk and singer Tetiana Koshets' began conducting ethnographic fieldwork on topics related to their fields.

A key period occured in the 1960s, when philologist Yaroslav Rudnyc'kyj became interested in dialectology among Canada's Ukrainians and, most particularly, when he hired a young Robert Klymasz to be his graduate research assistant. This was the first time that Klymasz, a future leading scholar in Ukrainian Canadian folklore studies, was introduced to the concept of interview methodology, something which he went on to refine and in many ways standardize for research in the field of Ukrainian Canadian folklore. It was precisely at this time, pre-SUCH project, that we see the intersection of "old country" and "new country" folklorists, and the alignment of this new field with general folklore studies.

The scholarly contribution of this dissertation is manifold. First, this dissertation provides the first thick description of Project SUCH and brings it to the attention of the scholarly world for the first time. Second, this study continues the trend of engaging with

Ukrainian Canadian ethnographic methodological issues, this time with a new, large corpus of data with the aim of making it accessible and used by other scholars and enthusiasts. Third, given the enormous wave of ethnographic activity during the Project SUCH time period, this project explores the idea of stakeholder success as merely one way of understanding the raw and unworked data collected. Though Project SUCH is the biggest among them, it is not the only comparable project, and many similar efforts that were discussed in the field were not even included in the most complete listing to date, Frances Swyripa's *Oral Sources for Researching Ukrainian Canadians* (1985), suggesting that there is much left to be discovered. Fourth, this dissertation is an exploration into how the scholarly field can apply contemporary research questions to older "collections" projects (that in the Ukrainian Canadian sphere are plentiful) with fruitful results. However, the challenges to this potential lie in their state of preservation, their need for additional processing, and the necessity of weeding through the biases and omissions inherent in them - all which rely on significant resources. Given that such grassroots efforts were often informal and included untrained enthusiasts, these challenges could provide intriguing opportunities for scholarly discourse. Finally, this dissertation provides a new connection between Ukrainian Canadian ethnography and the theory of "popular folklore," which will be discussed next. Ultimately, the information collected in the SUCH project was done so that people would listen to, engage with, and learn. The time has come for this scholarly community to shed light onto these unmined projects.

Project SUCH fits comfortably into the parameters of popular folklore. Additional sources on ethnography and ethnographic fieldwork include theoretical discussions of ethnographic analysis, including field relations (the interviewer-interviewee relationship), reflexivity, and the implications of methodology. Applying these concepts to a Ukrainian Canadian fieldwork project contributes to Ukrainian Folklore by making new and stronger connections to these developments in ethnographic analysis.

By bridging the traditional divide between segments of the population, the learned and the enthusiast, greater knowledge and experience could be co-produced. The complementary wave of community oral history research of the 1970s was beginning just at this time and will be discussed later in this introduction.

The term “popular folklore” corresponds to a similar notion directly applicable to the subject of this dissertation. Proposed by Greek-American folklorist Yiorgos Anagnostou “popular folklore” also involves community groups. The difference here is that not only is the community involved, but they study themselves, producing their own ethnography. Anagnostou argues that this approach becomes a favourite tool of (white) ethnic communities seeking to document themselves, “to make significance of the past,” with his particular research questions exploring the Greek American community with which he identified himself.[7] The similarities between Anagnostou’s theories and the birth of Project SUCH are many, though his writing came decades after the completion of the project. Once again, the ideas proposed with the term “popular folklore” were strongly applicable to the “grass-roots” climate of the 1970s, which will be discussed in more detail later in this introduction.

Anagnostou’s definition is clearly applicable for the SUCH project, which was a collection of interviews about Ukrainian pioneer culture (as it was recorded in the early 1970s), by untrained, non-professional members of the same community. In keeping with his assertion, it is typically the Ukrainian Canadian organizations that were behind this project that would serve as community representatives, culture-keepers (and some would argue, culture-creators) for an outside researcher, and here they were launching formal efforts to document themselves. Project SUCH, in this way, was a community project *for* the community.

The founders of Project SUCH, in an effort to legitimize their work within the context of official government recognition and support, attempted to ground their work in academic theory, drawing on similar projects conducted by bonafide academics, like Robert B. Klymasz. This is also a characteristic of Anagnostou’s definition: “They draw upon professional ethnography in their interdisciplinary work as they appropriate it for their own purposes to make meaning about ethnicity.”[8] The SUCH project was precisely trying to “make meaning about ethnicity” - for the community in the general sense, but

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[7] Yiorgos Anagnostou, *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America*. (Athens: Ohio Univeristy Press, 2009) 7.
[8] Ibid., 382.

specifically for the student fieldworkers, who were hopefully to become the future leaders of the community. As has been seen through the new fieldwork that I conducted for this study with the Project SUCH interviewers and associated individuals, this objective was certainly achieved.

This objective was further emphasized given the multicultural context within which the project operated, and because of which it happened. As Anagnostou writes, it is precisely because the "ethnic folk" are in a position to now "make meaning about themselves" against an ethnically diverse backdrop that ethnicity becomes commodified.[9] He sees community-based organizations and "ethnic gatekeepers" as being key players in this process, intensifying the "ethnographization of ethnicity."[10]

Popular folklore does not fit simply into older categories of ethnographic scholarship. Its interdisciplinarity, though sometimes seen as complex, is what makes it interesting. Cultural theorists Roland Barthes and James Clifford support and encourage this post-structuralist idea of disciplines breaking down, with the latter citing ethnography, cultural activism, and "community-based" scholarship as sites of this identification.[11] As Anagnostou notes, the very label of "folklore" on such examples is in and of itself an act against their interdisciplinary scope.[12] This is perhaps why Project SUCH is so difficult to categorize or define, disciplinarily-speaking.

As a political tool, popular folklore carries with it a certain power that is associated with the politics of multiculturalism in the Canadian context, as is certainly evident in the story of the SUCH project. By engaging in the politics of multiculturalism, the project was able to advance the ethnographic politics of its own community, as illustrated by the establishment of the SELO camps, which are described and discussed further in Chapter 6 of this dissertation. Each of these later initiatives, no matter the size or scope, produced individuals who were more knowledgeable about their heritage, and

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[9] Ibid., 386-7.
[10] Ibid., 387.
[11] James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) 77.
[12] Yiorgos Anagnostou, "Metaethnography in the Age of 'Popular Folkore,'" *Journal of American Folklore*, 119(474). (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 394.

therefore, themselves. This had both immediate and future obvious benefits for the broader Ukrainian community, and more specifically, its component organizations.

Finally, Anagnostou notes that "popular folklore constitutes a primary source and stimuli for ethnography."[13] Others go further, suggesting that the perceptions of the "grassroots" researchers are important to the health of the disciplines to which they are contributing.[14]

With Project SUCH in particular, we see a clear pattern of similar grassroots work being done in and around the same time frame, suggesting the role of SUCH as the largest (and most official) of these as being that of a stimulus for comparable research. When this topic was raised during the interviews with the interviewers, these other grassroots research efforts were consistly without official names, most often labeled by the names of those involved in conducting the research. In the realm of Ukrainian Canadian oral sources, we see these as contributions being noteworthy by academics from the discipline, as well (enough to be included in Frances Swyripa's compilation).

Narrowing the theoretical scope, it is necessary to include a discussion of some particular aspects of ethnographic fieldwork. First, the term "ethnography" is used in this dissertation in a very broad sense, describing whenever a researcher makes direct contact with people in the group being studied. "Reflexivity" is a term often used to refer to the role of the researcher themselves[15] (in this case, the fieldworker) in their research. This reciprocity between participants in an ethnographic context and its effect on the data gathered continues to be a topic of considerable interest for those undertaking ethnographic research:

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[13] Ibid., 406.

[14] Paul Douglas, "Folklore from the Grassroots," *Journal of American Folklore*. 113 (Winter 2000) 83.

[15] It should be made explicit that the fieldworkers interviewed for this study were only engaging somewhat as "researchers" in the classical anthropology sense. They did not enter the field with the same awareness regarding theories and questions, nor several years of preparation, making the initial fieldworker orientation key. They also were not expected to fully process the data, nor analyze it. Given the intended outcome of this employment opportunity, one could say that they, too, were part of the object of their research.

> All researchers are to some degree connected to, a part of, the object of their research. And, depending on the extent and nature of these connections, questions arise as to whether the results of research are artefacts of the researcher's presence and inevitable influence on the research process. For these reasons, considerations of reflexivity are important for all forms of research.[16]

An awareness of the subtleties of the relationship between interviewer and interviewee are valuable to the research in general, revealing underlying currents that shape the research quite significantly:

> It is important to recognize that research is an active process, in which accounts of the world are produced through selective observation and theoretical interpretation of what is seen, through asking particular questions and interpreting what is said in reply, through writing fieldnotes and transcribing audio and video recordings, as well as through writing research reports.[17]

There is an abundance of literature on the topic of reflexivity in the realm of qualitative research, though not long ago this was not the case.[18] Many definitions of the term exist:

> Reflexivity can be defined as thoughtful, conscious self-awareness. Reflexive analysis in research encompasses continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself. It involves a shift in our understanding of data collection from something objective that is accomplished through detached scrutiny of

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[16] Charlotte Aull Davies, *Reflexive Ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999) 3. Additional notable scholarship on this topic that was consulted includes: Alain Coulon, "Ethnomethodology" (1995); David Francis and Stephen Hester, *An Invitation to Ethnomethodology* (2007); Sharon Jackson, Kathryn Backett-Milburn, and Elinor Newall, "Researching Distressing Topics" (2013); Eric Livingston, *Making Sense of Ethnomethodology* (1987); John Van Maanen, *Representation in Ethnography* (1995 and 2010).

[17] Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (London and New York: Routledge,1995) 18.

[18] Emerging as a genre only in the 1970s (Scholte, 1972), this methodological self-consciousness has been criticized for lacking objectivity and scientific validity by scholars in the fields of ethnography in anthropology, making it a topic of lively scholarly debate. Much of the scholarship on the topic appeared in the 1990s; see Coffey & Atkinson (1996), Hertz (1997), May (1998), and Steier (1991), among others. Concern about appropriate levels of objectivity in qualitative research have been refuted by scholars who argue that in fact there is no such thing as an "objective reality," and that all research with a "human" element is subject to a reflexive process to some degree. [Kirsten Hastrup, *A Passage to Anthropology: Between experience and theory*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) 50].

> 'what I know and how I know it' to recognizing how we actively construct our knowledge.[19]

The active construction referred to above includes the process of meaning-creation between the researcher and the researched, providing evidence of the interview research as being jointly produced, with the interviewer playing just as active a role as those whom they are interviewing:

> As qualitative researchers, we understand that the researcher is a central figure who influences the collection, selection, and interpretation of data. Our behavior will always affect participants' responses, thereby influencing the direction of findings.[20]

Gender, ethnicity, age, and class intersect with reflexivity, since they affect how the interviewer interacts with their interviewees in the field. In this way, reflexivity becomes "a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness"[21] that shapes our research at the time of conducting it. This process of acknowledging and analyzing reflexivity as a factor has helped to "demystify" the fieldwork process and the construction of knowledge therein, including the pre-conceived ideas and assumptions of the interviewer that are inevitably brought into the analysis of the research.[22]

The reflexive perspective focuses on how the research is framed, the questions asked, the selection of participants, etc., including the questions, which are ignored, and the individuals who are not chosen to participate. In general, it is effective for a researcher to examination all motivations,[23] assumptions, and interests, beginning in the

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[19] Linda Finlay, "'Outing' the Researcher: The Provenance, Process, and Practice of Reflexivity," *Qualitative Health Research*. 12(4) (April 2002) 532.

[20] Ibid., 531. Additional notable scholarship on the topic include: Pertti Alasuutari (1995); Joanna Bornat (2004); John L. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (2000); and Paul Ten Have (2004).

[21] Helen Callaway, "Ethnography and experience: Gender implications in fieldwork and texts," *Anthropology and Autobiography*. Eds. Judith Okley and Helen Callaway. (London: Routledge, 1992) 33.

[22] Natasha S. Mauthner and Andrea Doucet, "Reflexive Accounts and Accounts of Reflexivity in Qualitative Research Data Analysis," *Sociology*. 37(3) (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003) 416-7.

[23] It should be noted that not only the motivations of the interviewer, but those of the interviewee agreeing to be interviewed may play a role in the kinds of information that is shared within the interview. [Gary Y. Okihiro, "Oral History and the Writing of Ethnic History: A

pre-research stage and extending through the data collection and analysis stages.[24] "Reflexivity implies an awareness of self as both subject and object."[25] This awareness extends to all forms of communication in the fieldwork setting, including gestures, postures, tone, voice pitch and other types of non-verbal communication.[26]

This notion began to garner serious academic attention in the social sciences in the 1980s, with noteworthy scholars such as Hammersley, Atkinson, Clifford, and Geertz actively discussing the "problem of reflexivity."[27] Not only is the term "influence" used to describe the reflexive process, but some analysts go so far as to say that the fieldworker "constructs" the knowledge based on his or her experiences in the field.[28] The concept of reflexivity is tied to the notion of biases, in other words, the predispositions, attitudes, and beliefs that each fieldworker brings with them into the field. Were the SUCH student fieldworkers made aware of this concept prior to going out into the field? Most interviewers answered that they were not. Were they conscious of their effect on the interview itself? Though not because of a formal discussion on the topic, the majority were in agreement that they understood that their behavior was an influence in the interview. Did they reflect on these dynamics afterwards? Again, all were in agreement that they did not spend time thinking of such things as academic notions, but rather as practical strategies for avoiding failure and practical strategies for achieving success. Reflection on an informal level did take place and likely affected how they continued their work. Did they keep field notes or a field journal? Very few student fieldworkers kept any sort of notes aside from filling out the required project paperwork. Only a few documents of this kind exist as part of the SUCH project archive and likely, if

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Reconnaissance into Method and Theory," *The Oral History Review*. Vol.9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) 37.

[24] Finlay, 536.

[25] Barbara Myerhoff and Jay Ruby, "Introduction," *A Crack in the Mirror. Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology*. Ed. Jay Ruby. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982) 2.

[26] Konstantinos Retsikas, "Knowledge from the Body: Fieldwork, Power and the Acquisition of a New Self," *Knowing How to Know: Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Present*. Eds. Narmala Halstead, Eric Hirsch, and Judith Okely. (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008) 111.

[27] Mauthner and Doucet, 416.

[28] Finlay, 532. Reflexivity is a popular tool for those conducting research into gender politics, as it allows for explicit self-analysis and a more radical consciousness of self.

other fieldnotes were written, they were not submitted. Especially given the age of the student fieldworkers during the project (high school and undergraduate students), more concrete information along these lines would be very enlightening.

This dissertation focuses on a type of reflexivity dealing with the influence of the source culture on the ethnographer – when it is very strong, it is sometimes called "going native" in anthropological discussions.[29] Due to this influence, the ethnographer becomes dedicated to issues that are important to the source culture, an intended outcome of Project SUCH. Further, the meta-ethnographic aspect of this project, namely the second layer of ethnography (the interviews in 2014-15 that I conducted with the former fieldworkers) implies a new reflexivity with a new source culture, researcher, and intended audience. Particulary, I concentrate on how the interview activities impacted the individuals – those student fieldworkers (first as "researchers," and later as the "researched" group). Another difference between the two chronological layers of reflexivity lies in the level of awareness of its significance.

Second, much can be said on the topic of "field relations" from a variety of perspectives. In their work *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson devote a chapter to field relations. They take an all-encompassing approach to this term, including aspects such as initial responses, impressions management, personal characteristics of the researcher, managing marginality, the strains and stresses of fieldwork, and leaving the field.[30] The discussion in this dissertation focuses on the interviewer-interviewee relationship. The intimate setting of a personal interview lends itself easily to the development of a bond between interviewer and interviewee. The interviewer gives the interviewee their attention and interest, and the interviewee shares their stories. We see clear evidence of this when in one Project SUCH interview, the informant stopped herself after seventeen minutes of uninterrupted talking to ask "I don't know…is this good?" to which the student

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[29] The notion of "going native" refers to the approach of immersing oneself fully in the source culture while conducting anthropological research. This form of the participant observation method was first introduced in Malinowski's work *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (1922).
[30] Hammersley and Atkinson, 80-123.

fieldworker replied “Good! Very good!” and on went the informant with another long recollection.[31] The notion of rapport is central to this relationship:

> Developing rapport, they often insist, is prerequisite for the successful implementation of fieldwork plans. ...Rapport is ever-developing, continuously negotiated, and constantly changing. As is true in every kind of human interaction, as the parties involved learn more about each other, the bases for and the nature of their interrelationships evolve and change. Fieldworkers and research subjects, as human beings, continuously compromise as ongoing experiences provide new data that affect their conceptions and assessments of each others’ identities and intentions.[32]

This relationship is a crucial component of fieldwork, discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 of this dissertation.

Third, the implications of methodology, an issue that was becoming increasingly considered in academic circles at the time of the Project, are of theoretical interest to this dissertation research. It comes as no surprise to us now that the particular ways in which fieldwork is imagined, prepared for, and conducted, greatly influence the kinds of data that are ultimately collected. By and large, folklore and ethnography engage in qualitative studies, using methods such as the personal interview[33] as their core. Diverse strategies for personal interviews elicit different types of responses: from standard questionnaires that provide basic (and statistically comparable) information; to

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[31] Natalka Chomiak, Personal interview with Mrs. Semeniuk. Project SUCH reel 21, side 1. (Smoky Lake, AB: 20 July 1971) 17:40. M.S.: Но, я не знаю…це файне? N.C.: Файне! Дуже файне!

[32] Robert A Georges and Michael O. Jones, *People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) 63-64. Fieldwork scholarship was heavily engaged with in this dissertation, including the work of the following notable scholars: Paul Bohannan and Dirk van der Elst (1998); Charles L. Briggs (1986); Elizabeth Chiseri-Strater and Bonnie Stone Sunstein (2006); Amanda Coffey (1999); James Davies and Dimitrina Spencer (2010); Celeste DeRoche (1996); Micaela diLeondardo (1987); Paul Dresch, Wendy James, and David J. Parkin (2000); Kenneth S. Goldstein (1964); Elaine J. Lawless (1992); Rhoda Lewin (2002); David W. McCurdy, James P. Spradley, and Dianna J. Shandy (2005); Andriy Nahachewsky (1999); Sarah Pink (2009); Antonius C.G.M. Robben and Jeffrey A. Sluka (2007); Barre Toelken (1979); John L. Wengle (1988); and Harry F. Wolcott (1999).

[33] It should be noted that the “personal interview” is not a method only limited to qualitative studies. Many quantitative aspects can be used in the analysis of personal interviews, for instance, including working with transcripts to measure terminology, counting references, etc.

more in-depth interviews that provide rich and thick descriptions; to methods that employ the assistance of physical triggers for conversation and story-telling (such as photographs). Each method generates different responses from the informant, thereby colouring the data in distinct ways.[34] Biases inherent to given fieldwork situations unequivocally influence what is collected in the field.

This discussion is closely related to the field of Oral History in the 1970s, thanks in part to a keen interest in the stories of immigrants, in the context of rising interest in multiculturalism and ethnic identity in Canada. Oral History and its relevance to the SUCH project will be examined further in the subsequent pages of this introduction.

Methods and Techniques

Interviews with the SUCH fieldworkers and associated administrative personnel involved approval from the appropriate Research Ethics Board (University of Alberta). In accordance with these regulations, I have conducted personal interviews with 15 individuals that had worked as fieldworkers in the SUCH project in 1971 and 1972, and eight individuals that had worked as project administrators in those years. Given the forensic nature of this project, I had intended to interview as many of the 34 individuals whose names were at all connected to the project in the documentation available to me. Three former fieldworkers had passed away in the years since the project, five could not be found, and three did not respond to my requests for interviews. The former fieldworkers were all approximately the same age (in their 60s), and generally came from middle-class backgrounds connected moderately to strongly with the Ukrainian community. In most cases, they were from families that belonged to Ukrainian Orthodox parishes, though some were from Ukrainian Catholic families. Generally-speaking, these were young people who had just graduated from high school or were in their first

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[34] A classic source for this discussion is Kaarle Krohn's *Folklore Methodology* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1971). Additional notable scholarship on this topic includes: Russell H. Bernard (2015 and 2011); John L. Caughey (2006); Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Meyers, and Rebecca Sharpless (2007 and 2008); Martyn Hammersley (1992); Judy Larmour (1994); Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (2006); Donald A. Ritchie (2003); and Paul Thompson (2000).

or second year of study at the university level. Virtually all but two of the student fieldworkers were members of SUMK and learned about the project through those connections. A more detailed synopsis of details related to the informants in my fieldwork for this project can be found in Appendix 5 at the end of this dissertation.

These interviews were semi-structured and informal, featuring open-ended questioning, so as to simulate a natural conversational style. Informants were asked to describe their fieldwork experience, after which further questioning was often employed to help increase consistency in topics covered across the interviews. Subsequently, questions regarding their project experiences were chosen, according to four main themes of interest: motivation, training, interview methodology and reflexivity. In the interviews conducted with project administrators, informants were asked to describe their experience with the SUCH project including what specific role they played in relation to it, after which further questions were asked depending whatever information was shared in any given interview. In several cases, I learned important contextual information about basics of the project through these interviews, underscoring their general importance to my fieldwork. The questions used as a basis for all of my interviews are included as Appendix 6 of this dissertation. Additional observations about all interviews were recorded in field notes, where I noted mood, rapport and other relevant details. These observations help build a more complete documentation of my fieldwork experience.

Second, I consulted all accessible documentation produced about the project - this has mostly consisted of reports and statistics that were produced by the project workers (for the granting agency) in 1971 and 1972, and in the period immediately following these summers. I was unsuccessful in tracking down official documents from the side of the granting agency - the (now defunct) Department of the Secretary of State, Government of Canada.[35] Third, I have listened to approximately 70% of the audio data from the SUCH project to examine evidence of project design and execution

[35] In consultation with an archivist at Library and Archives Canada, I was told that there was no holding for Project SUCH with the Opportunities for Youth fond. A request has been made through the Access to Information Program, with a response stating they they had no records for Project SUCH on file or in their system.

within the interviews themselves. Finally, an over-arching component of my dissertation research was to examine the literature on ethnographic methodology and search for any insights that shed light on the character of this particular project design and execution, as these may have influenced the data.

I have very clear notions of the subsequent phase of processing and storage of the materials I collect, given ample exposure to the inner workings of folklore archives. After recording the interviews, I indexed them according to standard procedures established during my time at the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives. The photos were also described according to BMUFA procedure. Copies of all recordings, indexes, transcriptions, notes, and photos will be deposited in BMUFA with the rest of the doctoral research. This plan was made explicit in the interview agreement/consent form that the informants read and signed. If they were not comfortable with the storage procedure, they had the option of stipulating that their interviews be omitted from the archival collection, or that they remain anonymous.

The 1970s and Oral History

It is certainly not an anomaly that the SUCH Project occured when it did. Many oral history projects were conducted in Canada in the 1970s. Though the idea of recording history from the voices who experienced them was not a new one,[36] a particular interest in recording and archiving the story of the immigrant came to light at this time. Though it was becoming increasingly intriguing to academic historians already, the movement was spear-headed by local historians who were keen on the concept of “dig where you stand.” This movement was popularized by author and activist Sven Lindqvist’s book of the same name in 1978 and by the History Workshop

[36] Alexander Freund, professor of history and holder of the Chair in German Canadian Studies at the University of Winnipeg and co-director of the Oral History Centre, provides a key contribution to this discussion with his publication *Oral History and Ethnic History*. *Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada Series*, Booklet No.32. (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Associaton, 2014), in which he discusses in detail the many activites in the field of oral history leading up to this particular decade under study.

movement in the UK,[37] where people were encouraged to research and learn about their own history and place where they are living. Initially, Lindqvist's work was merely a study and critique which focused on factory history and its lack of worker input, however the general concept soon became so popular that it was applied to all types of history. Lindqvist's movement granted people (including both professional historians and enthusiasts) the permission to regain some control over the record and understanding of their lives. On this basis, according to oral historian Alexander Freund, "A new cohort of ethnic scholars emerged, often immigrants themselves or children of immigrants, who were motivated by multi-cultured values and supported by official Multiculturalism policy and funding."[38]

In Canada, several significant oral history projects emerged, including the notable collection of oral histories of immigrants and their descendants by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario. During the 1970s and 1980s, over 5700 interviews were conducted with individuals representing the numerous ethnocultural and indigenous communities that make up the Canadian fabric.[39] Many other extensive oral history projects were taken on throughout the various regions of Canada, sponsored by various levels of government. Many of these included interviews with elderly Ukrainians in various regions of Canada and thus, are reflective of the context in which Project SUCH was created.[40]

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[37] This movement strove to promote the idea of "history from below" among history scholars and enthusiasts alike. "History Workshop Journal (editorial)." History Workshop Journal. Vol.1, No.1. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) 1.

[38] Freund, 2.

[39] "Collections, Oral Testimony." *Multicultural History Society of Ontario*. (www.mhso.ca) Accessed on March 1, 2017.

[40] A comprehensive listing of the collections of Ukrainian oral sources in Canada can be found in Frances Swyripa's compilation *Oral Sources for Researching Ukrainian Canadians: A source of interviews, lectures, and programmes recorded to December 1980*. *Occasional Research Report* No. 11. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985). A recent Ukrainian Canadian oral history study that was particularly relevant to this project was Stacey Zembrzycki's *According to Baba: A Collaborative Oral History of Sudbury's Ukrainian Community*, (2014).

Another Lens: My Own Reflexivity

> The pot carries its maker's thoughts, feelings, and spirit. To overlook this fact is to miss a crucial truth, whether in clay, story, or science.[41]

Before delving into the thick of this study, it is important that I examine my own role as a fieldworker having interviewed the SUCH interviewers, and specifically my own biases, perspectives, and roles with regard to this material. It can be argued that I am a "native ethnographer" - studying my own culture on two levels. First, I was born and raised in the Ukrainian community in Saskatoon and I am the daughter of relatively conservative parents who are both Ukrainian Orthodox and can be counted among the community leaders and nation-builders in a tight-knit community. I was active in SUMK for many years, and have a strong personal connection to the Mohyla Institute. Second, I am a fieldworker myself, having participated in numerous individual and group projects, interviewing and observing Ukrainian Canadians. A shared nostalgic space between myself and the interviewers helped me to practice empathetic mirroring in order to quickly create rapport so I could record detailed reflective accounts about their fieldwork experiences.

On the other hand, I was also positioned as an outsider to the the SUCH project in that I was not a part of the project at all - in fact, it was before my time altogether. The context and circumstances were not part of my environment or experience, and as such, the interviewers could often be heard using adages such as "back in those days…" to qualify the difference between their past and my own past. This was entirely legitimate, as even the logistics of the project were quite different than I had experienced as a fieldworker – from the driving around of rented vehicles, to visiting informants who had no electricity or indoor plumbing, and to using large reel-to-reel recorders. Furthermore, I do not have the experience of interviewing a pioneer immigrant, which (for the Ukrainian Canadian ethnographers that came after the 1970s) carries with it a "holy grail" type of significance. Finally, despite feeling unprepared when

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[41] Susan Krieger, *Social science and the self: Personal essays on an art form*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991) 89.

going out into the field my first time, I was significantly more prepared than the SUCH fieldworkers - I had chosen to study this area academically, and as such had been pre-exposed to the discourse and analyses that came with studying this topic at the graduate level. Methodological issues in fieldwork and terms such as "rapport" and "reflexivity" were in my vocabulary, and that certainly affected my approach to the field and in the field.

An examination of my insider position in interviewing the interviewers introduces the topic of biases in ethnographic fieldwork. A common criticism of ethnographic research (especially of participant observation and more loose forms of interviewing) is that there is a lack of formal structure, which results in ethnographic data that is subject to stronger biases depending on the researcher and his or her background, motivations, etc.[42] However, opponents to the critics of reflexivity argue that the point is not to neutralize bias, but rather to acknowledge it and focus on it, in order to gain more insight into the fieldwork complex.[43] No person can simply be a "passive recorder of objective data"[44] - whether the researcher is cognizant of it or not, there are many choices being constantly made *during* the fieldwork that can and do affect the data that is being collected. Bias can affect ethnographic fieldwork through the personal characteristics of the interviewer and also through the interpersonal dynamics and interactions between the interviewers and interviewees.[45]

One of the most substantial biases in my own fieldwork is the kinship I felt with the SUCH interviewers and my passion for Ukrainian Canadian culture. I believe my interviews contain "countertransference" - the researcher's emotional reaction is "contageous" and spreads to their informants.[46] Despite the fact that most of the

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[42] Martyn Hammersley, *Reading Ethnographic Research: A Critical Guide*. 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman, 1998) 10. Ruth Behar's *The Vulnerable Observer* (1996) also includes an in-depth discussion of this topic.
[43] Finlay, 543.
[44] Agar, *Professional Stranger*, 98.
[45] Alex Stewart, *The Ethnographer's Method*. *Qualitative Research Methods Series* 46. (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998) 30.
[46] Davies, 6.

interviewers were perfect strangers to me,[47] I was able to establish rapport quite quickly and in some cases, quite strongly. The interviews conducted in person tended to have stronger rapport than those conducted via Skype or Facetime, where the medium limits the establishment of conversational comfort. The kinship I felt was based on several factors, including a common background and similar fieldwork experience, each of which will be examined separately. The adage "you are what you study"[48] hints at the relationship between one's identity and their choice of research topic, something which is relevant to this discussion of my research.

An important component of building rapport is the relatability that exists between the two parties. Despite being of a different generation entirely, the SUCH interviewers and I actually have much in common. First, we are all Canadian-born, and many of us are second-generation Ukrainian Canadians. Second, we grew up with similar community circumstances, namely, we were actively involved in our church parishes and cultural communities, and many of us were members of SUMK[49] throughout our childhood and adolescent years. As members of Ukrainian youth organizations (SUMK or other similar groups), we were socialized in similar ways, with several opportunities for multi-generational social exploration outside of the family unit available to us from an early age. Third, we were drawn to temporary employment opportunities that engaged with our cultural heritage, something which was of interest to us and something which frequently proved to be a catalyst for other things in our lives.

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[47] I had previously met Leona Bridges in passing through her son, who was a member of SUMK at the same time I had been. I had been familiar professionally with Peter Melnycky, whom I had met during graduate school and while working for the Kule Centre for Ukrainian and Canadian Folklore at the University of Alberta. I grew up knowing Linda Lazarowich as a family friend, though at the time of the interview, I had not seen her for fifteen years or more. Finally, I was better acquainted with the project organizers, as parental figures to various degrees in my life - as active members of the Ukrainian community still, these individuals were the parents of my childhood friends, the advisors to youth executives that I was a member of, and in one case, my own godfather.

[48] Sheryl Kleinman and Martha A. Copp, *Emotions and Fieldwork*. *Qualitative Research Methods Series* 28. (Newbury Park, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993) 6.

[49] The Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada, now called Ukrainian Orthodox Youth. A key organization in this study.

This last point leads to a discussion of our introductions to fieldwork, which also happen to have been quite similar. As will be described later in this dissertation, the SUCH fieldworkers were in their late teens and early twenties when they worked for the project, and were nearly all brand new to fieldwork. With only brief preparation, they were sent into the rural prairies to find pioneers and record their stories, largely dependent on their own efforts. What transpired, in many cases, was an educational experience and a cultural enlightenment that would affect them beyond the summer project's timeframe.

In my case, my first prolonged fieldwork experience was the summer after my first year of graduate studies. I was in my early 20s, had taken a number classes on ethnographic subjects, had previously conducted one or two individual interviews for course papers, and had yet to experience what it would be like to "go into the field" in an intense way. I was offered the opportunity to conduct a summer fieldwork project by one of my professors, which was meant just for me. My only instructions were to collect interviews with elderly Ukrainians on topics in Ukrainian folklore and ethnography.

Though I had been introduced to various fieldwork methods and the ethics that were involved, the theoretical information did not prepare me for many of the situations encountered in the field. The majority of my interviews were conducted in Alberta, with a good number of those occurring in rural areas. This was the first time that I had to do any sort of recruiting, and I recall having some anxiety about finding strangers to call and ask for interviews. I traveled by myself, learning how to navigate grid roads and rural maps for the first time. As I was working on my own, I was in charge of making sure that I had all the equipment and supplies that were necessary, having to estimate numbers of tapes based on numbers of interviews when I was out for busier interviewing periods. Most significantly, it did not take very many interviews for me to become "hooked" - I fell in love with fieldwork, becoming enamoured with the individuals and their stories. Every so often, I would check in with my professor, and undoubtedly share my excited accounts of the interviews that I had collected. This would become the first of many fieldwork trips as a graduate student and thereafter, and something which intrigued me fundamentally, both academically and personally.

Turning the ethnographic gaze onto one's own group exposes and problematizes the potential biases and reflexive nature of the research.[50] The fact that the researcher is a (partial) insider to the group can complicate the research process, forcing the interviewer to critically examine their relationships with the interviewees and also with the "home" society.[51] My own interviews with the SUCH fieldworkers sometimes involve "over-rapport" - the process of revealing my own opinion within the interview context, also referred to as "self-disclosure."[52] My involvement in the interviews not only included my asking questions, but in some instances my answering questions, which helped build rapport and affected the relationship with my informants in other ways. I believe they saw that I too had the desire to share something with them. Just as I entered the interview with incomplete knowledge about the informants, they also knew only a little about me. Our relationship and rapport was able to grow as we rectified this lack of knowledge. The resulting over-rapport worked as both an advantage and disadvantage for me, as I needed to be aware of having to decipher where the shared understandings began and stopped. I had to be diligent in remembering that though we had certain things in common, perhaps our perspectives on these things were different.[53] There is a certain danger involved with asking questions in a loaded way,

namely that the answers are "put into the mouths" of those answering. Though I tried to be very conscious of this dynamic during each interview, I understand that their answers to certain questions could have been coloured by my own answers to their questions at other points of the interview.

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[50] Davies, 41.

[51] Ibid., 42. Mascarenhas-Keyes (1987) uses the term "multiple native" to describe her position when carrying out research as a diasporic Goan in a Goan village. She reports having had to develop various persona when conducting her research, which assisted in the complexity of both belonging and creating objective distance in the research setting. [Ibid.]

[52] Davies, 48.

[53] These aspects of interviewing "your own" are echoed in the research Linda Finlay conducted with occupational therapists, herself being an occupational therapist. [Finlay, 537]

Chapter Outline

This study of the SUCH Project will be structured according to the different lenses through which such a collection can be viewed. Namely, I will seek to describe how the success of the project was seen differently by various parties, each of whom had a vested interest in it. The definition of "success" used in this study is simply the fulfillment of the goals of the relevant stakeholder in regard to Project SUCH. These goals were not monolithic, but rather different for each stakeholder. A chapter will be dedicated to an examination of each of these stakeholders, their involvement with the project, and their motivations. Each of these will be described further in the following chapter outline.

Chapter One: Project SUCH Description and Background

Chapter One is predominantly descriptive in character. Here, I focus on the SUCH Project background, goals, and methodology, looking at the preparation, fieldwork, and evaluation phases. I highlight aspects of its management on the basis of the project report and my interviews with project personnel. The empirical information presented in this chapter forms a basis for analytical interpretations in the following sections.

Chapter Two: Stakeholder #1 - The Canadian Government

An idea cannot become a project if there is no one to provide the means by which it will become a reality. As such, the first stakeholder examined in this dissertation is the source of its funding - the federal government. It is useful to situate the SUCH project within its larger context, the general Canadian situation in the 1960s and 1970s, and the mood of Ukrainian Canada at the same time. The first part of this chapter focuses on the period of the 1960s and 1970s - the time when Project SUCH was conceived and implemented. Beginning with an overview of Canadian immigration history and policy vis-a-vis ethnic groups, then the cultural climate following World War 2, I focus on the official policy changes introduced as part of the Royal Commission on Bi-culturalism and Bi- lingualism of 1963, leading to the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy of 1971. These developments were well underway when Project SUCH was

created, and influenced the “Opportunities for Youth” government program that provided the funding.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the narrower context, namely the Ukrainian Canadian community, a relevant player in bringing the project to fruition. Providing a brief history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, this section highlights parts of the history of the organized Ukrainian Canadian community, its political activism and lobbying of the government, and the community response in the postwar period to the new popularity of “culture” and “heritage.” The political activism involved in the formative stage of this project had clear motivations to see the SUCH Project through to fruition.

Chapter Three: Stakeholder #2 - SUMK

The next chapter focuses on the organization which created the SUCH project, namely SUMK. I focus on SUMK’s organizational history, the role of the Saskatchewan Ukrainian community in its founding, its ties to the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon (often called “the Institute”), and its role in creating cultural awareness among youth. In the 1960s and 1970s, the point at which the SUCH project was conceived and developed, the national executive of this organization was situated in Saskatoon at the Institute.

SUCH was a vehicle to engage its members with informal activisim and to capitalize on the grassroots movement and popularity of multiculturalism – finding and being proud of one’s “roots.” It was also a means to gain access to federal funds and try ensure future leaders for the organization.

Chapter Four: Stakeholder #3 - The Fieldworkers

The information from this chapter is most centrally based on the interviews that were conducted with the fieldworkers of the SUCH project. First, I explore the role of the student fieldworkers as students of the pioneer culture about which they were interviewing, drawing attention to their approach and understanding of the field and interview data as “non-pioneers” themselves. I try to make explicit the worldview and perspectives of those fieldworkers over four decades ago. By focusing on the more objective, structural aspects of the project, such as recruitment, involvement, familiarity with oral history, training, adaptation to the methodology, the focus here is on the

project as a summer job, the employment experience at that time, and their role as researchers of (and outsiders to) the Ukrainian pioneer experience in Canada. In the second part of this chapter, I move to examining the fieldworkers more as insiders to the Ukrainian community. As young Ukrainian Canadians, they were not only collectors of the research, but they themselves were part of the research, as well. The intent is that such discussion will illuminate how their personal, subjective perspectives affected the collected data and its presentation. I encouraged the project fieldworkers to reflect on their own role in the fieldwork conducted in the past, including the effects of SUCH on them as individuals.

Discussion in this chapter focuses on how they became involved with the project, motivation, impressions, their role as young members of the Ukrainian Canadian community, the blur of their insider and outsider perspectives, and the concept of the interview being a shared experience. The goals of the student fieldworkers were to obtain summer employment, to be involved in preserving their heritage, and for some, to develop life skills. This chapter focuses on the fieldworkers' impressions both while they were participating in the SUCH project and now, over four decades later.

Chapter Five: Stakeholder #4 - The Informants

In a crucial discussion for this study, this chapter will focus attention on the relatively small amount of information that is known about the informants' expectations, experiences, and impressions of the SUCH Project. On the basis of the 2014/15 interviews with the interviewers and by delving into the Project SUCH recordings themselves, I comment on their reaction to being interviewed and to the project itself. To conclude this chapter, I include a brief examination of the community response to the project.

Chapter 6: Stakeholder #5 - Current and Future Researchers

In the following chapter, I review what came next historically-speaking, namely the role of SUCH in influencing cultural activity among the youth, including other similar fieldwork projects and the SELO camps of the 1970s and 1980s. In the current context, I examine the re-discovery of Project SUCH over four decades after the fact, its present

status with regards to processing, accessibility, and future research potential. I draw on a variety of academic fieldwork issues that influence this discussion. Next, I briefly discuss the Project SUCH interviews as a corpus of data to be mined by researchers from a variety of disciplines.

Chapter 7: Conclusion - Project SUCH, a success?

In the final chapter of this dissertation, I summarize the goals of each of the stakeholders examined in its chapters and explore how successful the project was in achieving those goals.

CHAPTER ONE: PROJECT SUCH

Description and Background

Someday, detailed studies will be made of these pioneers and their contributions towards the building of the Canadian nation. These studies would require a massive base of material, and at present, there is preciously little in this regard. Since the primary source of information is the pioneers themselves and since a large number of them are still alive, it is our concern that this primary source be tapped before it is lost forever.[54]

The approach of the SUCH initiative was clear from the beginning. Motivated strongly by the desire to "save" that which would soon be "lost" (and thus, the very name of the project), an approach largely based on salvage ethnography[55] was undertaken in this collection. The term "salvage ethnography" is used deliberately here to emphasize the how much the approach of the project organizers was steered by the notion of saving Ukrainian pioneer culture, as is evidenced by the very first word of the project title. This chapter will focus specifically on the attributes of the SUCH Project - design, goals, methods, fieldwork and evaluation - growing from the larger and more immediate contexts discussed in the next two chapters of this dissertation.

Design and Methods

The methods employed by Project SUCH were considered and prepared in the pre-project phase. Both Yars and Olenka Lozowchuk (who was soon after appointed as

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[54] Olenka Lozowchuk, *Final Project Report of Project "Save the Ukrainian Canadian's Heritage"* to the Opportunities for Youth Program, Department of Secretary of State, Government of Canada. (September 1971) 2.

[55] "Generally associated with the anthropology of Franz Boas and his students among the American Indians around the turn of the twentieth century, salvage ethnography is an explicit attempt to document the rituals, practices, and myths of cultures facing extinction from dislocation or modernization." *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. Ed. Craig Calhoun. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 424.

the project manager), graduate students studying sociology and ethnomusicology, had personal experience with fieldwork in their own disciplines, and had the wherewithal to approach professionals in key areas to become involved in an advisory capacity. The particular methodology for Project SUCH was devised and influenced by consultations with several key individuals and groups, central among them folklorist Dr. Robert Klymasz, head of the Slavic and East European Section at the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies at the National Museum of Man in Ottawa.

A student of early Ukrainian Canadian folklorist, Dr. Jaroslav Rudnyckyj[56] (University of Manitoba), Klymasz had a keen interest in the folklore of the Ukrainian pioneers and wrote about this topic for his doctoral dissertation at Indiana University in 1964.[57] Klymasz explicitly applied methodological techniques from folklorist Richard Dorson's hemispheric theory. Dorson, a preeminent American folklorist had an illustrious career at Indiana University, and his theory paid special attention to the historical background of the colonization of the Americas and other places by European

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[56] Author of *Materialy do ukraiins'ko-kanads'koi folkl'orystyky i dialektolohii* (1956-60), Dr. Rudnyckyj arrived in Canada in 1949 as a trained philologist, and within months had founded and become the head of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba. In his research for the multi-volume work, Rudnyckyj was one of the first to conduct ethnographic fieldwork among Ukrainian immigrants, recording various genres of their folkore. "Like any other work, the study of Ukrainian Canadian folklore must begin with the collection of folklore materials. […] I was able to take a trip in 1953 all over Canada and collect on a tape recorder all kinds of folklore material from Ukrainian settlers and from settlers of other Slavic groups. I visited then various places in Manitoba, in Saskatchewan, and later in Ontario, and came into contact with the oldest settlers, who frequently were the first pioneers of the place. I tape-recorded their stories, legends, songs, proverbs, et., and later on copied them down in exact form of the tape-recording." *Ukrainian Canadian Folklore Texts in Translation*. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1960) 8.

[57] The Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology at Indiana University (Bloomington) was the first American graduate program in folklore, stemming from quadrennial summer folklore institutes that began in 1942. In 1957, Dr. Richard Dorson accepted the position of Chair of the Folklore Program, and a new era of folklore scholarship began. [Jeanne Harrah-Conforth, "Dorson and the Indiana University Folklore Program: Oral Histories," *Western Folklore*. Vol.48, No.4. (Long Beach, California: Western States Folklore Society, 1989) 339-40.] It was at this time, in the early 1960s, that Dr. Robert Klymasz began searching for graduate opportunities in folklore, and ultimately landed in Bloomington. Given the climate of the Cold War, Klymasz could not pursue his original desire of doing fieldwork in Ukraine, and so he chose the only alternative available to him. With Dorson himself as his advisor, Klymasz's "exotic" topic about Ukrainian folklore in Canada was the first of its kind within the program. (Robert Klymasz, Personal interview. [29 August 2014] 59:50.)

imperialism. He was one of the first to make a divide between the "old" and "new worlds" in folklore analysis, focusing on the processes of syncretism, adaptation, acculturation, retention, accommodation, revitalization, recession, and disappearance - which all work simultaneously in a given group or area and affect folklore materials.[58] Klymasz, a student of Dorson's, was the first to apply this theory to Ukrainian folklore in his own research ('Old Country' and 'New Country'), and thus eventually inspired many future Ukrainian Canadian folklorists to do the same. His work prompted a new way of approaching and analyzing Ukrainian Canadian folklore, thanks in great part to his concrete methodology and open discussion of it.[59] Klymasz's expertise was called upon for Project SUCH specifically because of his growing reputation in this area and given his position at a federally-funded institution.

Connections with him were made through Olenka Lozowchuk, who had been in touch with him regarding the depositing of her own graduate research materials at the National Archives. Obvious similarities exist between Klymasz's questionnaires for fieldwork on the prairies and the SUCH questionnaire. Each questionnaire focused on both traditional Ukrainian "Old Country" and prairie Canadian "New Country" elements.

The other individuals consulted regarding project methodology were Mr. Douglas Bocking (Assistant Provincial Archivist, University of Saskatchewan), Mrs. R. Stratychuk

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[58] Richard Dorson, "Introduction." *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*. Ed. Richard Dorson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) 43-4.

[59] Dr. Klymasz contributed several major fieldwork projects to the Ukrainian Canadian corpus even prior to 1971, including folksong materials collected on the prairies starting in 1963, which were featured prominently in his research publications such as *An Introduction to the Ukrainian-Canadian Immigrant Folksong Cycle* (1970), *The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada* (1970). In the period after the SUCH project, he published *Svieto: Celebrating Ukrainian-Canadian Ritual in East Central Alberta Through the Generations* (1992), and *Ukrainian Folksongs from the Prairies* (1992), including his questionnaire used (pp 181-8 in Svieto). His methodological approach included the collection of new fieldwork (audio recorded on reel-to-reel and cassette) on a given topic in Ukrainian folklore, and the consultation of unpublished sources (memoirs, etc.). Generally, his approach was to conduct his field recordings in a loosely structured and "working" manner, adapting a pre-set list of questions that began with a focus on traditional Ukrainian content (what would be considered "old") to less Ukrainian-specific but general prairie/rural experiences (the "new"). The combination of the two subject areas would often reveal uniquely Ukrainian Canadian elements that had developed in the New Country, with clear markers of traditional folk culture from the Old Country.

(President, Arts and Crafts Museum of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada), Mr. Albert Kachkowski (Rector, Mohyla Institute), Mrs. M. Tkachuk (Member and Specialist in Ukrainian Folk Music, Saskatoon Folk Arts Council), Prof. George Foty (Department of Slavic Studies, University of Saskatchewan), and Dr. Zenon Pohorecky (Department of Anthropology and Archeology, University of Saskatchewan). This advisory council was asked to make suggestions regarding the kinds of materials that should be collected, so as to avoid duplication or the collection of "trivia," to advise about proper processing and storage of the materials, to facilitate access to equipment needed for the fieldwork portion of the project, and to make further suggestions regarding the organization and implementation.[60]

The advisory board imposed a formal plan on those who were to do the collecting. The fieldwork collected for Project SUCH was to be gathered by the use of structured[61] and unstructured[62] interviews. The first part of the personal interviews were quite structured – a general "questionnaire" ("*zahal'ni pytannia*"), which consisted of fifteen open- and closed-ended questions about the informant's biography, immigration to, and settlement in Canada.[63] Following these general questions, fieldworkers were then expected to use their "own ideas and expand the IMPORTANT areas of

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[60] O. Lozowchuk, Final Report, 4.

[61] *Structured interviewing* involves the interviewer asking the same series of pre-established questions of all informants using both closed- and open-ended questioning (questions that may and may not simply be answered by "yes" or "no")."The interviewer controls the pace of the interview by treating the questionnaire as if it were a theatrical script to be followed in a standardized and straightforward manner. Thus all respondents receive the same set of questions asked in the same order or sequence by an interviewer who has been trained to treat all interview situations in a like manner." Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey, "The Interview: From Structured Questions to Negotiated Text," *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edition. Eds. Norman K. Denizen and Yvonna S. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 2000) 649.

[62] *Unstructured interviewing* is more flexible and can thus provide different information by commonly using techniques such as open-ended questioning. This method "attempts to understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any *a priori* categorization that may limit the field of inquiry." Fontana and Frey, 653.

[63] See Appendix 2 for these materials as listed in the project's *Final Report*.

questioning."[64] A list of over 100 optional questions provided to the student fieldworkers with the project materials included sub-sections about pioneer life, touching on the areas of worship and beliefs, housing, farming and diet, folklore, family, life cycle, recreation, and health. Since a good portion of the interview was left up to the discretion of the interviewer (allowing them to individually decide what was "important"), these were in fact semi-structured interviews.[65]

The interviews were to be recorded on reel-to-reel audio tapes, with specific instructions that the information on the tape should also "go on paper," presumably in the form of an index or partial transcript. Each tape was to be accompanied by a "tape index card," which included information such as: "informant," "interviewer," "reel number," "place," "date," "type of material," "counter," "period of time," and "speed." Interviewers were told that in the event of not having enough reel tapes, cassettes could be used, and if neither were available, they were told to "exercise [their] writing arm."[66]

In addition to the recorded interviews, fieldworkers were expected to collect other items as well, which were to be accompanied with the necessary paperwork. Pioneer artifacts could be collected for donation to the Ukrainian Arts and Crafts Museum of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. These were later photographed and accessioned into the Museum's collection.[67]

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[64] O. Lozowchuk, "Samples of Fieldworker Questionnaires" in the *Final Report*. (Appendix 2) It is not clear here if these were the verbatim instructions of the Advisory Board, or rather the interpretation of those instructions by project management. No formal documents listing the Advisory Board instructions could be located.

[65] Fontana and Frey, 653.

[66] O. Lozowchuk, "Samples of Fieldworker Questionnaires" in the *Final Report*. (Appendix 2)The field notes collected by fieldworkers in both phases of the project that were passed on to the Museum have been organized by fieldworker name into easily accessible file boxes. However, the collection of such notes seems not be comprehensive, with certain files being quite sparse while others are quite full.

[67] The topic of artifacts collected as part of the SUCH project is a delicate one - several fieldworkers implied that there had been a common suspicion that not all collected artifacts had been actually passed on the Museum. A cursory tally of those listed in the final reports of the fieldworkers (which for some included both museological and archival artifacts, whereas for others they were kept separate) shows that approximately 235 artifacts were collected during the first phase of the project in 1971. Currently, the Museum's holdings for artifacts collected as part of Project SUCH total 71 museological artifacts and 3 archival (paper) items.

Furthermore, fieldworkers were to fill out daily reports, which were to be submitted weekly to the project manager in Saskatoon. These reports summarized productivity in terms of contacts made, interviews conducted, institutions visited, materials collected, secondary research or reading that had been done, hours worked, and financial expenses.[68]

Finally, the advisory board had input on the geographical distribution of the research, and helped to identify key areas to be visited by the project. Two factors were taken into account when choosing the geographical areas for the SUCH project: the availability of employees hailing from the general area (for ease of travel logistics and for the benefits of ready-made contacts in the area), and the areas which were historically significant in the block settlements of first-wave Ukrainian immigrants.

The parameters of the project, chosen with the assistance of the advisory board, stated the project was to include localities in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario from May to August of 1971.[69] Key resource personnel were to be identified to facilitate the residence of student fieldworkers for the duration of the project (especially in rural areas), and to help pinpoint a short list of informants from which to start the active stage of fieldwork.[70]

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[68] O. Lozowchuk, "Samples of Fieldworker Questionnaires" in the *Final Report*. (Appendix 2)

[69] O. Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 6.

[70] The first phase of the SUCH Project (1971) explicitly omitted the province of Manitoba in its sphere. The only mention of this omission in the Final Report is a footnote stating the "the federal government has limited research to the three provinces." [Final Report, 6] The reason behind this is officially undocumented, though individuals interviewed for this study suspected reasons of competing projects in Manitoba at the time (a way to not "split" government funding) and the lack of a coordinated provincial executive of SUMK in Manitoba. "We relied heavily on provincial executive coordination. The provincial executives in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Eastern Canada were highly organized and always well-represented at the meetings, and Manitoba was kind of a weak link. We would have been relying on the provincial executives to make recommendations in terms of names. I think that would have been the explanation for Manitoba." (Martin Zip, Personal interview. [2 December 2014] 55:45. For a listing of all centres included in the initial application, please see Appendix 3. It should be noted that the Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg communicated that no federally-funded project under the Opportunities for Youth program is listed for the year 1971, or at least paperwork for this project cannot be located.

Preparation and Hiring

In the fall of 1970, the Department of the Secretary of State (of the Canadian government) instituted a program entitled *Opportunities for Youth* for youth employment in various fields, including community projects. The National SUMK Executive applied for the program with a proposal for Project SUCH. Once word was received regarding the approval of $17,000 for the project,[71] an active preparatory phase began. The first matter to be addressed was hiring Olenka Lozowchuk[72] as the project manager, who then assumed the task of hiring student fieldworkers:

> Olenka agreed to spearhead the project because of her musical background, I think, there were quite a number of reasons for it. Her job was basically to coordinate everything because there were all these workers - to make sure they had the equipment, make sure that they were doing things, that they got paid, and so on. I just macro-managed it - everything was left in Olenka's hands.[73]

There was already a head-start on this part of the process, since introductory letters and copies of the project application were sent to the provincial executives of SUMK the same day that the official application was sent to the OFY program, March 31, 1971. In these introductory letters, the National Executive of SUMK asked the provincial executives to send in the names of interested SUMK members of university age, so that they may be kept on record in the event of project approval.[74]

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[71] The final report notes that between the submission and approval of the SUCH application, various revisions were made via telephone conversations between A. Morgotch (representing the National SUMK Executive) and G. Himbeault (of the Department of the Secretary of State). [O. Lozowchuk, Final Report, 10; O. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 14:50.] In the project files housed at the Museum, a telegram addressed to Martin Zip stating the approval of the project (signed by Gerard Pelletier, Secretary of State) is stamped as June 3, 1971, 5:57pm. This would have been after the fieldworker orientation had already started. I suspect that this was a typo and that in fact it arrived on May 3, 1971, giving the project organizers still just a few weeks to hire fieldworkers and organize the orientation.

[72] Olenka (nee Tkachuk) was born and raised in Saskatoon in a family of active Ukrainian community builders. Her mother, Mary Tkachuk, was a key individual in the local Ukrainian Orthodox community, and on the advisory board for this project. Olenka was greatly influenced by her mother's interests and activities.

[73] Zip, Personal interview, 22:54.

[74] Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMK) National Executive correspondence, (March 31, 1971).

Several individuals interviewed as part of this dissertation stressed the "rushed" tone of the project, especially when it came to the hiring/orientation of the student fieldworkers. In certain cases, students were hired because they were available immediately, rather than because they were best suited or most qualified. The time between project approval and project commencement was only a matter of weeks. The most important hiring condition that Olenka had to consider, according to the project organizers, regardless of the late date, was the ability of the candidate to speak Ukrainian:

> There was the stickler, partially with some of the younger people, and of course I was obviously older, but in terms of being able to make sure that the people could speak in Ukrainian, because we're hitting the generation that they had to know the language and speak, and some were certainly more fluent than others, some were more keen research-wise, and part of that lended a little more to consistency - obviously it's an individual thing. With others, it's like anything - they were applying and it was a job.[75]

According to project guidelines, one part-time and fifteen full-time students were to be hired to conduct the project: four and a half positions in Alberta, six positions in Saskatchewan, and five positions in Ontario.[76] Though I have not found documents recording which names were recommended by the provincial executives (who were themselves in contact with local branches, so as to delegate the communication given short timelines), it is certain that a few of the 1971 fieldworkers were hand-picked and asked to join the team at a very late date (some even after the official orientation had taken place).[77] The fieldworkers hired in Alberta were Natalka Chomiak, Leona Faryna, Katia Horobec, Judy Semotiuk and Vera Szewczyk (the last two combined to fill the position of one worker), and Carl Tatarin (part-time). The fieldworkers in Saskatchewan were Sylvia Dmytriw, Dennis Hawrysh, Georgia Herman, Lesia (Lucy) Kawulych, and

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[75] O. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 15:24.
[76] O. Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 6.
[77] One document that did exist among the project materials was a letter dated May 1971 from Genia Jereniuk, Edmonton SUMK and Alberta provincial executive member, which stated she could not participate in the project because another job had come through. In lieu of her participation, she highly recommended Leona Faryna (a fellow Edmonton SUMK member) for the job, who was eventually hired for the first phase of the project. (Appendix 4.1)

Sophia Liss. The students hired in Ontario were Bill Balan, Paula Ochitwa, Raissa Shadursky, Sophia Stepovy, Boris Andrushko, and Janice Kulyk (the last two combined to fill the position of one worker).[78] I interviewed fifteen of the interviewers for this dissertation. Four others have passed away in the years since the project, and six additional individuals either did not respond to requests for interviews or could not be found. This sample, then, is biased to represent those who wanted (or did not mind) to re-engage with the project, or at the very least who had a lingering curiosity about what happened to the project.

Since the project was new and all organizers were actively on board, the recruiting for 1971 happened mainly through organizational channels, namely SUMK and the Institutes.[79] Students expressed their interest in the project to the National SUMK Executive[80] and were subsequently invited to one of the orientation sessions described below. Only one fieldworker interviewed from 1971 for this dissertation was "hand-picked" by project manager Olenka Lozowchuk - Natalka Chomiak of Edmonton, who was peripherally connected to Ukrainian Orthodox organizations, but was known to Olenka mostly through the Ukrainian Students' Association[81] channels.

Orientation

The project officially commenced on Monday, May 17, 1971 for Olenka and the administrators, with a five-day orientation session for fieldworkers held at Mohyla

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[78] O.Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 11.

[79] In addition to Mohyla Institute, St. Vladimir's Institute in Toronto played a role in the early stage of Project SUCH. Part of the same family of Institutes across Canada that are affiliated with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, St. Vlad's (as it's commonly known) was a home-base for project fieldworkers in Ontario in 1971.

[80] The actual application and hiring procedures are not clear in the final report, nor are they remembered by those interviewed for this dissertation. In both years, there were some that joined the group late, so it can only be assumed that not many applied for the job and that there were positions that needed to be filled quickly.

[81] A network of Ukrainian campus clubs across several Canadian universities. Given the ethno-political climate at the time of the SUCH project, there was a significant crossover of people between the various Ukrainian youth organizations in Canada (Balan, Chomiak, Shadursky).

Institute one week later.[82] The purpose of the orientation session was to instruct the student fieldworkers about interview procedures (including working with the technology) and processing, to provide the students with the necessary contextual background, to determine the key areas that students were supposed to work in, to plan the preliminary stages of their fieldwork, and to determine the key areas of content.[83] The project's final report lists the five-day schedule for the orientation, during which the daily sessions operated from morning until evening, with a variety of presenters and foci:

> OL: You're going to different levels and these are people [the presenters] that are doing that type of work - they've been collecting, they've been archiving, even their perspectives might be a little bit different. It's personal, again, I had been in contact with these levels of people on my own research, and when you're coming into this at a national level, it's like how can you not? It's a given, from my perspective.
>
> NFO: How was it [the orientation] received by the students?
>
> OL: I wouldn't say there was twiddling of thumbs or whatever. It was new, for some it was like let's get on with it, let's get out there. Research is research. Every one of the presenters was so uniquely different, and here - even with some of them out of the list that you named - it would be like they were already listening to how they would be interviewing out in the field, and are you prepared to deal with this?[84]

Orientation presenters included virtually all of the advisory council, plus Mr. M. Kereluke (President, Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, Dominion Executive), Mrs. O. Hawrysh (President, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Saskatchewan Provincial Executive), Mr. Walter Senchuk (Archivist, Mohyla Institute), and Mrs. S. Stechishin (Author, Ukrainian community activist). Topics included archival practices,

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[82] In her personal comments within the final report, Olenka expressed frustration early on in the project: "Since the word on whether our project was accepted or not was long in coming, a number of students who had expressed an interest initially accepted other jobs, in absence of a firm commitment on the part of the project organizers. The result was that at the time of our orientation course only three quarters of our workers were present. I was then burdened with conducting the orientation course in a modified form a number of times in order to get workers briefed as they were hired a few days after the main orientation course was completed." [Ibid., 19.]

[83] Ibid., 5.

[84] O. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 42:00.

museological holdings of Ukrainian pioneer artifacts, Ukrainian community historical context (through the lens of the "parent" umbrella organizations), folklore theory and fieldwork methods/techniques, technology/equipment tutorial, the anthropological approach to fieldwork, Ukrainian folklore in Canada, potential problems in the field, maps and navigation of rural areas, and heritage studies in Canada.[85] Necessary equipment and supplies (a reel-to-reel tape recorder, reel-to-reel tapes, camera, film, flash bulbs, papers/forms, etc.) were provided to the students. Additional and replacement supplies were to be purchased as needed by the students, for which they would be reimbursed.

At some point during the orientation, the group was visited by a representative of the OFY program, adding an official Canadian government tone to the work of the project that was about to commence:

> That particular day - I have one picture at home that I found just a little while ago, while looking for other pictures - and seeing where the government representative came and talked about his expectations, it was like he sat in and listened to some of the sessions, spoke to the students, so it was a matter of knowing the importance of federal funding and in fact this is what you must do and what must be covered.[86]

According to the orientation schedule in the Final Report, on Thursday, June 3, students were given the opportunity to practice interviewing a local senior citizen, Mr. Ochitwa, who had volunteered to help prepare the students.[87] If they did participate in such an exercise, this was the first time almost any of the fieldworkers had ever conducted an ethnographic interview. Also, that afternoon, various representatives of the Saskatoon Ukrainian community were invited to Mohyla to hear a public presentation about Project SUCH by the students (also for practice purposes), where they were expected to answer questions regarding their research.

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[85] O. Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 13-16.

[86] O. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 39:54.

[87] None of the individuals interviewed from the 1971 phase of the project remembered this moment. It is unclear to me whether they had forgotten, whether different fieldworkers conducted the interview, whether students were given the opportunity to talk with the informant individually, or if it was a group interview.

A similar orientation course was held for the fieldworkers in Ontario at the same time, under the leadership of project founder Yars Lozowchuk and lead student fieldworker Bill Balan. Most presenters in this orientation occupied similar posts to those featured at the Saskatoon orientation (representives of the Ukrainian Women's Museum Association and the Ontario Provincial Archives, Yars Lozowchuk giving Project SUCH background information), with the exception of Dr. Robert Klymasz (who attended both orientations) and Senator Paul Yuzyk, who spoke to the students about his experiences as a political leader for the Ukrainian community in Canada.[88]

Fieldwork Begins

Students were sent out individually in the 1971 phase of the project. As the student workers dispersed with their equipment (most of which was rented in each major urban center), each to their own geographical area,[89] the first week or so was largely dedicated to establishing contacts and working relationships with key individuals and groups in their designated areas. For those students who had familial connections in their areas, the logistics were easier to manage. For all others, "host families" were appointed, who also assisted in the collection of names for potential interviews. Students were largely reliant on buses and the generosity of their host families or informants for transportation. Room and board were arranged and paid for by the project manager. As students were building their lists of potential contacts and making initial arrangements, they were encouraged to visit Ukrainian historical points of interest in the area, keeping a written record of their activity. Some fieldworkers contacted local newspapers in order to advertise the project and find more interviewees.[90] The fieldworkers were asked to initiate public meetings in their community, to establish themselves and their research in the area, to make potential interview contacts, and to

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[88] O.Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 17.

[89] In 1972, most students worked/traveled in pairs, largely due to complaints from the previous summer. There were problems working alone.

[90] A copy of the press release used for this purpose appears at the end of this dissertation. (Appendix 4.3)

inspire voluntary assistance from local youth. The hope was that by becoming introduced to the SUCH project in a casual, informal way, local youth would become motivated to get involved in documenting and preserving their local community's history and culture beyond the scope of the project.[91]

The project methods focused on semi-structured interviews, consisting of a basic interview questionnaire that was followed closely in most interviews by additional questions in various areas of interest. Students were expected to use these tools to conduct the interviews and elicit as much of the life history and interesting stories (and songs) as possible.[92] Based on the the audio recordings themselves and the interviews with the fieldworkers, they were generally consistent in sticking to the prescribed method, often dependent on how quickly they grew accustomed to the interview environment.

Adapting to the task at hand in the field and refining one's interview techniques are related to greater confidence with the subject matter and therefore, the potential of greater detail and quality in the interview content. The fieldwork process is therefore always changing, based on previous experience and growing knowledge about the particular community being studied. This is especially true of open-ended styles of elicitation, but to some degree no matter what interview technique is being employed.[93]

In at least one case, the open-ended aspects of the SUCH methodology was experienced as a negative aspect: "It was open-ended, which made things difficult."[94] On the other hand, for some who quickly became comfortable with the assignment, the structured part of the questionnaire was instead perceived as limiting:

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[91] O.Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 5.

[92] Both in the project final report and in several interviews, the term "folkore" was specifically used to describe one of the several project objectives. This word was one that stuck in the minds and memories of a few fieldworkers, who stated that this became a key personal objective of theirs throughout the project. [Shadursky, Personal interview, 20:13.]

[93] Solon T. Kimball and William L. Partridge, *The Craft of Community Study: Fieldwork Dialogues*. (Gainseville: University Presses of Florida, 1979) 180.

[94] Zamulinski, Personal interview, 26:15. In general, this particular fieldworker was uncomfortable with several aspects of the project, and thus only conducted a handful of interviews before leaving the project early.

> We then had forms that we were supposedly supposed to go through. I suppose one mistake I made… sitting, reading a form to me was not as casual and friendly, so I knew what the questions were so I might ask question #1, but depending on where it was going it was question #7 that made sense next, you know? I didn't want to break up the flow of the conversation, just because I had these questions. So, I guess looking back I had made a mistake… I'm sure it was difficult to process that sort of interview. It was easy, sometimes you just let the conversation go where the pioneer wanted, so you'd ask for their history and what sort of foods you ate and all of that, and certainly looked if they knew any *baika*s, stories, and that's what we wanted. Some were certainly very colourful. A lot of times it was as if we had just known each other a long time.[95]

Each interview was recorded with a tape recorder and corded microphone, the techniques for which were also "learned" and perfected by the fieldworkers while in the field. One individual noted that "if you were not sure of the technology, you were expected to figure it out on your own."[96] Given the particular circumstances of the project (time period, financial arrangements, availability of recording supplies in rural areas, etc.), it was incumbent on the students to manage and plan their supplies appropriately, especially when heading into more isolated areas. There were times where not enough tapes were alloted for interviews, and difficult decisions had to be made in terms of what would get recorded, and what would not. With the longest running tape available being 60 minutes, there were times when the tape would run out before the end of the interview and it was up to the fieldworker then to document the remainder of the interview in their field notes and report.[97]

At the end of each day, students filled out a paper interview report for each interview, documenting its basic information and topics covered. Additional documents were processed in those cases when photographs had been taken or artifacts collected:

> I don't think we had much in the way of a guideline, except maybe the older the better, you know? The older they were, the farther back they would be able to go, supposedly. I think that was largely hit and miss, and

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[95] Myall, Personal interview, 39:00.

[96] M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 2:01:15. It should be noted that in 1971, reel-to-reel tape recorders were used exclusively, while in 1972, some interviewers used cassette tape recorders instead.

[97] Ibid.

> probably every once in a while, you came upon a real storyteller. Not everybody can tell you about the past, or do it with passion, but the odd person…there would have been types that could go on and on.[98]

In 1971, the paperwork for each interview was periodically sent in to Mohyla Institute, so the project administrator would be able to get an idea of the level of productivity and what kind of content was being collected. Periodic "newsletters" were sent out to fieldworkers in the field by the adminstrator.[99] Artifacts, photographs, and tapes were submitted to project administrator at Mohyla Institute at the end of the field term. The project organizers intended that subsequent summer (1972) were to follow the same guidelines, though fieldworkers from that second year do not remember having intermittent contact with any administrators during their fieldwork, and rather recall submitting all project materials to Mohyla Institute at the end of the summer.[100]

Given that most of the interviews were recorded in rural areas, the logistical necessity of traveling back and forth between the larger and smaller centers was an important issue. To save time and costs, the student fieldworkers stayed in the field for varying amounts of time; those in Ontario did so rarely, for only several days at a time, whereas those on the Prairies stayed in the field for weeks, or in some cases, for the duration of their fieldwork. In certain instances, students stayed with relatives in the

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[98] Bridges, Personal interview, 34:33.

[99] See Appendix 4.2.

[100] An aspect of the project unique to the second phase was the documentation of the rural Ukrainian community halls (sometimes called "homes" from the Ukrainian narodni domy). This particular assignment was undertaken by two teams - Mike Korpesho and Dennis Pihach, and Linda Kindrachuk (nee Wintonyk) and Sylvia Myall (nee Dmytriw) - who documented many of the halls in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and in Fort Frances, Ontario. In addition to measuring and sketching out each building, interviews were conducted with anyone they could find that was knowledgable about the hall or its history: "Dennis and I would take turns. The first place we would go to I would be the picture taker and everything, and Dennis would do the interviewing. The next place, Dennis would be the picture taker and I would do the interviewing… We would go see these homes and take pictures. Some of them were converted to grain holders, and some of them had been closed up for years and years and nobody had a key, so we'd jimmy open the window, with the appropriate people around with us to make sure, at first they were very suspect of who we were, and we'd go in there. And there would still be lots of historical stuff in there - costumes, and everything. When people realized what was actually in there, some said nobody has been in this hall for 20 years, and we'd go in there and find all this stuff. [M. Korpesho, Personal interview. 1:11:30, 1:13:44]

given areas, in other cases they were billeted out to a host family (usually arranged for through the local Ukrainian Orthodox priest), and still in other cases, students might stay overnight at the informants' houses themselves.[101] In this way, there was an aspect of participant observation to the project, as a logistical consideration rather than a methodological one. Indeed, one could argue that the interviews conducted for the SUCH project would have been quite different had they simply been done as day-trips from larger centres to the rural locations of the informants. In fact, according to some interviewers, the time spent living *in situ* fast-forwarded the learning curve and adaptation of the inexperienced student fieldworkers overall.[102]

Not unlike the culture shock experience by those participating in traditional long-term anthropological fieldwork, the student fieldworkers were, in some cases more than others, out of their elements and had to allow for a period of adjustment. Stemming from a sudden immersion in an environment of a group that is different from your own, this culture shock can raise many questions and lead the fieldworker to question many assumptions regarding daily life. As Agar noted, "the more you cling to them, the less you will understand about the people with whom you work."[103] An adaptation was necessary; in many cases, in the realm of rural vs. urban living, and while for others - to borrow a term coined by Agar himself - suddenly the students were living the daily life of a "professional stranger."

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[101] One particular story of the interviewers staying with informant involved the pair working in Manitoba during the summer of 1972, Valia (Shewel) Noseworthy and Peter Melnycky, at the time 21 and 20 years old, respectively: "Well, we were going to spend the night because we didn't want to travel back and forth because of the expense of the car. The woman was very worried that my partner and I were going to sleep together in the same bed - like, she thought we were a couple. And that was way before liberation times, but she was so kind, she kept talking about do we know that things could happen, and so, she would have this sex ed kind of lesson with us, and I was not interested in my partner at all!" [Noseworthy, Personal interview, 46:21.]

[102] Ashmore, Personal interview, 8:28, 14:20; Chomiak, Personal interview, 58:10; D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 1:31:00.

[103] Agar, *The Professional Stranger*, 100.

The project manager kept in regular contact with the student fieldworkers, occasionally visiting them in the field to check in. It was her job to keep all fieldwork arrangements coordinated (at a macro level), to receive and catalogue all field materials, to communicate with the government and community agencies about project progress, and to deal with any problems that arose.[104]

Given the amount of paperwork required of the fieldworkers, most conducted interviews for several days and then processed these interviews for several days, sometimes traveling back to their hometown to do so. Others chose to do all of their interviewing first, with all of the processing done after returning from the field. Most fieldworkers were fairly consistent with their submission of reports (sent to Saskatoon by mail every week or so), though the quality of these submissions (level of detail, etc.) varied from student to student.[105]

Project Wrap-Up

The last two weeks of August 1971 were reserved for an evaluation of the project. The project manager and advisory council prepared a standardized evaluation guide in order to help with consistency among fieldworker reports. Students, some of which reconvened at Mohyla Institute, were asked to prepare and organize all of their field materials for submission, including a “summary report and evaluation” that was included in the final report to the Government. In this summary, students were asked to compile the following information: areas assigned and visited, resource people consulted, individuals interviewed, possible future contacts, printed/written material collected, tapes, photographs (collected and taken), artifacts collected, materials that could be collected in the future [?], list of forms completed, general categorization of subject matter, community assistance, public relations, summary of time spent, and expenses. Finally, students were asked to evaluate the project and their participation in

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[104] Ibid.
[105] O.Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 50:19.

it. Many offered recommendations in case an additional phase of the project would be organized.[106]

The project manager was asked to prepare and present a display about the SUCH project for the annual national convention of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, which was held in Saskatoon the weekend of August 20, 1971, during the post-fieldwork evaluation phase of the project.[107] Both the display and the project in general received positive reviews from those gathered at the convention, and gave rise to a discussion about an additional phase of the project the following summer.[108]

Project materials were submitted to the Ukrainian Arts and Crafts Museum of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, at that time housed at Mohyla Institute. It was originally intended that this would be an interim destination, however no final destination is mentioned in the final report.[109]

Phase Two (1972)

A second phase of the project occured in 1972, with additional funding received from the *Opportunities for Youth* program.[110] Martin Zip, who was still the National SUMK President recalls:

> 1972 was self-generating really, because we already had that... [the structure, contacts, and plan from the previous summer] I didn't really have that much to do with it, because in 1971, I was full time in the (SUMK)

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[106] O. Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 6.

[107] The display was prepared with the assistance of 1971 fieldworkers Boris Andrushko, Bill Balan, Sylvia Dmytriw, Leona Faryna, Georgia Herman, Sophia Liss, Judy Semotiuk, Vera Szewczyk, and Carl Tataryn. ["National CYMK Convention," *SUMKivets* 5(4) October 1971, 3.]

[108] O. Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 6.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Information about the second phase of the SUCH project has been much more difficult to obtain, with the exception of the interview recordings that exist and a few files of project materials. In addition to a few administrative files from the pre-project stage, the only paper document gives the basic information for each interview conducted (informant, interviewer, place, date, language, subject material), which was compiled at a later time by an unrelated summer student of the Museum. It is likely that post-project materials (fieldworker reports, etc) were never submitted to the Museum or to the project lead.

> office and then ’71-’72, I was back teaching. I think I put together the renewal of the grant, from what I recall.[111]

Running from June to August, the SUCH project involved almost a completely new group of people, under new leadership, though their goals were to expand on the same work according to the same guidelines.[112] Eleven student fieldworkers were hired, though the management of the second phase of the project remains unclear. Some fieldworkers and organizers name Linda Lazarowich, then curator of the UMC Museum, who essentially took over stewardship of the project from SUMK for 1972, though some paper documentation (including correspondence and official applications) name Sophia Liss, a fieldworker from 1971, as the “group representative.” Regardless of who was directly responsible for coordinating the fieldworkers, the Museum had become the *de facto* repository for all project materials. Only three students, Vera Szewczyk, Sylvia Dmytriw, and Georgia Herman had participated in the previous summer, with all other fieldworkers being new to the job. The additional 1972 fieldworkers were: Delores Lyseiko (working in Alberta with Vera Szewczyk); Linda Wintonyk and Sylvia Dmytriw, Zoria Kyba and Mary Zerebesky, and Brian Zamulinski (Saskatchewan); and Vera Shewel and Peter Melnycky (Manitoba). Two other students, Mike Korpesho and Dennis Pihach, worked across the provinces, collecting personal interviews and also gathering information on community halls (*narodni domy*). Interestingly, with the exception of the three fieldworkers who worked during both phases of the project, the other employees were largely unaware that their project constituted the second year of Project SUCH.

As with recruiting in 1971, there is no clear pattern as to how the students for this phase were recruited.[113] Once again, the funding confirmation and hiring for the project came with little lead time, and thus, it was very much based on who was still available to work. As such, students learned of and were hired for Project SUCH slightly differently

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[111] Zip, Personal interview, 34:27.

[112] Sylvia Myall, Personal interview. (15 October 2014) 58:36.

[113] Some individuals remember applying for the 1972 fieldwork job through their local SUMK branch, whereas others learned of the opportunity through the Mohyla Institute and/or Ukrainian classes at the University of Saskatchewan.

in 1972 compared to 1971. This may have been related to the change in the administration of the project between the two years. Employee recruitment for the second phase of the project in 1972 is less clear, but included public job postings.[114]

No official project report seems to exist for 1972, though I can confirm similar interview and processing guidelines and expectations via the recollections of the fieldworkers in 2014-15 and by listening to the SUCH interviews themselves. The geographic target areas changed somewhat in 1972, with the addition of Manitoba as a target destination, and reduction of fieldwork in Ontario. This change in research areas may have resulted from the shift away from SUMK leadership. There was a strong SUMK executive in Ontario in 1971 to help organize the initial SUCH leaders' efforts. Korpesho and Pihach visited the town of Fort Frances, Ontario in 1972 in order to obtain information about their community hall. Other areas visited in 1972 include: Alberta - Musidora, Willingdon, Smoky Lake, Radway; Saskatchewan - St. Julien, Sniatyn, Smuts, Hudson Bay, Whitkow, Redfield, Prince Albert, Wakaw, Tway, Cudworth, Melfort, Calder, Saskatoon, Yorkton, Mikado, Kamsack, Wroxton, Rhien, Mazeppa, Stornoway, Wallace, Sliding Hills, Swan Plain; Manitoba - The Pas, Libau, Fort Francis, Poplar Field, Gonor, Selkirk, Elma, Medika, Winnipeg, Sandilands, Zhoda, Tyndall, Pleasant Home, Garson, Oakburn, Stead.[115] There seems to have been a similar arrangement for accommodations and informant recruitment in 1972 as in the previous year – fieldworkers stayed with family if they could in any particular area, while others were provided with "host families."[116] All fieldworkers were provided with names of initial contact people (both resource and informant names) and were expected to expand on these lists by making their own contacts in the area. Two notable differences between the first and second phases of the project were that virtually all fieldwork in 1972 was

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[114] Valia (Shewel) Noseworthy remembers applying for the job through the public job listing in Winnipeg (under "student employment") [Personal interview. (5 October 2014) 14:30]. All other interviewers in 1972 were connected to either SUMK or Mohyla Institute directly or through friends.

[115] Interview listing of SUCH materials, 1972.

[116] Vera Ashmore, Personal interview. (23 November 2014) 14:16; Delores Korpesho, Personal interview. (19 October 2014) 14:50; Valia Noseworthy, Personal interview. (5 October 2014) 46:21; Peter Melnycky, Personal interview. (26 October 2014) 19:40.

done in pairs, and each pair was given a rental car to use for the duration of their fieldwork, which significantly increased their independence in the field.

It seems as though the last duties of some of the student fieldworkers were to publicize the completion of the project by sending press releases to local newspapers:

> After the project was completed, we sent press releases to the local papers in the area in which we worked, covering the results of the project. (We managed to get a whole page of coverage in the *Yorkton Enterprise*). We also notified the local residents of our project through the Radio Station CJGX at Yorkton. The results of our project were also released on the 'Ukrainian Hour' Radio Station CJGX, Yorkton.[117]

This type of publicizing occured both years following the fieldwork stage of the project, with the addition that project participants in 1971 made a formal presentation regarding the SUCH project at the National SUS Convention, held in Saskatoon.

In total, 536 interviews, 694 photographs, and numerous artifacts and paper documents were collected during the summers of 1971 and 1972 for the SUCH project.[118] The vast majority of this information exists still in its raw form, with minimal processing having taken place in over four decades that have passed since.

[117] Linda Wintonyk (Kindrachuk), Fieldnotes, August 1972.
[118] Total numbers for both years have been tallied from SUCH project materials by the author.

CHAPTER TWO:

Stakeholder #1 - The Canadian Government

> Canada has undergone tremendous changes in all walks of national life since the proclamation of the British North America Act in 1867. The original four provinces have increased to ten, while the population has increased from three and a half million to over 19 million, the complexion having changed from paramountly British-French, with a substratum of Indian and Eskimo cultures, to multicultural, with the immigration of many European and Asiatic peoples. During that time, Canada has developed from a colony to an independent democratic state, from a relatively unknown country to a leader of the middle nations of the world, from an exploited territory to a leading trading nation and a champion of the freedom of nations of the world. Few countries in the world have paralleled the peaceful progress of our country. Canada today is a vastly different country and our approach to her problems must be in keeping with the new situation and new times.[119]

Canada

Immigration

Following Confederation in 1867, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's government set its sights on opening the newly acquired Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, for which it depended on industrial growth.[120] A key element of this industrial growth was immigration, which was therefore actively promoted. A linchpin in this plan was the construction of a transnational railway - one which would "transport raw materials east and immigrants and manufactured goods west,"[121] linking the country together. These immigrants would be required to settle the fertile lands of the Canadian

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[119] Senator Paul Yuzyk, *For a Better Canada: A collection of selected speeches delivered in the Senate of Canada and at banquets and conferences in various centres across Canada*. (Toronto: Ukrainian National Association, Canadian Office, 1973) 24-5.
[120] Ninette Kelley, *The making of the mosaic: a history of Canadian immigration policy*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 61.
[121] Ibid., 62.

West within a “reasonable” amount of time, so that Canada could achieve its glory within the Empire, as an international leader in wheat production.[122] An important development at this time was the Dominion Lands Acts of 1872, which facilitated homestead acquisition for any man over the age of 18 or any woman heading a household, with the promise of improving the land that was being lived on. Eligible recipients did not have to be Canadian citizens, but they did have to pay a nominal registration fee in exchange for 160 acres of “free” land.[123] This Act helped influence a dramatic expansion in agriculture which took place between 1896 and 1914, during which over three million people immigrated to Canada.[124] Approximately 30% of these purchased homesteads in the West, with the Prairie provinces seeing an increase in population of nearly one million people in just the first decade of the century.[125] These dramatic increases also signalled a significant shift in the ethnic composition of the population. Especially in the early years, the majority continued to be British immigrants, however close to 25% came from central and eastern European countries.

Controversy erupted when Sir Clifford Sifton became the Minister of the Interior in 1896.[126] As opposed to his predecessor Sir Wilfred Laurier, Sifton had seemingly radical ideas of actively seeking out European farmers from central and eastern parts of the continent – areas that had not previously been the focus of the Canadian campaign – to settle the Prairies. This change in approach was not welcomed by many of Sifton’s colleagues in Ottawa, and he often was called to defend his policy publicly, in what are now considered to be immortal words:

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[122] Ibid. Given the central role of agriculture in this strategy, the Department of Agriculture assumed responsibility to attract the necessary immigrants. It actively pursued the promotion of immigration on behalf of the Dominion, legislating very few restrictions on entry, given the circumstances. It proved difficult to retain the initial influx of immigrants, with many ‘passing through’ Canada on their way to settlement in the United States, instead.

[123] Ibid., 69.

[124] Ibid.,111.

[125] Ibid.,114.

[126] Ibid., 117. In 1892, the file on immigration was transfered from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior, since most immigrants at this time were settling Manitoba and the Northwest Territories.

> When I speak of quality I have in mind something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of immigration. I think that the stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born to the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half-dozen children, is good quality.[127]

During Minister Sifton's nine-year tenure, approximately 650,000 immigrants settled in Canada, resulting in an eight-fold increase in annual numbers. In the period of 1892- 1914, 120,000 of these immigrants were from the regions of Bukovyna and Galicia in western Ukraine.[128]

A second and third wave of European immigration occured in the years following each of the World Wars, though neither as large as the pioneer wave at the turn of the century.[129] Notions of "unity" from coast to coast were communicated at official levels in Ottawa, despite the ethnic tensions of the war-time context:

> We spend many thousands each year to ensure the sale of pigs, potatoes, poultry and kindred products. We spend more thousands promoting the health and well being of domestic animals. We even spend a good deal on the wild animals in our parks and forests.
>
> What good purpose will all this serve if we do not at the same time spend a little time and money on making good citizens out of the various races we have in this country who know nothing about our real history or the principles on which our nation is built or should be built. We shall need an enlightened body of citizens when this war is over.[130]

In fact, the Canadian government went so far as to establish a new office with the specific task of improving relations with the European population of Canada, conceived

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[127] Sir Clifford Sifton, "The Immigrants Canada Wants," *Maclean's*. April 1, 1922. [The speech printed as an article in the magazine was given to the Toronto Board of Trade in March 1922.]

[128] Kelley, 121.

[129] John Zucchi, "A History of Ethnic Enclaves in Canada," *Canada's Ethnic Group Series*, Booklet No. 31. Ed. Roberto Perm. (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 2007) 14.

[130] Deputy Minister of Justice J.F. MacNeill, in a document to the Prime Minister's Office, December 4, 1939. As cited in Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy*, 1939-1945. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010) 39.

by Captain John Erasmus Tracy Philipps, a British overseas intelligence officer.[131] Hired by the RCMP on contracts in 1940 and 1941, Phillips would eventually become a Canadian civil servant, who was somewhat of a specialist in intercultural relations.[132]

Philipps was tasked with "Canadianizing" the European contingent in Canada, who at this time were largely farmers and labourers. He presented lectures in various locales across the country, believing that national unity could be attained if the Eastern European peasants could be made to feel as though they were "transplanted" successfully:

> If, in our garden, we wish to transplant successfully from abroad an adult shrub, we are careful in the process not to insist on tearing at once all the old earth from its roots. Indeed, on the contrary, the more we can temper the shock and the set-back of the upheaval by ourselves admitting some of its old and familiar soil to the new hole, the more sure we can be that the tree has something to use as a stabilizing basis to thrust down strong roots into the new land. … the old soil of their virtues and arts which can best be blended as the basis of the transition to Canadianism. And the more durable the tree, the more gradual the growth.[133]

Identity

During and after both the First and Second World Wars, internment operations were enacted by the federal government with the imposition of the War Measures Act,[134] exacerbating pre-existing ethnic tensions, especially in the West. The eventual intended outcome negotiated by these chapters in Canadian history was to be the

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[131] Caccia, 68. This office resided within the Department of National War services and was established in October 1941.

[132] Ibid., 69-70. Philipps had plenty of experience being exposed to various cultures and peoples, and was a university-trained anthropologist. He was a correspondent for the *London Times* in Eastern Europe and part of the British armed forces as an intelligence officer in the Middle East and Africa.

[133] Tracy Erasmus Philipps, "Report on Tour in Western Canada, November-December 1940, Part I" (January 8, 1941), file 16, vol.1, TPF, MG30E350, LAC (as cited in Caccia, 88).

[134] The War Measures Act of 1914 allowed for the suspension of civil liberties and personal freedoms as an "emergency measure" for the purpose of security during war-time. It has been enacted by the Parliament of Canada three times - during the First and Second World Wars, and during the October Crisis of 1970. (*War Measures Act Conference, Proceedings of the War Measures Act Conference in Hamilton, Canada, April 23, 1977*. London: Peter Anas Publishers Ltd., 1978)

concept of "national identity," though many would argue that such a notion was not inclusive of all of Canada's peoples. A desire for ethnic distinctiveness was still sought for by many of the country's "new Canadians," especially given the fact that the post-World War Two wave of European immigration tended to be educated, politically active, and cosmopolitan.

In the 1961 census, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics began to refer to the "three elements" of population distribution, namely, British, French, and the "Third Element" - all other ethnic groups comprising Canada's citizens.[135] In a pursuit of national unity, the government under the leadership of Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker began to include the appropriate concepts in its rhetoric (once again using a botanical metaphor):

> I liken Canada to a garden… A mosaic is a static thing with each element separate and divided from others. Canada is not that kind of country. Neither is it a 'melting-pot' in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element. It is rather a garden into which have been transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land.[136]

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established in the summer of 1963, as a means to open up official discourse on the topic of Canada's non-homogenous composition. Limiting the discussion to just the equal partnership of the country's "two founding races" was simply a stepping stone to the inevitability of the active influence of the "Third Element:"

> The mainspring (*l'idée-force*) of the terms of reference is the question of bilingualism and biculturalism (i.e. English and French) adding immediately that this mainspring is working in a situation where there is the fact of multiculturalism — multiculturalism that must not be suppressed as quickly

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[135] Yuzyk, *For a Better Canada*, 25.

[136] As quoted in Senator Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life*. (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967) 74.

> as possible (the proverbial melting-pot) but on the contrary respected and safeguarded, despite not being given official recognition.[137]

Multiculturalism

On the heels of Canada's centenary celebrations in 1967, Canada's demographic composition, which encompassed ethnocultural groups both large and small, became a platform for the allied "Third Element" to have their voice heard. The spokesmen of this group categorically rejected the idea of "biculturalism" outlined in the fourth volume of the Commission's report (1970), and actively organized the lobbying efforts of the ethnocultural communities for a redress of the issue.[138] On October 8, 1971, the policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" was officially presented in the Parliament by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's government:

> The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance… The Government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity…[139]

The following year, the Secretary of State announced that three million dollars would be made available for such initiatives, to be used in slightly more than a calendar year - this was in addition to the one million dollars already financed by the federal government for projects proposed by various ethnocultural groups.[140] The SUCH project application was created at this time.

The SUCH project is an example of the relationship between folklore, ethnicity, and multiculturalism, especially in these early days. By capitalizing on the grassroots

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[137] Excerpt from the working paper of the RCBB for the use of preparing the Commission's official briefs, as cited in Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 75.
[138] Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism," *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment*. Ed. Manoly Lupul. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies by the University of Alberta Press, 1978) 109.
[139] *Commons Debates*, 1971, 8581.
[140] Bociurkiw, 112. One of the official programs that was funded by these resources was the preparation of a series of ethnic histories.

enthusiasm for folklore and folk culture and the discovery of and (sometimes new-found) pride in one's ethnicity, the Canadian government used their policy of multiculturalism, and specifically, government funding such as this, to show evidence of work toward their goal of Canadian national unity. This relationship not only allowed for a means to an end from the government's perspective, but from the Ukrainian community's perspective, as well.

The Ukrainian Canadian Community

The Ukrainian pioneer settlers brought with them a unique and rich cultural heritage to the "New World" - one which was considerably different from the cultural environment to which they arrived. These customs and rituals aided in bringing the first Ukrainian communities together in Canada, and helped them find protection, comfort, and strength in the new land. The familiarity of home was a powerful force for those first generations in Canada. Among the first institutions re-created by the Ukrainian pioneers was the church:

> The religious problem was the most burning question among the first Ukrainians in the new world. Upon its solution depended the moral development of Ukrainians in their new environment; a church to a new immigrant was often just as important as his family and daily bread. There, it is not surprising that their first steps in their social organization were directed toward the solution of the religious question, especially to ensure the attainment of spiritual guidance from their own church.[141]

Churches served as the first community buildings, not only for worship purposes, but also facilitating many of the social, cultural, and economic needs of its parishioners. Eventually, community halls were built, which became venues for meetings, concerts,

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[141] Julian V. Stechishin, *A History of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada*. Trans. Isidore Goresky, Ed. David Lupul. (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, 1992) 185. The pioneer wave of Ukrainian immigration and settlement in Canada has been of significant interest in both scholarly and popular writing. Additional notable sources on the topic include the work of authors: John-Paul Himka (1988); Iacovetta (1998); Kaye and Simpson (1964); Loewen (2002 and 2009); Lupul (1988); Lysenko (1947); Martynowych (1991); Petryshyn (1985); Piniuta (1978); and Rozumnyi (1983).

lectures, weddings, and shared meals. And thus, Ukrainian communities in Canada continued to grow.

In 1903 the first Ukrainian-language newspaper, *Kanadiys'kyi farmer*, made its appearance,[142] followed quickly by several others. With the dawn of Ukrainian press in Canada, soon Ukrainian books and magazines began to be published, Ukrainian classes were offered in schools and community halls, and other church-based and secular organizations were formed.

At the height of the First World War in August of 1916, the first National Ukrainian Convention was held in Saskatoon. Open to "all Ukrainians," the Convention attracted over 500 people from across 60 communities on the Prairies, and included such dignitary speakers as the Mayor of Saskatoon, the President of the University of Saskatchewan, and Bishop Nykyta Budka, the first Ukrainian (Catholic) bishop to Canada.[143] Another individual in attendance was J.S. Woodsworth, the director of the Bureau of Social Research, who was conducting a study of Ukrainians in the western provinces at the time. In his address entitled "The Future Canadians" to those in attendance, he made a strong impression on the Ukrainian community and his words became an endorsement for what would come to be known, decades later, as the ideas behind multiculturalism:

> I am ashamed of the man who is ashamed of his own. From such a man, who forgets his own very quickly, one cannot expect a great deal, for he does not possess a reliable character. He can change his beliefs and his positions every minute.[144]

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[142] Published in Winnipeg from 1903 to 1981, this was the longest-running and arguably most influential Ukrainian Canadian publication. Its first owners were notable pioneers Kyrylo Genik, Ivan Bodrug, and Ivan Negritch, who formed the "North West Publishing Company." By the time of the First World War, they boasted a list of over 7000 subscriptions from across the country. *Kanadiys'kyi farmer* was subsidized by the Liberal Party of Canada in its first decade, remaining to be Liberal-leaning until the 1960s. [Encyclopedia of Ukraine, Vol. 2, 1989, 413]

[143] Michael J. Kindrachuk, "The Petro Mohyla Institute 1916-1976, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada." PhD thesis. (Munich, West Germany: Ukrainian Free University, 1978) 38.

[144] J.S. Woodsworth, "The Future Canadians." As cited in K. McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S.Woodsworth*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) 73. It should be

Ethnic tensions continued to brew under the surface, especially following the internment of Ukrainians in Canada (1914-1920).[145] This was a tragedy that touched the lives of approximately 4000 Ukrainian Canadian families, serving as a source of mistrust for generations. There were pockets of the broader Ukrainian community that seemed virtually untouched by the internment - some were the majority population in a given area, others the minority. There was much evidence of bigotry during this historical period. Many Ukrainians continued to experience progress and success in their new home, with many of them making big shifts to commercial farming operations and others to urban living. The Ukrainian community in Canada continued to be active internally and to integrate with the larger Canadian context.

During the Second World War an over-arching umbrella organization was established to provide assistance to the Canadian government in furthering the war effort on behalf of Ukrainians (regardless of religious affiliation, but excluding pro-

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noted that the same J.S. Woodsworth would become notorious in the eyes of the Ukrainian Canadian community for referring to Ukrainians as "strangers within our gates" in light of the First World War Internment Operations (Kordan, Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War, 39).

[145] The internment of Ukrainians (and other Eastern Europeans) in Canada occurred from 1914-1920 under the terms of the War Measures Act. Labelled as "enemy aliens," approximately 4000 Ukrainians (mostly men, some women and children also) from Ukrainian territories within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was at war with England and therefore its Commonwealth. Due to inflated fears of the Canadian government, these 4000 individuals were kept in 24 internment camps across Canada, with upwards of 80,000 others having their possessions, savings, and basic civil liberties taken away, and required to report regularly to Canadian authorities during this period. The scholarship on this topic is plentiful, with the most notable sources being: Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *A time for atonement: Canada's first national internment operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920*. (Kingston, ON: Limestone Press, 1988); Bohdan S. Kordan and Peter Melnycky, *In the shadow of the Rockies: diary of the Castle Mountain Internment Camp, 1915-1917*. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991); Bohdan S. Kordan, *Enemy aliens, prisoners of war: internment of Canada during the Great War*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Bohdan S. Kordan, *A bare and impolitic right: internment and Ukrainian-Canadian redress*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Without just cause: Canada's first national internment and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914-1920*. (Kingston, ON: Published for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association by Kashtan Press, 2006); *Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund, Recalling Canada's first national internment operations*. (Winnipeg: Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund, 2009).

communist groups). The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC, later renamed the Ukrainian Canadian Congress) also considered itself to be a voice for the 45 million Ukrainians caught in the battlefields of Europe and subjugated by either Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union. Established in 1940, the UCC was to founded on the following principles:

> The paramount aim is to promote the positive participation of the Ukrainian group in Canadian politics, in the cultural evolution of this country and in all aspects of its economic and social life, as responsible partners of the British, the French and the other ethnic groups of our Canadian nation; emphasis is placed on the distinctive cultural identity of the Ukrainian Canadian community as a valuable component of the Canadian nation. Another general aim is humanitarian, rendering aid to victims of communist aggression, disasters and to needy Ukrainians in Canada.[146]

Political Activism

Pluralism was a fact of life in the Canadian context, playing a role in shaping how the Ukrainian community developed here. Sociological scholarship shows that as compared to certain other ethnic groups present on the prairies who tended to be more isolationist (Doukhobours, Hutterites, etc.), Ukrainians were actually quite integrative as an ethno-religious group.[147] The trend of Ukrainian political activism in Canada began as a grassroots effort, inspired by events and words such as those in the previous section of this chapter. Early inspiration meant that the participation of Ukrainians in the public affairs of the New Country proved to be quite remarkable to curious observers:

> …that there now should be such a large legislative representation from a group which, in the history of nations, has been here such a short time, is remarkable. But even more remarkable is the degree to which the Ukrainians have merged into the wider Canadian community.[148]

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[146] Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 47.

[147] The system of measurement examined sociological-sociocultural dimensions in ethno-cultural identity, including categories such as ability to speak mother tongue, extent of endogamy, regular church attendance, frequent use of mother tongue, and eating ethnic foods. The studies included both rural and urban components.

[148] *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 21, 1953.

Ukrainian Canadian political engagement began with posts such as rural municipality reeves and councilors. In 1911 Winnipeg City Council included the first Ukrainian Canadian alderman (Theodore Stefanyk), despite obstacles including a language barrier.[149]

In 1913, Andrew Shandro, a Ukrainian pioneer, was elected to the Alberta Legislature; in 1926, the first Ukrainian Canadian was named to the federal Parliament (Michael Luchkovich); in 1956, Winnipeg had a Ukrainian mayor (Stephen Juba, born in Winnipeg); and the first Ukrainian Senator was appointed in 1955 (W.M. Wall).[150] Senator Paul Yuzyk, appointed in 1963, lobbied the federal government with significant impact.

Multiculturalism Policy

Senator Yuzyk entered the scene in Ottawa at the exact time of the creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in July,1963. Less than a year later, Senator Yuzyk delivered his maiden speech in the Upper House (with portions in both English and French languages):

> In light of the above figures and information it will be easily understood why I am viewing critically the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. First of all, the word 'bicultural,' which I could not find in any dictionary, is a misnomer. In reality Canada never was bicultural; the Indians and Eskimos have been with us throughout our history; the British group is multicultural - English, Scots, Irish, Welsh; and with the settling of other ethnic groups, which now make up almost one-third of the population, Canada has become multicultural in fact. Furthermore, the projecting of the idea that Canada is bicultural not only excludes the non-British and non-French groups, but denies the multicultural character of the British group, which can only lead to disunity. What we need is a firm basis of our nationhood which will unite all elements in our society.[151]

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[149] Ol'ha Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*. *Canada Ethnica* IV. (Ottawa and Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967) 108.

[150] Ibid., 110-1.

[151] Senator Paul Yuzyk, Maiden speech entitled "Canada: A Multicultural Nation," delivered March 3, 1964. As cited in Yuzyk, *For a Better Canada*, 34.

Numerous sources credit the key role of the Ukrainian Canadian community in the development and eventual government recognition of the concept of multiculturalism, central to which were the efforts of Senator Yuzyk.[152] For many ethnic groups, government funding, however symbolic, under the new initiative to foster multicultural activities, aided in the larger revitalization of their cultural communities. Moral support was also a great asset.

New Ethnicity

An ethnic revival took place in the 1960s across North America. The generation of Canadians who were the children and grandchildren of the first-wave immigrants recognized the popularity behind being "ethnic."

> The very word 'ethnicity' was coined during that period. It became fashionable to discover, cultivate and cuddle 'ethnic identities' and 'roots'... All of a sudden, social scientists began to proclaim that the melting pot had failed and had been a sham to start with, that ethnic identities were precious, that 'assimilationism' was a sinister policy of 'ethnocide,' and that the state should give full recognition to ethnic and racial sentiments and should base its policies of resource distribution on criteria of race and ethnicity.[153]

The political climate in Canada that emerged in the aftermath of the "Quiet Revolution" of the Francophones in Quebec opened the door to the official "acceptance" of ethnic minorities as legitimate, viable and colourful parts of the Canadian mosaic.[154]

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[152] Sources on the key role of Ukrainians vis-a-vis the policy of multiculturalism are many, included are: Keith Spicer, "Banquet Address," *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment*. Ed. Manoly Lupul; Richard J.F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Christina Gabriel, *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity, and Globalization*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); *Multiculturalism and Immigration in Canada: An Introductory Reader*. Ed. Elspetha Cameron. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2004). It is noteworthy that Prime Minister Trudeau, one day after the official announcement of Canada's new multiculturalism policy in the House of Commons, delivered the news personally at the 10th Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Winnipeg.

[153] Pierre van den Berghe, *The Ethnic Phenomenon.* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981) 4.

[154] For detailed discussion, see: Peter Desbarats, *The state of Quebec: a journalist's view of the quiet revolution*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965); Alain Gagnon, *Quebec:*

This rise in demand for recognition and appreciation of ethnic diversity resulted in many young Canadians (re)discovering their heritage and ethnic roots.

Through this revival within Ukrainian communities in particular, specific elements of Ukrainian folklore[155] were often introduced into the lives of those seeking a connection to their ancestry. During this time, and in the subsequent decade of "multiculturalism," many existing ethnic cultural organizations experienced resurgence, and many new cultural entities were created. Cultural sociologist Joane Nagel, in her study regarding the construction of ethnicity, offers the following: "...the construction of community solidarity and shared meanings out of real or putative common history and ancestry involves both cultural constructions and reconstructions."[156] This circumstance, for some, resulted in a process of active identity creation and adaptation to become "Ukrainians" while continuing to be "Canadians," while for many others, their identity-balance shifted so that the Ukrainian dimension became more developed and was engaged with more frequently and more publicly.

On one level, Project SUCH became reality as a means to garner support and votes for the Liberal Party, who funded it. The federal government needed to provide employment opportunities for Canadian youth and needed to strike a chord with that generation by providing jobs that would seem relevant to those applying. Such timing allowed them to also fulfill their new political mandate of celebrating diversity and ethnic heritage via a young generation eager to have the means to discover just that. As is evidenced by the lack of government interest in the project beyond the collection phase, the SUCH Project, at least from the government perspective, did not prioritize processing the material or providing accessibility to it in the future. Interestingly, this

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beyond the quiet revolution. (Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada, 1990); Thomas Sloan, *Quebec: the not-so-quiet revolution*. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1995).

[155] A generally-accepted definition of the term "folklore" comes from the 19th century British writer William Thoms (who wrote under the name Ambrose Merton), defining the term as "manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, and so forth." [From Alan Dundes, The Study of Folklore. (Berkeley: University of California, 1965) 4.]

[156] Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture," *Social Problems*. 41/1 (1994) 164.

characteristic will be mirrored in the next chapter, where the second stakeholders - SUMK and project organizers - will be examined.

CHAPTER THREE:

Stakeholder #2 - SUMK

Whereas the previous chapter described the federal government as a key arms-length stakeholder in the SUCH Project, this chapter will focus on a stakeholder which was closer to the subject matter and more emotionally invested in the project's success. The Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMK) spearheaded the project, applied for the funding, and was in charge of its administration. SUMK's history and role in the development of the larger Ukrainian community cannot be understood without looking at the significance of Saskatchewan as the birthplace of numerous key Ukrainian organizations in the early part of the twentieth century. The role played by Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, was also extremely relevant to SUCH. By looking at these entities, one can better understand the environment and time that gave birth to the SUCH project, and why it was so important for this organization to see this project succeed.

A Brief History of SUMK

The beginnings of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (*Soiuz ukraïns'koï molodi Kanady*, or SUMK) are closely tied to the early years of its parent organization the *Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada (Soiuz ukraïnstiv samostiynykiv*, USRL, SUS, founded 1927), as well as the (Petro) Mohyla Institute founded Saskatoon in 1916, and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1918, also in Saskatoon.[157] SUS was

[157] Prior to 1918, the religious situation in the new Ukrainian settlements in Canada was complicated, with many immigrants worshipping in churches they built themselves, celebrating services without a priest, or sporadically by Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Russian Orthodox, Protestant, Roman Catholic, and other clergy. A large majority of Ukrainian immigrants were Ukrainian Greek Catholic prior to immigration, and this denomination established an eparchy, with Bishop Nykyta Budka, in 1912. Active participation in the founding of Mohyla Institute attracted people with nationalist-populist leanings, who increasingly experienced conflicts with Bishop Budka. As such, a schism occurred within the community, resulting in a minority breaking away and forming the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1918. For more

formally established at the Eleventh National Convention of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1927, held at the Mohyla Institute. The original objectives of the SUS organization were to assist ethnographically Ukrainian areas of Europe to achieve liberation. Their goals in Canada were "to counter the advances of the monarchists and communist groups and to rally the newly arrived nationalists under their leadership."[158] The desire for "self-reliance" was relevant given the political climate of the 1920s. "[T]he principles upon which the League was based were self-respect for individuals, organizations, and nations, self-help, and self-reliance in political, economic, and religious life."[159] The organization eventually came to serve as an umbrella for the various Ukrainian Orthodox groups across the country, including SUMK, four Institutes (Ukrainian student residences and community centres), the women's organization and the men's lay organization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

The 1927 National Convention officially supported the centralization of existing Ukrainian student clubs under the banner "the Head Office of Ukrainian Student Circles" (*Tsentralia ukraiins'kykh students'kykh kruzhkiv*). During the following year's convention, SUS members discussed the establishment of a youth organization that was specifically part of the SUS umbrella. In both rural and urban areas throughout the Prairies, youth and young adults had already been involved in many types of Ukrainian cultural activity, and this grassroots form of involvement served as a basis of the founding of SUMK. At the 1930 National Convention in Edmonton, SUMK was officially founded, under the short-held name "the Association of Ukrainian Eagles and Eaglets"

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detailed information on the early religious situation for Ukrainians in Canada, see: Julian V. Stechishin, *A History of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada*. (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, 1992) 185-8; M.H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982) 99-114.

[158] Paul Michael Migus, *Ukrainian Canadian Youth: A History of Organizational Life in Canada, 1907-1953*. Thesis. (University of Ottawa, 1975) 128.

[159] Uliana (Elaine) Holowach-Amiot, "The Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association: Its Origins and Early Years," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 28(2) Ed. Andrij Makuch. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 2003) 52.

(*Tovarystvo ukraiins'kykh orliv i orliat*).[160] At the 15th National Convention in Saskatoon in 1931, the name was officially changed to *Soiuz ukrains'koii molodi Kanady*.[161]

> The goal of the organization was to educate young people to be exemplary citizens of Canada and contributing members of the Ukrainian community. Character building was an essential component of the program. SUMK members were taught to be loyal to the Dominion of Canada and to the British Empire and at the same time, to love and respect the Ukrainian people, language, church, faith, and traditions, as well as their parents and elders. They pledged to fulfil their duties to God and country, to help others, and to be prepared for work and sacrifice.[162]

These goals were achieved through meetings and lectures as well as Ukrainian folk arts (dancing, singing, drama, crafts). Sports and social gatherings were also key components for intriguing and mobilizing the youth. Beginning in 1931, SUS and the Institutes (who cooperated in this area, given their common involvement with Ukrainian youth) called on Hryhoriy Tyzhuk, a Ukrainian-born activist newly-arrived in Canada, to travel throughout the rural and urban centres on the Prairies to recruit young people and organize branches of SUMK. He attracted large audiences at his lectures, which were followed by the activities listed above, often culminating in concerts to show-off the talents of the new SUMK members.[163] By 1933, there were 50 branches across Canada and 107 delegates from these branches attended the 17th National Convention in Saskatoon.[164] A few years later, the number of local branches grew to approximately 200 across Canada.[165]

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[160] Migus, 131.

[161] N.L. Kohuska, *Iuveleina knyzhka Soiiuzu ukraiins'koii molodi Kanady*, (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, 1956) 48-9.

[162] Holowach-Amiot, 55.

[163] Ibid., 55-6. Tyzhuk was soon joined by another organizer, Pavlo Yavors'kyi, as the demand for more local branches was high across the country.

[164] In the first few decades of the century, Saskatoon played a particularly noteworthy role in the establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox organizations discussed thus far, in addition to being able to claim several other Ukrainian "firsts" by this time and in the years to come. Especially in terms of Ukrainian language education, Saskatchewan was the site of the following achievements, including: first to offer post-secondary Ukrainian language and literature courses in 1945; first in Canada to offer provincially-approved high school credit Ukrainian language courses in 1952; first comprehensive Ukrainian-English dictionary written by Dr. C.H. Andrusyshen at the University of Saskatchewan in 1955; first in Canada to offer Ukrainian

SUMK and the Mohyla Institute

The (Petro) Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon played a pivotal role in SUMK throughout its history.[166] As the site of many conventions and the home to several national SUMK executives over the years, Mohyla Institute was a key institution both for its central geographical location, and for the student-activists it attracted and fostered. Many SUMK leaders throughout the years were simultaneously Mohyla residents.

The establishment of Mohyla Institute can be traced back to the founding of the *Ukrainian Voice* (*Ukrains'kyi holos*) newspaper in 1910. At that point, over 150,000 people in Canada identified as Ukrainians, with many others identifying by the more regional terms, such as Galicians, Bukovynians, etc.[167] In 1915, a number of Ukrainian

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correspondence high school credits in 1963; first in Canada to establish provincial association of Ukrainian teachers in 1966; first Ukraine-Canada university exchange program in 1978. [Nadia Prokopchuk, "Saskatchewan 'Firsts' in Ukrainian language education," http://www.spiritsd.ca/ukrainian/SASKATCHEWAN%20FIRSTS.pdf].

[165] M.H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982), 418. Marunchak notes that initially, despite its affiliation with the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (which was affiliated with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada), SUMK was non-denominational in character, though soon after inception, non-Orthodox denominations dropped out, leaving approximately 170 local branches across Canada. It should be noted that SUMK branches continuously appeared and disappeared as local leadership and energy arose and fell. Beginning in the 1950s when there was a noticeable shift from rural to urban living for youth wanting to be upwardly mobile, many of the rural branches saw considerable decline.

[166] As a key Ukrainian community centre, Mohyla Institute was also the home of the first iteration of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, then called the "Ukrainian Arts and Crafts Museum of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada." Founded in 1936, the Museum's first home was a room at Petro Mohyla Institute on Main Street in 1941. Modest space for the growing collection of artifacts and a few gallery show cases allowed the Museum to be publicly accessible, and contributed to the cultural programming at the Institute. When the Institute moved to its current location in 1965, the Museum once again was offered a room for its collection and gallery, though their holdings soon outgrew this space. In 1979, the new (current) building was completed on Spadina Avenue in downtown Saskatoon, where the Museum is still located. A key source on the early history of the Institute is Myron Stechishin's *Iuveleina Knyha 25-littia Instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni* (1945).

[167] M.J. Kindrachuk, "The Petro Mohyla Institute 1916-1976, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada. Dissertation." (Munich, West Germany: Ukrainian Free University, 1978) 7. This newspaper was the result of a resolution made at the first convention of Ukrainian teachers in 1908, which decided that such a publication was necessary to provide a foundation for Ukrainian cultural life in Canada.

students in Saskatoon, who at that time were living in private homes throughout the city, organized themselves into a group. They had been active participants in cultural life in the Old Country before arriving in Canada:

> For several years preceding, they had been in the press for cultural work in the communities; therefore, it was not surprising to find them instilling other Ukrainian teachers and young people with enthusiasm and pride in their heritage and in being leaders.[168]

Wasyl' Swystun, leader of the group, wrote the following letter for publication in the newspaper in May 1916:

> Who is going to be the guardian of our culture? It is imperative that we take steps as soon as possible. In addition to public education, our students must be brought up in our own culture, and, in this regard, we must follow one route - take Winnipeg's example and establish institutes where present and future students would receive not only accommodation but upbringing in their own culture.[169]

On September 4, 1916, the Mohyla Institute was formally born, with a resolution being passed at a meeting of the Ukrainian students group, *Ukrains'kyi students'kyi kruzhok*.[170] The first $7.36 toward the project was collected.[171] The *Ukrainian Voice* newspaper continued to collect funds for the founding of Ukrainian institutes, community centres, and reading halls. The newspaper was the primary source for the dissemination of information about and advertisement for the concept of the Institutes, which were to be built in Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg. The Adam Kotsko Bursa opened in Winnipeg in 1915, and the M. Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton in 1918.[172] By the middle of September 1916, the first Mohyla Institute building, a large home on Lansdowne Avenue in the Nutana neighbourhood, was opened to thirty-five students.[173]

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[168] Ibid., 26.
[169] Wasyl' Swystyn, "Letter to the editor," *Ukrainian Voice*. 14 (Winnipeg, 3 May 1916) [Translated by M.J. Kindrachuk].
[170] *Iuveleyna knyha, 25-littia Instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni*. (Saskatoon: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945) 43.
[171] Kindrachuk., 27.
[172] St. Vladimir Institute in Toronto, the fourth of the Institutes, was opened in 1963.
[173] The Institute was housed in this location for only two years, due to demand. In 1918, Petro Mohyla Institute was moved to the renovated former Empress Hotel at 401 Main Street, where the institute remained until 1965.

Mohyla Institute provided a "home away from home" in many aspects, including supervision of and concern for its residents. Students living at Mohyla Institute attended public secondary school, Normal School (teacher's college), or university. Parents of the students also felt strongly about their children gaining moral and cultural values while staying at the Institute. Residents learned leadership skills (for future community participation) and joined in Ukrainian community activities – benefits that were not offered at regular boarding houses.[174]

Many of the individuals that Tyzhuk enlisted to sit on the first SUMK executives at various sites in the 1930s were current or former Mohyla residents. This reflected a long-standing relationship between the two key organizations.[175]

Early in the history of the Institute, a British Foreign Office official described it as "a training ground for most of the Ukrainian intellectuals in Canada."[176] The instilling of a sense of community work ethic was of primary importance to those running the Institute for the decades that followed, with many Mohyla residents going on to become active, key members of Ukrainian communities all over the country. As the Institute and its membership grew, so did its impact on the Ukrainian community. M.J. Kindrachuk claims:

> In Saskatchewan, for example, in 1961, almost 70% of Ukrainian professionals in such fields as education, business, agriculture, government, law, medicine, accounting and elected positions were those who had some connection with the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon.[177]

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[174] Kindrachuk, 64.

[175] Female graduates and former residents of Mohyla Institute went on to become founders of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (*Soiuz ukraiins'kykh zhinok Kanady*), part of the SUS family, founded in Saskatoon in 1926.

[176] As cited in Lubomyr Luciuk's *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the migration of memory*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000) 28. Luciuk provides the following reference for the quote: "U.S.S.R. Memoranda" prepared by the British Foreign Office Research Department, 15 September 1942 (FO 371/36974).

[177] Kindrachuk, 173.

Mohyla Institute in the 1960s and 1970s

Several people interviewed for this study were residents of Mohyla Institute during the 1960s or 1970s. They shared their general impressions that those living at Mohyla were like one big family, and that despite any initial anxiety students had regarding moving away from a rural home into the city, the Institute quickly felt like a "home away from home."[178] In some cases, the reputation of the Institute was so positive that parents decided early that their children would stay there, leaving the young people no choice but to live at Mohyla when they became students.[179] In fact, in the 1970s there was a waiting list to be accepted for residency at Mohyla,[180] given its popularity within the Saskatchewan Ukrainian community, and the opportunities it provided for safe urban living and cultural education, as well as for socialization with "like-minded" young adults:[181]

> W.S.: There was no strong cultural thing there already in the 30s, so this what we had here was a, I don't know, I don't want to say revival, but suddenly you had a group of people that were interested, you know.
>
> V.S.: When you think about it, the people that we always ran across the people that were kind of not that interested, it was mostly people from the 30s, that generation, because their idea was to assimilate. And here we are, we're saying 'No! We want to know who we are! We want to live what we are [as Ukrainians]!'[182]

In the 1960s and 1970s, Ukrainian cultural involvement was compulsory for all Mohyla Institute residents.[183] This rule, though not always welcome with certain residents, meant that they were exposed to cultural activities, especially the arts, as part

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[178] Sylvia Myall, Personal interview. (15 October 2014) 19:52. For a full listing of personal interviews, please consult the appendix at the back of this dissertation.
[179] Linda Kindrachuk, Personal interview. (8 October 2014) 29:25.
[180] This also included a number of Ukrainian Catholic female students, as the Sheptytsky Institute at that time was open only to male students.
[181] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 1:17:04.
[182] Wolodymyr and Vera Senchuk, Personal interview. (4 October 2014) 11:10. Wolodymyr was rector of the Institute from 1968-1970, and Vera was involved in the cultural activities there at that time.
[183] Myall, Personal interview, 23:00.

of their maturing experience living away from family. This often had a bonding effect on the students in residence. Annual cultural performance tours were organized, in part to solicit donations for the Institute and entice future residents. Current residents performed in a concert format, showcasing the Ukrainian singing, dancing, theatrical, and musical skills they had acquired throughout the school year. The tours traveled primarily into rural areas, and the Institute extended its reach with each tour, maintaining a positive profile among this segment of the Ukrainian population. Similar tours were conducted by residents of the other Institutes, as were annual exchanges, where each year one of the Institutes hosted a group of visiting students from the sister Institutes, thereby connecting post-secondary students across the country. The bonding experience that occurred during these periods prompted some of those interested in leadership to pursue additional activism within the Ukrainian community: "Mohyla was the area where you said 'What's happening with the Ukrainian community and how can we make it work better?' type of stuff."[184] One former resident expressed his view that his generation of Mohyla residents, inspired by their experience of the Institute, often felt a "sense of ownership" over the building (a new Institute building was constructed in 1964). They volunteered countless fundraising hours to offset the costs of the new mortgage, and felt a responsibility to carry on the cultural education they were receiving.[185]

The parents of these Mohyla residents (most often belonging to the generation of the children of the pioneers) were perhaps reticent in some cases to embrace the concepts of ethnicity and roots, either because of ridicule, isolation, or lack of opportunity. However, their children were actively coming out from the shadow of their parents.

> The sociological context was that this was the generation of the 60s. It was an inter-generational group who came out of common situations where Ukrainians were just trying to assimilate, were changing their names, or… But the group of the 60s, and you still see at Mohyla when the 60s crowd gets together, it has a good time all the time. And it just reflected their, the

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[184] Gerald Luciuk, Personal interview. (20 September 2014) 20:30.
[185] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 1:20:47.

> context in which they were coming out. They were all Ukrainians, you didn't have to change your name, they still mostly spoke Ukrainian…and they had a sense of their heritage and so there was a fair regeneration of SUMK itself.[186]

National SUMK Executive at Mohyla Institute - 1968-72

Though many national SUMK executives had been based at Mohyla Institute over the years, the one of particular importance to this study served from 1968 to 1972.[187] The decision to have the executive housed at the Institute was a practical one, given that several of the executive members were current or former residents, and that the Institute offered some office space for members of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League organizations when their executives were based in Saskatoon. At this time, there was an overlap between Mohyla and SUMK cadres, which was seen as a normal circumstance.[188] The President was Martin Zip, the Vice-President was Yars Lozowchuk, the Treasurer was Albert Kachkowski, and the Secretary was Myron Kowalsky - all four were former Mohyla residents and Albert Kachkowski had just been named rector of the Institute in 1970. These individuals exemplified how the Institute and SUMK were inter-connected, and how their cooperation produced future community leaders:

> When we took over - with Zip, Luciuk, Kachkowski, and myself, this was a whole new young generation of university students - and then we had the support of people like J.D. Stratychuk who was SUS and very progressive and field oriented because of his work with the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and the whole idea of working with communities. There were a lot of very interesting interfaces and supports...that happened to coalesce either around SUMK or stayed at Mohyla.[189]

The Institute was a cultural community centre at the time, and key community elders capitalized on the fact that there were numerous keen young people all housed in one place. One such individual was Mary Tkachuk, cited by many former Mohyla

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[186] Luciuk, Personal interview, 5:51.
[187] The SUS offices were based in Saskatoon but at a location on 8th Street for 1968, before moving to Mohyla Institute in 1969 for the duration of the term.
[188] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 32:30.
[189] Yars Lozowchuk, Personal interview. (24 September 2014) 24:10.

residents and Saskatoon SUMK members as having played a pivotal role in their cultural awakening:[190]

> V.S.: So I would say, and this is my own sort of analysis, of that time, not saying that other people weren't instrumental, and you have to have fertile soil for it to take and so on, but you still need that person of a catalyst, but again, if there wasn't fertile soil, then maybe nothing would have happened.
>
> N.F-O.: What do the conditions need to be to have that fertile soil?
>
> V.S.: You, again, you have to kind of think about it, because again we raised our children - there is a carrying on a certain level, but you look at people's lives and young people's lives and just the financial aspect needed to make your way now, it's hard. So, I don't know… Like Mrs. Tkachuk said, we were the *nadiiya* at that point… I was younger, but it was the older kids that I followed, it wasn't my parents that I followed.[191]

An advisor for SUMK, a very active member of the general choral community in Saskatoon, conductor of the Saskatoon Ukrainian Folk Singers (which drew its membership from both Mohyla and SUMK), member of numerous Ukrainian community executives, and a founder of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Mrs. Tkachuk was personally responsible for inviting many young people to participate in the choir, which encited a virtual "whirlwind" of Ukrainian activity at the Institute and through SUMK.

Three other Institutes, St. John's Institute (Edmonton), St. Andrew's College (Winnipeg, which was also the seminary for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada), and St. Vladimir's Institute (Toronto), were also operating, and organized annual Institute exchanges. As hubs of cultural activity for young adults in the Ukrainian communities, the residency connection among the Institutes also reinforced the activities in the realm of SUMK on a national level: "So all of a sudden things were getting regenerated, Martin [Zip] was National President and the Balans from eastern Canada were all active, so there was a great renewal of that Ukrainian Orthodox youth…it basically came out of that milieu."[192] SUMK often dove-tailed with the

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[190] Linda Lazarowich, Personal interview. (8 October 2014) 16:03.
[191] W. and V. Senchuk, Personal interview, 1:14:14.
[192] Luciuk, Personal interview, 7:00.

Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (*Soiuz ukraiins'koho studentstva Kanady*, SUSK) both in membership and leadership. Both were national organizations attempting to mobilize large numbers of Ukrainian Canadian youth that were part of a generation that was intrigued by its heritage, though they always feared that the membership numbers were dwindling. SUSK in particular played an important role in the Ukrainian community discourse on the topics of bilingualism/biculturalism, and later, multiculturalism.[193]

SUMK, Mohyla, and the "Grassroots Movement"

As discussed in the previous chapter within the larger context of Canadian history, beginning in the late 1960s, there was a (re)new(ed) interest in ethnic heritage and roots. This was a significant factor in the cultural activity of the time within the Ukrainian community, and certainly within the narrower overlapping contexts of SUMK and Mohyla Institute:

> Mohyla had a really good system because it had linkages to the country. We went caroling, we'd go visit, but aside from that and the fact that we came from all over the province, kids from all over... but I think what we were becoming aware of was to try to understand "who are we?" like, "what's the nature of our community?" - so that would have been the key motivation. And again, because of our intellectual areas of interest, in my case in particular, focusing on the sociological, trying to understand what was happening to our community, our society.[194]

The quest for knowledge and the thirst for cultural awareness among the youth in this community included a "salvage" mentality – that the obscure ways of the pioneers would disappear if the youth of the day did not spring into action to document them:

> I think it goes to the thing that drove me in the 70s was the realization my *baba*, my *tsiotka*, whatever you may want to say, my *gido* - they had all these stories and ways of expressing themselves and you could see that my parents already didn't quite have all that knowledge because my dad was born in Canada, my mother was only 4 years old when she came over, so she wouldn't have been a part of the culture of Ukraine at that particular time prior to World War 1, and I remember very clearly the songs

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[193] Bill Balan, Personal interview. (29 August 2014) 7:36; Martin Zip, Personal interview. (2 December 2014) 37:30.
[194] Y. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 19:15.

> at weddings, at the *narodnyi dim* at Yellow Creek, at the talk after church - it's just the way people expressed themselves...when we were kids and we were growing up we took a lot of delight in that and then I think a lot of us realized that this is a treasure and it should be preserved, so the relevance for today is anyone who wants to connect with his roots - this is the way to look at these stories and so on.[195]

This desire and motivation to both learn about and preserve the "treasure" that they were becoming aware of through their various cultural activities inspired another form of cultural enlightenment, done largely on weekends in their spare time – "for fun." Gerald Luciuk and Yars Lozowchuk, who together later originated Project SUCH, took informal trips into the countryside with a small group of friends, who also happened to be involved in SUMK and be residents of the Institute:

> G.L.: During our student days at Mohyla, Yars and I had gone out, we took pictures of Saskatchewan churches, a lot of people were doing it…we didn't do it systematically…and those are at the Museum. We did that in the summer of '65 or '66, just touring around and looking at old places.
>
> N.F-O.: Just for fun?
>
> G.L.: Yeah! We were probably organizing SUMK at the time. That was part of the background - we knew that there were all these resources and all this interesting stuff. We knew that this would be a project that would make a difference.[196]

The connections were clear between these informal tours and individuals who were involved in the upper levels of the SUMK organization, those in positions to mobilize the membership. Before long, these "tours" became somewhat less exclusive, and others were included, emphasizing the educational potential of these explorations:

> There was a moment where I can sort of recall in my mind - Michael Wawryshyn was somebody that had come from Western in Toronto and was working on an MA in geography at the U of S. So he stayed a whole year, he stayed at Mohyla, so he became sort of our connect to a whole new field of relationships in eastern Canada through the whole Toronto crowd basically. Before they left, he wanted to take a bit of a tour, and I can't remember why it was only him and me…but anyway, I ended up taking him to my home area, a tour of Hafford and all the little satellite

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[195] Zip, Personal interview, 1:41:00.
[196] Luciuk, Personal interview, 9:44.

> communities, halls, and all of that kind of stuff, and as we're doing that, we went to one of the halls and there's a whole *gardaroba* of beautiful stuff, embroidered stuff that hadn't been touched in 20 or 30 years... and I think that, to me, was the spark that said holy shit, there's all this mass of stuff that if we don't collect it, it's just going to rot away, so that would have been a spark moment, when it came time to say 'ok let's generate some ideas, what are we going to do for projects' - this became kind of an obvious thing.[197]

The impressions of those quoted above strongly suggest that the point of origin for the SUCH project was a genuine grassroots effort by the students themselves. The situation was intensified by the fact that the post-World War 2 era saw a significant population shift from rural to urban centres, leaving many religious and cultural buildings in the countryside to be less used and in danger of decay:

> Well, Yars and I travelled around, saw churches, people already in those days - rural communities already going to go into decline.
>
> There was a study in rural transformation at the time done by sociologists. It was a time when rural communities were starting to change to bigger farms, people were actually getting moved off, they had big community pasture programs in Saskatchewan, just to buy up more marginal lands…just a time of transition. And people were aware that there were these halls that were unused that were beginning to decline, people had been moved out, there were Ukrainians there 30 years ago and now there's nobody out there, type of thing. You know, churches right in the middle of community pastures, so I mean, there was an awareness of that changing demographic and the community context of the time.[198]

This sense of decline, combined with the new availability of government funding due to the upcoming multiculturalism policy, and the transfer of the national executive of SUMK to Saskatoon, resulted in an ideal scenario for Luciuk, Lozowchuk and their friends to develop a large-scale official research project:

> That's where all of these ideas, that's where the core of SUMK National starts to come from. The antecedents, for instance, of SUCHes. In 1966 we started doing some fieldtrips, just out of curiosity, to take a look at our province. So we visited, I don't know, 60 churches in SK - we took pictures, on weekends. And we began to discover all this kind of stuff... at

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[197] Y. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 30:15.
[198] Luciuk, Personal interview, 26:30.

> that time, there were already churches that were beginning to be treed over, cemeteries, and all that kind of stuff. We ended up even going to Manitoba - myself, Gerry Luciuk, Steve Kozey, Olenka would have been involved with that… That became the interest point. An awareness to try to understand where our community came from. And then it spread - I mean, so by the time we came to SUCH and we already understood the availability of funds, and we were milking all and as much as we could, those ideas were already in place, percolating.[199]

This percolation soon involved other National SUMK executive members and the community leaders advising them. This project was imagined as a vehicle to capture the information that piqued the interest of young Ukrainians, as well as to revitalize SUMK branches across Canada, providing summer employment to its membership.[200] By the time Project SUCH began, it included a wide array of research topics within the realm of Ukrainian pioneer culture, as well as the documentation of material culture.

From Idea to Application

Generally speaking, Project SUCH was the brainchild of Yars Lozowchuk, Gerry Luciuk, and Martin Zip - three young men just beyond their post-secondary studies, who were active both at Mohyla Institute and in SUMK. They were all born into relatively conservative rural/farming families active in their local Ukrainian Orthodox communities. Lozowchuk, Luciuk, and Zip were more liberal than their parents, and all made the transition to Saskatoon for post-secondary studies and have continued to live in urban areas until the present time. Their level of activity at the Institute and in SUMK is an indicator of their political (ethnic?) activism through the organizations in their ethnic community, and it was precisely these shared values and interests that brought them together for the SUCH project. Though his two friends commonly attributed the idea to Lozowchuk, at the time an MA student in sociology, it was apparently a group effort to

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[199] Y. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 14:20, 16:10. Olenka [Lozowchuk] was collecting as part of her own academic research, materials which eventually became part of the Ukrainian collection curated by Dr. Robert Klymasz at the National Museum of Man in Ottawa.
[200] Zip, Personal interview, 14:20. A relevant discussion of organizations engaging in similar projects can be found in Helen Schwartzman's "Ethnography in Organizations," (1993).

set the plan in motion and have it approved by the various organizations in the community in order for it to become a reality.

> SUCH was a response to a government program on our part, and so I don't recall who of us made the suggestion or how it was done, but I know we worked as a team putting the whole application together, working out the ideas. And then we got involved with someone like [Dr. Robert] Klymasz, because we had been aware of the work that he was doing, you know, in western Canada with his stuff, and him being at the university at that time, and him actually doing some contracting to people like Olenka [Lozowchuk] to collect additional stuff... so it was just an assembly of all kinds of personalities, people, events, and this seemed like a golden opportunity to do something.[201]

The government program being referred to was an initiative of the Department of Secretary of State (Government of Canada) titled *Opportunities for Youth* (OFY).[202] This initiative, intended to provide jobs and activities for youth, dedicated $15 million "for voluntary organizations to employ young people for such projects as clean-up campaigns, community research projects, urban redevelopment and pollution studies."[203] The announcement of this special youth employment program in the fall of 1970 inspired Lozowchuk, Luciuk, and Zip, on behalf of the National Executive of SUMK (of which Zip was President), to convene a group of community stakeholders to draft an application.[204]

On March 31, 1971, the application was mailed to the Department of the Secretary of State, identifying the following two broad objectives: "the provision for employment of students for the summer of 1971; and the initiation of ethnographic and

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[201] Yars Lozowchuk, Personal interview. (24 September 2014) 25:17. Olenka Lozowchuk was able to confirm in a later interview that her familiarity with Dr. Klymasz was based on the fact that he learned of the fieldwork she conducted for her Masters in Music Education. These materials were eventually deposited in the National Archives in Ottawa, under the stewardship of Dr. Klymasz. She had not been contracted by him to conduct the fieldwork. [see footnote 42 above].

[202] This program's latest incarnation is the *Young Canada Works* initiative, which has been under the auspices of the Department of Canadian Heritage since 1996.

[203] Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMK) National Executive correspondence to its provincial branches, (March 31, 1971).

[204] Participants in the drafting of the brief were: O. Antymniuk, Fr. O. Krawchenko, Y. Lozowchuk, G. Luciuk, A. Morgotch, G. Strohyj, and M. Zip.

historical research in Ukrainian communities, which would alleviate the lack in this regard and simultaneously benefit those employed."[205] Copies of the application were immediately shared with key individuals and groups in the Ukrainian community, who had indicated an interest and willingness to act in an advisory capacity for the project.

The application outlined four key goals of the project:

> 1. Primarily to record into the national life of Canada the finest cultural elements and traditions of the Ukrainian people by: a) taping legends, proverbs, and songs from the folklore of the Ukrainians, b) taping accounts of pioneer life in Canada, c) collecting books, records, crafts, etc. of historical interest from the Ukrainian community, d) recording significant and relevant information about Ukrainian historical sites, e) inventoring items of historical and ethnographic interest contained in private collections, f) surveying centres concerned with the collection of Ukrainian ethnographic, historical and anthropological materials with the aim of compiling a directory and pamphlet;
>
> 2. To stimulate community concern for the relevance and the need for the preservation of Ukrainian ethnographic and historical materials and sites by: a) holding public meetings for information and discussion of Project SUCH to show the urgent need for action, b) the initiation of student and adult action groups to restore and maintain local historical buildings and to work with local historical groups;
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> 3. To awaken within Ukrainian Canadian communities an awareness of their role in the building of a truly Canadian cultural mosaic by: a) the initiation of public meetings and study groups (particularly amongst students) to discuss the Canadian mosaic and contemporary problems associated with the cultural life of Canada, b) the stimulation of thought at the community level on the relevance of the past to present day Canadian life, c) providing possible stimulus for future research into aspects of Canadian Ukrainian folklore, language, pioneer life, music, etc.;
>
> 4. To alleviate a number of longstanding problems and needs associated with the cultural, community and educational life of Ukrainians in Canada such as the: a) lack of community awareness regarding the wealth of ethnographic materials and historic structures scattered across Canada and in many cases being literally lost because of gross ignorance of their value, b) lack of community awareness of facilities for storage, usage of such historical materials and access to these, c) inaccessibility of such material presently to individuals and educational institutions carrying out research, d) lack of skilled and concerned personnel to collect and document such materials or to initiate other types of action for the preservation and usage of said materials, e) an urgent need to obtain valuable accounts and folklore from people, who in many

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[205] O. Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 10.

> cases are aged and whose information may shortly be lost forever, f) lack of appreciation and knowledge amongst many students regarding the cultural and historical contributions of Ukrainians to contemporary Canadian life, g) need to ensure an adequate amount of material for future studies into Canada's ethnic background, h) unavailability in the past of bilingual personnel to undertake a project of this nature.[206]

A fifth, unofficial goal was also in mind for some of the organizers. In reference to the geographical locations chosen for the project, Gerry Luciuk offered the following:

> GL: The other thing was that we were driven probably by where there were opportunities for mobilizing SUMK in the areas.
>
> NFO: So, this was kind of a hidden motivation?
>
> GL: Oh yeah, oh yeah! It's written in there [the final report], you've just got to read closely, that's all. I mean, if you could mobilize young people in an organizational sense, this is part of the background you hoped that they were familiar with and they accept as their own.[207]

Another interviewer recollected that part of her job as a student fieldworker was to "re-animate:" "So here we are, our church is at a crossroads, the youth are leaving the church - is there any way to engage with them and get them involved, you know, in SUMK parish activities?"[208] The Project SUCH Final Report also hints at this motivation. In the report's introduction, it states that the National SUMK Executive administers and coordinated programs for "5,100 students (2,100 junior members, ages 8-14; and 3,000 senior members, ages 15-25) in 82 branches across Canada."[209] This number is down significantly from the 200 branches that existed nationwide during the 1930s and 1940s. A few pages later, when describing the methodology of the fieldwork phase, it states that the fieldworkers will initiate community discussion of the project, so that "hopefully youth at the local level would become involved."[210] Finally, when discussing possible benefits for the students involved, the report states that "additional benefit may accrue

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[206] O. Lozowchuk, *Final Report,* 2-3.
[207] Gerry Luciuk, Personal interview. (20 September 2014) 29:32. This motivation was also mentioned during my interview with by Bill Balan, who spoke of a focus on "community development." [Bill Balan, 13:30.]
[208] Natalka Chomiak, Personal interview. (3 July 2015) 50:00.
[209] O. Lozowchuk, *Final Report*, 1.
[210] Ibid., 5.

in the form of valuable experience gained in developing skills in program or project planning and coordination" - the exact type of skills that would be most useful for future SUMK leaders.[211]

Closer to the subject matter and thus more emotionally connected than the previous stakeholder discussed in Chapter 2, it is clear that SUMK had pragmatic considerations when designing this project and working to make it become a reality. Without the new generation - like Lozowchuk, Luciuk, and Zip - to "take up the cause" and steward it into the future, the fear was that SUMK would become irrelevant to the youth of the time, given a growing language barrier with the source culture, a frequent disenchantment with active participation in the Church, and a greater pull towards an "Anglicized" non-ethnic lifestyle. Even though the 1960s and 1970s were largely a time of thriving ethnic revival, it is necessary to point out the role of micro-generations in this discussion. Those who stayed at the Institute after the years of Lozowchuk, Luciuk, and Zip would need to become involved independently. Even though they were just a few years younger, they were socially a part of a different "generation" of Institute residents, who were not under the same leadership.

Many of the detailed goals elaborated in the Project SUCH grant application did not come to fruition. These were all genuinely intended to be part of the project, as an ideal scenario and including a follow-through after the fieldwork phase. However, as seen in the pages of this dissertation, with temporary employment and a fixed amount of money,[212] the proposed project scope was simply larger than the realistic possibilities. As Olenka Lozowchuk stated, "it was limited in terms of time, what we were able to do, and it was basically trying to make a decision - ok, given the time constraints, given the money that we can get and it now happens to be available."[213] Many of the goals beyond interviewing were dropped or drastically reduced. These included the goal to create a directory of centres containing Ukrainian materials, to organize public meetings and action groups for the preservation of Ukrainian historical sites, and to actively raise

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[211] Ibid., 8.
[212] The application for Project SUCH to the OFY program requested an amount of $16,950 for project expenses, which they were granted.
[213] O. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 18:30.

awareness of Ukrainian heritage and history in the community and beyond. A notable exception to this narrowing of scope is reflected in the occasional interest of the student fieldworkers in the pioneer buildings and their contents, and their formal documentation of them, communicating their value and worth to the community members in charge of looking after them:

> I think we were in Smuts, Saskatchewan, and the hall hadn't been opened or used at that time in 15 or 20 years, and they had trouble finding who had the key and whatever. But finally somebody had the key and we interviewed a few people, and then we went to the hall to take a few pictures and everything like that. And it hadn't been used, like I say in 15, 20 years. And it was basically empty but Dennis and I always knew that when you go to these places, you have to look under the stage. So we looked under the stage and there are all these boxes of costumes and instruments and stuff like this, you know? And like I said, the place hadn't been used in 15, 20 years, and the driveway or the parking lot was all overgrown and everything, so we were there, it was about 3:00 in the afternoon, we took our pictures, took our measurements and everything like that, made the drawings and then we went for supper, I forget to whose place we were invited for supper. The next morning we were going out again, we had to pass by the hall, and the parking lot was full - there were about 15 cars there, there were people in there, yeah they were pretty excited about what we found in there. So, if there is anything I remember it was that - that people got excited about their hall again. There's something still there.[214]

In certain instances, as is evident in the quote above, the SUCH project impacted quickly on the people and communities it visited, and provided them with a greater appreciation for their own history. In this way, the project was able to return the history of the community back to the community, something which could be furthered with the complete processing of project materials.

As was described earlier in this dissertation, Project SUCH employed twenty-six students over two summers. Several hundred interviews resulted from the two summers of work, and the project ended. From the organizers' point of view, the value of the project lay to a great degree in the fact that the student fieldworkers, youth in the Ukrainian community, would be educated about Ukrainian pioneer culture. The

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[214] M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 2:42:52.

organizers hoped that the fieldworkers would learn to appreciate this culture, and this summer job would therefore become a path to inspiring them to become community builders themselves, strengthening the future of the community and creating new leaders for the future, which was of great interest to SUMK. Additionally, it did provide stimulus for future research into Ukrainian Canadian topics, as is evidenced by this very dissertation - though many decades later than was originally hoped. Finally, it did help develop skills and shape certain career choices and life paths for the individuals involved with the project, as will be discussed next. The following chapter looks at these youth in greater depth, as significant stakeholders in the SUCH Project - in some cases entering into it for pragmatic reasons only to find a deep emotional connection that would follow them into other parts of their lives.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Stakeholder #3 - The Fieldworkers

In this chapter I will focus on the students hired as summer employees in the SUCH Project, focusing on the success of the project from the fieldworkers' perspective. By examining the goals they imagined for their participation, about which I asked in my interviews with them, a clearer picture can be seen regarding why they chose to participate in this project and what they hoped for in it. Drawing heavily on their reminiscences of their SUCH involvement over four decades later, I first hope to illuminate their thoughts and impressions regarding this one-time summer job. Second, the chapter will examine the heritage aspects of the project as positive influences on the students, affecting their ideas regarding ethnicity and identity and their role in their lives. And finally, the third section of this chapter will concentrate on the role of the SUCH fieldwork experience in the future lives of the student fieldworkers, in many cases developing career options and skills that were new to these individuals.

SUCH Fieldwork as a Job

According to linguistic anthropologist Michael Agar, ethnographic encounters can be categorized into different traditions, stemming from varied backgrounds which alter the way in which we make sense of an experience.[215] These types of differences in ethnographic traditions can be highlighted specifically when examining the SUCH project from an outsider perspective. Though all fieldworkers and interviewees were ethnically Ukrainian in some sense, the student fieldworkers[216] were products of a

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[215] Michael Agar, *Speaking of Ethnography*. *Qualitative Research Methods Series* 2. (Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1986) 18.

[216] For sake of clarity, from this point on in this dissertation, the term "student fieldworkers" will be used when referring to the historical context, while the term "interviewers" will be used when referring to the present-day context.

generationally different tradition than the elderly informants. I hope to emphasize in the subchapters below that the fieldworkers themselves were non-pioneers, but were able to become *students* of the pioneers while completing this research - learning about an era that was not their own, speaking directly with the people who lived through those past times. The differences between these two groups of people were noted from the outset by project organizers and administrators, informing their objectives for the collection. These differences influenced the founders' conceptualization and purpose for the project, made the stories of the pioneers worth capturing (particularly by the youth of the community), and ultimately allowed for an ethnographic understanding (that is, an appreciation for the other by each group) to develop in these interviewer- interviewee relationships.

Scholars of ethnography and the ethnographic method, including Patricia Adler and Peter Adler, Paul Rabinow, Alex Stewart, and John Van Maanen agree that ethnographic learning is a "joint production" of insiders and outsiders.[217] The goal of the researcher is to transition partially to achieve an insider perspective. The SUCH student fieldworkers were often able to quickly occupy both sides of this research relationship more. Generally, the fieldworkers' connection to the cultural traditions and stories of the pioneers was initially symbolic at best, a distance between the two groups which informs this kind of study quite significantly.[218] However, even within a single interview, the interviewer sometimes occupied both insider and outsider positions, depending on the varying degrees of openness between the two people, as it varied from topic to topic.[219]

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[217] Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, *Membership roles in field research*.(Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1987) 50; Paul Rabinow, *Reflections on fieldwork in Morocco.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 79; Alex Stewart, *The Ethnographer's Method.* Qualitative Research Methods Series 46. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1998) 22; John Van Maanen, *Tales of the Field*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988) 136-8.

[218] John L. Caughy, *Negotiating Cultures & Identities: Life History Issues, Methods, and Readings.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006) 21.

[219] Robert Prus, "Studying Human Knowing and Acting: The Interactionist Quest for Authenticity," *Doing Ethnography: Studying Everyday Life*. Eds. Dorothy Pawluch, William Shaffir, & Charlene Miall. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2005) 17.

This relationship between fieldworker and informant is an asymmetrical one, with the fieldworker in some ways occupying the "one-down" position in comparison to the informant.[220] Paul Thompson and Hugo Slim describe the interview dynamic as "the interviewer sits at the feet of the people who are the obvious experts on their own life and experience."[221] As opposed to other methods (such as a sociological survey, where the interviewer is in control of the questions, format of the interview, and the relationship, and can thus be seen as being "one up" on the culture bearer) this kind of fieldworker - as a student of the informant - is in the learning role and as Agar notes, it takes some time for the student to evolve from the initial learning role to a position which includes a better understanding of the interviewee's world. This evolution can be seen in the learning curves of the Project SUCH fieldworkers.

Being Hired: Becoming Involved in SUCH

> I had this opportunity, my friend said there's this project that's an initiative by the Liberal government, by Trudeau, and they said 'how would you like to go to Saskatoon, and your home-base would be Mohyla Institute.' You have to remember, my father was extremely strict and he did not want me to go. It was actually Father's Day and they [her parents] went out to Camp Veselka, and I decided I was going to go - so I left a note, and I said I was going to go. I did arrive to Mohyla and I did phone my mom and dad, and my mom was sort of ok with it. My grandmother really supported it, cause my grandmother was actually very liberal for a person of her time. My dad demanded that I come home immediately. It was my first time on a plane…I decided to stay…
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> So we stayed at Mohyla Institute and they gave us just a very brief introduction of what it is we were supposed to do. There was nothing written, nothing - just go out, find some Ukrainian pioneers, get their story, try to document as much as you could - at that time we didn't know really anything about documenting… Most of us were really, really young. I was 20, but a very young 20. I had never been away from home… We thought this would be a great summer job and lots of fun.[222]

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[220] Agar, *The Professional Stranger*, 119.
[221] Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson, *Listening for a change: Oral testimony and community development.* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1995) 10.
[222] Delores (Lyseiko) Korpesho, Personal interview. (16 October 2014) 9:00. As mentioned

Though not all decisions to become involved in SUCH were quite as dramatic as that of Delores Korpesho quoted above, for all of the fieldworkers it was - in the most basic sense - a summer employment opportunity. The fieldworkers were 17-22 years old, and came from British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario.

From the perspective of qualitative research interviewing, Steinar Kvale identifies ten basic qualification criteria that an interviewer should meet: knowledgeable, structuring (is a good "manager" during the interview), clear, gentle, sensitive, open, steering (can direct the conversation as per the interview guidelines), critical, remembering, and interpreting.[223] Fieldwork dynamics are highly dependent on the personalities of the fieldworkers: "Presumably the human relations aspect of fieldwork is enhanced for those to whom such qualities as empathy, sympathy, or at least everyday courtesy and patience, come naturally."[224] These are qualities that cannot be easily taught, yet they are key to fieldwork success.

As far as the project manager for 1971 was concerned, the only two qualities they looked for in a fieldworker is that they possess language competence in Ukrainian and that they be "keen research-wise."[225] Other factors were not taken into serious consideration given the time constraints of the project. However, one may imagine that the success and productivity of the student fieldworkers were based on the above-mentioned personality traits and qualities, which either flourished or were a challenge throughout the collection process.

Employee motivation in the project seems to have had three profiles. First, there were those that were interested in the opportunity of employment, first and foremost, and who were not emotionally drawn to the perceived goals of the project and position:

> … it was connected into aspects of community development that I was interested in. I don't think I was a very good archivist and documented and

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earlier in the dissertation, Delores and her fieldwork partner Vera were stationed in Alberta for their fieldwork, though all fieldworkers did initially go to their designated areas from Saskatoon. Delores' use of "home-base" here simply meant that it would be their starting and ending point.

[223] Steinar Kvale, *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1996) 148-9.

[224] Wolcott, 87.

[225] O.Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 15:24.

> kind of that stuff, I don't think that interested me at all, but the notion of building a powerbase with the other ethnic groups and growing the community consensus around the idea of a multicultural policy was kind of interesting for me.[226]

This fieldworker, Bill Balan, was invested intellectually and driven, but not exactly in line with the explicit goals of the project. Bill saw this project as a clear stepping stone to something that would come after, whether personally or organizationally speaking, and was focused on his own personal goals more than those of the collective group or the project. Bill and others experienced the SUCH project as a success, as measured by his later career that grew out from this overall topic. The discussion of other career paths, influenced by specific skills developed during that summer, is thus directly related to evaluating the success of Project SUCH from the perspective of the fieldworkers.

Second, there were those fieldworkers that were motivated by summer employment, favourably predisposed to this particular job because of its nature (requiring travel and being away from their parents and being independent) and its Ukrainian connection, and intrigued by the subject matter itself: "Well, part of it would have been the personal thing of going somewhere rather than going home. And then it did seem interesting. Having been immersed in the Ukrainian community, it sounded like an interesting thing to speak to the pioneers."[227] Vera Ashmore (nee Sczewczyk) was one of only three to participate in both phases of the project, and did so because it was more appealing than jobs at home in Vancouver. For fieldworkers like Vera and Dolores quoted above, with this motivation as a priority, the job's success was immediate. They did get to travel for the summer and be away from their parents. The way to measure the success of Project SUCH for fulfilling these peoples' goals of delving deeper into their ethnic identity, is to document their short and long-term shifts from "outsider" more into an "insider" as a Ukrainian Canadian.

Third, there were those that were drawn to this summer job for personal, familial, and other reasons. These ranged from appreciating the opportunity to visit the area from which their family came, to being genuinely and keenly interested in the topic of

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[226] Bill Balan, Personal interview. (29 August 2014) 16:05.
[227] Vera (Szewczyk) Ashmore, Personal interview. (23 November 2014) 11:10.

Ukrainian Canadian history. Zoria Poilievre (nee Kyba), a fieldworker from 1972 was one of the youngest SUCH fieldworkers, having graduated from high school just days before the start of the second phase of the project. Zoria had a familial connection to the subject matter from the very beginning:

> Well, because I was always interested in those stories myself, like my grandfather lived with us, my grandmother died when I was four, so then he sold his house and he moved in with us… we were lucky. And he did tell stories, he was in the best of health and the best of mind until the last year before he passed away… When you grow up with that, that just sort of fills your life, and so yes, I wanted to hear more… And so because you lived that, of course the interest was there, I mean it was just *more*.[228]

Zoria's interest and motivation in the project was directly connected to family, to her grandfather specifically, and she was cognizant of this when applying for the job. The ethnocultural component was secondary here, whereas the connection to family was of primary interest.

All three motivations are summarized in the sentiments of Linda Lazarowich, who acted as both a fieldworker and in an administrative capacity in 1972. She mentioned several times in the interview that she did not choose the job, but that the job chose her:

> I don't think it was anything very lofty - first of all, it was a summer job, and it would help me going back to university. Number 2 - and I think, don't think, I *know* the first one was that because it was Ukrainian and I felt comfortable in it. Secondly, to be able to do the things I love, which was to talk and interview and find out more about, and I'd be going actually back to where I lived in Hafford, because I interviewed some really incredible first person accounts of a *vorozhka* who was there - I can still see them in my memory…[229]

There were challenges in their jobs that the interviewers faced that were notable in some of their reminiscences. Some of these were tied to the fieldwork completed in 1971, when the students were sent out individually. Several interviewers recall feeling unprepared and inexperienced, which caused anxiety in the initial fieldwork stages.[230] In

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[228] Zoria (Kyba) Poilievre, Personal interview. (16 September 2014) 21:20.
[229] Linda Lazarowich, Personal interview. (3 October, 2014) 30:26.
[230] Bridges, Personal interview, 21:19; Chomiak, Personal interview, 54:55; Poilievre, Personal interview, 34:09; Shadursky, Personal interview, 20:55; Zamulinski, Personal interview, 26:15.

one case, this anxiety extended to the living arrangements made for the student fieldworker, which were very different from what she was used to:

> I think I felt like we were islands out there, because I do remember feeling very - I wasn't used to living, like we lived in town, my family lived in town and as much as we went to visit so and so out on the farm, I was ok with that, I was familiar with that. But to actually live on the farm and to call that home and be out of my element - I remember the most horrific, I think this was when I said enough, I need to go now - was when it was time to butcher chickens - it was very much a working farm. Chicken heads were all over the road and all over the yard, and I think that I just couldn't take that anymore at that point and that's when I said I need to go and get away from this for a couple of days. So I did go for a weekend and then when I went back I felt better, it was like I had a break.[231]

Not unlike the culture shock experience by those participating in traditional long-term anthropological fieldwork, the student fieldworkers were, in some cases more than others, out of their elements and had to allow for a period of adjustment. Stemming from a sudden immersion in an environment of a group that is different from your own, this culture shock can raise many questions and lead the fieldworker to question many assumptions regarding daily life.

There were no measures in place for the project managers and administrators to monitor the young student fieldworkers while out in the field, other than the infrequent reporting that was requested. On the other hand, a few interviewers recall being adequately supported and never feeling abandoned.[232]

Impressions - Students of the Pioneers

> Again, it's kids, young kids that were interested *shcho my tam robyly, iak my [what we did there, how we]*… did they think that this was anything special? Probably not. And I remember, and I can see her face, and she came off the field and I think she was the *vorozhka*, and I mean, Mrs. Betsko? She was around Speers, that's where I was interviewing. And I can see her, she just came off the field, and what she was doing is she had just rolled all kinds of the wire that goes for the fence…barbed wire…and she was just, I remember that and I thought *yoy, pani [wow, lady]*! You know, she was just rolling up all so it wasn't lost, and she came

[231] Poilievre, Personal interview, 56:25.
[232] Myall, Personal interview, 47:30; Noseworthy, Personal interview, 42:32.

> in and she cleaned up and now she was going to do the *vorozhka* [fortune teller] stuff. I mean, just such people of the land. And this was her gift, just a very hearty soul. I just remember being struck, sitting in her living room and interviewing her.[233]

Over four decades later, the observations of the interviewers regarding their fieldwork impressions are quite clear and consistent. The vast majority of them recall initial awkwardness of fieldwork giving way to a period of learning about a bygone era from the pioneers themselves.[234] The exoticism of the pioneer experience was intriguing to the student fieldworkers, while the hardships of immigration and settlement were profoundly humbling. The isolation felt by the pioneers in their first few years in Canada were difficult to imagine, given the range of options for accessibility and mobility that were part of the normal lifestyle for the young generation by the 1970s.

As outsiders to the pioneer life and experience, the extreme hardship described in the interviews was in some cases shocking to the student fieldworkers: "She was in a dugout, her husband went off to find work, and there was a wolf or a bear at the door and it was there for three days…she was trapped inside with her children…that really stuck with me."[235] As a young woman attempting to relate to an older woman's story, a few of the female interviewers recalled being struck by the stories of female hardship specifically, which were not uncommon, and they further noted that such vulnerability was a gender-specific phenomenon - the men would recall factual information, whereas the women would recall how they felt about a given topic.[236]

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[233] Lazarowich, Personal interview, 52:59.

[234] There was one student fieldworker who quit the project early, completing only a handful of interviews in 1972. Brian Zamulinski was sent on his own to the area around Gronlid, Saskatchewan, and though most of his decision to abandon the project was based on linguistic inability, he did cite that the awkwardness of fieldwork did not dissipate in his case: "Talking to complete strangers? And trying to talk to them in Ukrainian? I found it awkward because however nice strangers are, I'm uncomfortable imposing on them and so on. So, I'm sure I was not the most successful interviewer by any means, and I didn't complete the project - I quit. I think I lasted about three weeks." [Zamulinski, Personal interview, 26:15]

[235] Ashmore, Personal interview, 18:28.

[236] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 44:06; Ashmore, Personal interview, 21:28; Noseworthy, Personal interview, 37:35.

Age became another marker of the difference between the student fieldworkers and their informants. There were a few instances where the student fieldworkers encountered informants who had cognitive impairments - what they now suspect to be various degrees of dementia. Being completely unprepared for such an informant, and in most cases inexperienced with this type of disease, the interviewers recall having been challenged. In one case, the elderly woman lived by herself on a farm near Sandilands, Manitoba, and kept interrupting the interview as she thought the radio sitting on her kitchen table was talking to her.[237] In another case, the student fieldworkers were not only challenged by the interview itself, but by leaving the informant following the interview:

> It was the second year when I was out with Linda - just seeing this one lady living out in the country, out in the sticks, and at that time I didn't even know much about dementia, but I can't help thinking that she was maybe even in the late stages of dementia. And why she was so afraid of her electrical meter - we couldn't get much of a conversation going, but this one has stuck out because I was really afraid for her, very uncomfortable, Linda wanted to spend more time there, but she kept pointing to her meter in the house. That was uncomfortable and I felt sorry for her because this was in the middle of nowhere.[238]

Especially when dealing with elderly informants, interviewers can come across types of risk or emergency situations that are concerning and which can sometimes place an additional type of unexpected responsibility on the interviewer.[239] There is a practical and emotional difficulty to this type of situation, one which even a seasoned fieldworker may find challenging. The SUCH fieldworkers were completely unprepared for this type of situation, and in the case of this example, reluctantly abandoned the interview. This particular interview remains a clear memory for the interviewer, as does its emotional overtone.[240]

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[237] Melnycky, Personal interview, 26:30. The interviewer recalls her adjusting the frequency on the radio until the voices would "talk to her," as she said.
[238] Myall, Personal interview, 56:00.
[239] Wengle, 267.
[240] Another similar account involved an elderly man near Hafford, Saskatchewan, who was cared for by his wife in their own home: "There was a man that had chronic lung disease, he stood out in my mind. He was bedridden and he, I believe, he was sick from working in the

In general, the impressions of this summer job were positive, with the interviewers recalling how fortunate they felt both in the field and after the fact:

> I just got to really appreciate having the opportunity to talk to these people. I thought like this is - I can't believe anyone is paying us to do that. Yeah, it was an honour, I remember feeling that. And I still remember - I can't believe anybody is paying us to go around and listen to people![241]

For the student fieldworkers who worked in Ontario, they were surprised by a different sort of culture than what they had known prior to the project, and than what they were expecting to find:

> For me, my impression was wow - all of a sudden I'm laden with all this new information that I didn't have before. And it gave me a whole different perspective on living in Ontario, in that it was steeped in tradition, there was a lot of Ukrainian tradition in Ontario, it didn't just happen after the Second World War. There were a lot of really old established families in Ontario… Actually when I was in Grimsby, there was less of the Second World War and more of the second, third generation that was in that area because there was a lot of farming.[242]

As the child of post-World War II immigrants, this student fieldworker had been raised in an environment where virtually every Ukrainian around her was a product of the third wave of immigration, which was distinct linguistically, culturally, and politically from the previous two waves. Her pre-project assumptions of Ukrainian pioneers

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mines, and he had a lot of pretty sad stories to tell…his was a very emotional and sad story. I remember him - that was probably the saddest (interview). We had arranged, I think because he wasn't well, we had arranged ahead of time that his wife was present and it wasn't even a bed - it was more like a cot in the kitchen area, kind of. So he would lay down and rest and then he would sit up and hang his legs over the edge and he would talk, and then I remember him having to lay down again, but he continued to talk. But he was quite ill and I think somebody like that now would probably carry an oxygen tank with them, but he didn't have that." [Poilievre, Personal interview, 1:00:07] As with the example in the text above, this vivid memory made a significant impression on the young fieldworker, emotionally and otherwise. Despite not having the training and preparation for such a situation, the student fieldworker managed to record an interview successfully. A scholarly article on the topic of the role of memory in shared history worth examining is Carlo Ginzburg's "Shared Memories, Private Recollections," (1997).

[241] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 34:22.

[242] Shadursky, Personal interview, 27:55.

residing only on the Prairies were overturned, resulting in a greater sense of Canadian pride for her.[243]

As simply a summer job, doing fieldwork for Project SUCH was a great opportunity that some of those who were interviewed for this dissertation would have been happy to continue beyond their short terms for one or two summers:

> My impression at the time was that I had had a great summer. I mean, I traveled all over the place - first time away from home - and here I was, freedom, I was on my own, and I was traveling all over, meeting new people. I think I enjoyed it enough that I would have done another couple summers of it.[244]

As a study of the pioneers, the SUCH project allowed for students to experience - some for the first time - the feeling of these Ukrainians as an "Other." With of the student fieldworkers initially accepting the jobs on the basis of their ethnic identity (to some degree), many did not expect to find that their *kind* of Ukrainianness was somewhat different than that of their informants. At times, this boundary between "Self" and "Other" was distinct (as we have seen in this chapter), and at other times, it was blurred. This positioning and re-positioning of the "Other" is broadly studied in the realm of ethnographic fieldwork, and can have significant implications in both the collection and analysis stages.[245] The blur between the insider and outsider positions – a blur between the "Self" and the "Other" will be looked at closely in the subsequent parts of this chapter.

Summer Employment and Life Education

> Some were very excited and some were, it was kind of like being aghast like "I never knew that," right? Even in terms of some of the history, some of the dates, some of the hardships, some of the type of information that came out. I don't know if I could say 100% across the board, but I would suggest…that they gleaned a lot for themselves in terms of growing in richness and just, it was like, opening a window in time for them, which would have affected their own personal lives and background. Maybe not

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[243] Ibid., 14:55.
[244] Poilievre, Personal interview, 1:09:00.
[245] Hirsch, "Knowing, Not Knowing, Knowing Anew," *Knowing How to Know: Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Present.* 16.

> the specifics, but just in terms of lifestyles, what people had to go through, and the kind of stories…[246]

The interviews conducted for the SUCH project by the student fieldworkers were, unequivocally, of interest to them. In many instances, however, there was more than basic interest at hand - rather, a genuine educational moment took place, one that made an indelible impression on the student fieldworker, which has followed them throughout their life since. Olenka Lozowchuk recalled seeing their reactions coming off the field during the first phase in 1971, saying that it was clear that they were changed and had gleaned something important for *themselves*, making it more than just a regular "summer job:"

> Well, of course, dealing with the technology of the day, you learned how to approach people and try to get their cooperation and be a little more, I had always been obedient, but I had never been necessarily competitive or some people call it being aggressive, but maybe the better word is assertive. You had to assert yourself in order to get in the door. So, that's tremendously fruitful in terms of building self-confidence. And you had to talk to people, so it was a very good learning experience.[247]

The conversational skills gained were a unique opportunity, and something which served them well after the conclusion of the project:

> It was certainly a unique experience. I think it made me a better person for it, because basically I am quite shy and this really forced me to get out there and do something and was really out of my comfort zone, I guess. I certainly think it made me a better person.[248]

As seen earlier, not only were the student fieldworkers expected to gain the basic skills needed to inspire and maintain conversation, but to be successful in their jobs, they were required to develop skills in how to draw out their informants:

> What I got from it was more an ability to talk to people, getting the stories that they had to share out of them, I like to think that I'm fairly good at

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[246] O. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 1:06:30.
[247] Bridges, Personal interview, 1:15:06.
[248] Myall, Personal interview, 1:32:00.

> doing that even with my students and so that's something that I definitely learned from [SUCH].[249]

These skills were particularly useful for those that went on to work in social settings, especially educators. Their exposure to the broader historical narrative of the Canadian prairies was functional for their teaching careers, but it also touched upon the reason the summer job was within their scope in the first place:

> An appreciation of Canadian history, especially our Ukrainian Canadians on the prairies, so that deeper understanding. And I guess the interview process, though I didn't really think of it at the time. I definitely felt more comfortable talking to people, and when I became a teacher, definitely that practice and experience certainly helped. And appreciation for older people, for the elderly and the stories that they had…[250]

"*Our* Ukrainian Canadians" - as shown in the previous two chapters, as much as the students were semi-outsiders who were removed from the Ukrainian pioneer experience, they were concurrently insiders, who possessed some level of affinity for the Ukrainian story because they themselves were products of the community. The sense of ownership of their heritage was an important initial motivating factor and, as seen in the next section, an ingredient that was noted, challenged, and in most cases, grew.

Gaining Skills in Developing Rapport

> I think it's really important and I felt actually satisfied with my interviews because it was more like a conversation than an interview. Or interrogation. I felt like I'm learning something from *you*. And I told my interview subjects that *I* was there to learn about *their* experience, not to tell *them* something about *their* experience.[251]

An examination of the rapport that was established during the interviews can indicate whether the SUCH project resulted in the fieldworkers gaining this skill. This topic was consistently discussed in my interviews with the interviewers, and one which they usually had much to say about. The desire to create comfort in human interactions

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[249] Poilievre, Personal interview, 1:15:00.
[250] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 1:01:09.
[251] Chomiak, Personal interview, 1:27:08.

is common in the realm of ethnographic fieldwork. This sought-after dynamic implies that all parties are at ease and open to the sharing process. Given their status as "professional strangers," fieldworkers often have to spend the early parts of the interview actively constructing rapport so that the interview is successful in eliciting as much information on the given topic as possible. This exercise is sometimes easier said than done:

> The interviewer must establish an atmosphere in which the subject feels safe enough to talk freely about his or her experiences and feelings. This involves a delicate balance between cognitive knowledge seeking and the ethical aspects of emotional human interaction.[252]

The relationship between interviewer and interviewee can begin as a tenuous one, dependent on the mood of the situation in general and the individuals in particular:

> I think we really tried to just explain to them what the purpose of the project was, sometimes who referred them, you know, telling them maybe the local priest sent us over or maybe their neighbours or their family sent us over, just to make them feel more comfortable and just that kind of reassurance that we are doing this for a reason. It was usually easy… Absolutely.
>
> I think we dressed professionally, as professionally as we could - I don't think we wore jeans, I think we wore pants of some type - just conducted ourselves as if we were doing regular work. If people were concerned, again, we would just try to make small talk about the weather, or what a beautiful yard they had or their garden or something like that, and then continue on from there.[253]

The initial steps toward building rapport[254] would often take the form of "small-talk," reliant on the student fieldworkers being relatively observant of the context and having good social skills, enough to bring the "familiar" into the interview setting to help put the informant at ease. In fact, the exercise can be viewed as the fieldworkers "entering the lives" of their informants, something which required preparation and focused attention:

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[252] Kvale, 125.
[253] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 52:10.
[254] It should be noted that a key notion to consider when discussing rapport development is the concept of age. This particular circumstance of the generational difference between informants and student fieldworkers will be discussed in depth later in this chapter.

> It is so much more than just signing a form to say that they are willing to offer you information, they are actually allowing you into their lives, they are telling you personal information that might be quite hard, so you need to demonstrate a certain degree of discretion, of respect, of appreciation for what they are doing 'cause the reality is that it is more than just words, it's more than just what you are going to analyze, it's their life, their experience and you need to make sure that you are aware of that.[255]

Scholars in the field of ethnographic fieldwork have written about the importance of the ethnographer's emotional awareness and personality in the establishment of rapport.[256] "The ease with which the fieldworker develops rapport is largely determined by the role image he creates in the minds of his informants and the community as a whole."[257] For those SUCH fieldworkers placed in their "home" areas (areas which either they or their parents/grandparents came from), this initial stage tended to be somewhat easier:

> I imagine I started right in my hometown, where people knew me well, so they would have just welcomed me, which built the confidence. I didn't

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[255] Virginia Dickson-Swift, Erica L. James, Sandra Kippen, and Pranee Liamputtong, "Doing Sensitive Research: what challenges do qualitative researchers face?" *Qualitative Research*. Vol 7(3). (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore: Sage Publications, 2007) 330.

[256] Agar, *Professional Stranger*, 138.

[257] Ronald M. Wintrob, "An Inward Focus: A Consideration of Psychological Stress in Fieldwork," *Stress and Response in Fieldwork*. Eds. Frances Henry and Satish Saberwal. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969) 69. In addition to personal characteristics, the working habits of the fieldworker can significantly affect the interview mood, and therefore the development of rapport with their informant. [John van Maanen, *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*. 2nd edition. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011) 4.] Despite the absence of the emotional and psychological investment of long-term research, short-term research can present equally problematic obstacles in reference to rapport-building: one on hand, the brief visit by the interviewer can allow the informant to feel more comfortable and therefore more open with them; on the other hand, the pressure to develop trust with someone quickly can result in more reluctance on the part of the informant. [Joan Neff Gurney, "Female Researchers in Male-Dominated Settings: Implications for Short-Term Versus Long-Term Research," *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research*. Eds. William B. Shaffir and Robert A. Stebbins. (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991) 55.]

> have a problem. And then usually at the end I would ask do you know of anyone else we can talk to, and that's how our contacts grew.[258]

> L.B.: Well, there again, I wish I could remember all the charming gimmics I may have used [to establish rapport]. I don't know! I may have gone so far as to introduce myself as my parents' daughter, right? So, because my father being an optometrist, a lot of these people came to him for their eyeglasses, even the ones from rural Alberta, right? They would come to the city and they would go see Dr. Faryna about their eyesight. So I probably played that card… Immediately they would say "Oh, Dr. Levko, yeah *vin meni okuliary [he helped me with my eyeglasses]*…" this kind of thing, so yeah, you would get that… In those days, *sviy do svoho* was the norm…[259]

Others were actual strangers to the community. Nonetheless, most interviewers remember this to be a fairly straight-forward process, something which was virtually "natural":

> I have to say, it was maybe just an instance before the comfort - like you didn't have to build relationships like now… with these elderly people, it took seconds. I mean, they got deeper and deeper into their life story, but no - it was like an almost immediate trust, so that was really, really nice.[260]

Some interviewers suggest that this ease with which rapport with the informant was established was due to the learned behaviors that come with being born and raised in the Ukrainian community:

> It came instinctually…I never remember, I mean, you sympathize and you can't help but when you hear what was going on in their life, you can't help but be sympathetic to that… I think also, with our generation and I don't think it's much different with your generation either, there's also a cherishing of the elders and how you speak to them. You honour them and you're careful when you speak to them because as my mother would say - *ty lysh vazhai, bo ty z nymy svyni ne pasla [you just watch out, because you didn't take the pigs out to pasture with them]*, you know? Just be careful you know who you are, and we grew up with that always… And I'm sure that there was a *spiel* that we would say this is what the project was about, and this is who I am, and why I'm interested, because that sets the tone, and I'm sure that Olenka and Yaroslaw [Lozowchuk] and Gerry [Luciuk, both project organizers] would have indicated that to us and would

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[258] Myall, Personal interview, 42:37.
[259] Bridges, Personal interview, 1:09:28.
[260] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 49:21.

> have selected people that had that sympatico… There has to be a worldview to be shared.[261]

Yet another commentary on the ease of rapport with the SUCH informants was based on the close relationships that some of the student fieldworkers had with their own grandparents, who were of the same generation as their informants:

> D.K.: You know for me, it just seemed really comfortable because I had spent so much time with my baba and dido. I mean, I spent from the time I was a baby two months of the year - I never spent a summer holiday with my parents - so I always spent that time with my baba and when my parents would come and pick us up in September, I would be getting in the car and I was quite dramatic I have to admit, I was hanging on to my baba's leg crying and screaming, and I was like 16![262]

One interviewer reflected that her ability to create rapport with her informants (even when their personal stories were difficult to share) was due to her experience with past hardships in her own family: The student fieldworker was the child of two Holodomor[263] survivors, and grew up close to her grandmother, also a Holodomor survivor:

> When you're young, you don't really understand those difficult times in life. I know I didn't understand what my mom and dad went through, the Holodomor, until now I'm much older. But when you're young…and I think that's what really helped us be so successful in getting those people to open up.[264]

Instances where informants shared difficult memories made an impression on the young fieldworkers, some of whom still emotionally reflect on the stories they listened to and their significance:

> Something just came to mind - when I was young, I didn't know the word "resilience," but I remember thinking wow, like I knew that that's every one

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[261] Lazarowich, Personal interview, 59:41.
[262] M. & D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 2:27:27.
[263] The Holodomor (from the words *moryty holodom*, meaning death by starvation) was the man-made famine- genocide which occured in Ukraine in 1932-33 at the hands of the USSR under Stalin. Though the actual statistics are not known, historians agree that approximately 4 million people died, many of whom were children. A dated but respected source on the topic is *Harvest of Sorrow* by Robert Conquest (Oxford University Press, 1986).
[264] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 42:10.

> of these people, the resilience they showed, though I could probably never put it down. That was striking, because every one of them - their stories reflected this deep, deep resilience, and I don't know where that comes from.[265]

Language was an additional tool used to help build rapport. The consciousness of the student fieldworker to the implications of types of language was important, a clear example of positive reflexivity. This sensitivity seemed to have developed on an instinctual level, since none of the interviewers recall hearing about "language mirroring" during the orientation sessions. Especially since language could be a clear marker of the waves of immigration, class, and level of formality within the Ukrainian community, mirroring the language style could affect the tone of the interview significantly, thus quite affecting the development of rapport. As a type of conversational skill, some student fieldworkers used language mirroring, and some did not, since knowledge of dialectal Ukrainian forms was a necessary component of this technique. In one example, the student fieldworker (who had been studying Ukrainian language at the university level at the time) asks a question in perfect literary Ukrainian with the exception of one word - the Ukrainianized form of "homestead," which was a key term for most pioneers. The response from the informant is spoken using a strong western Ukrainian dialect enthusiastically, exhibiting comfort and ease within the conversation very early on.[266]

Some of the student fieldworkers discovered and used various non-verbal cues that proved to be effective in stimulating conversation and openness in the interview context. Scholarship supports that fieldworkers can focus attention on tone, expressions, and gestures to create a natural flow to the interviews, and to mimic or incite conversation by using him- or herself as a "research instrument."[267] Body language and emotional intelligence are additional ways in which fieldworkers may be granted access to the lived worlds of their informants.[268] It is not clear whether these issues were made explicit during the SUCH fieldworker orientation (especially during

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[265] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 50:48.
[266] Leona Faryna, Personal interview with Mrs. Mereshka. Project SUCH reel 14, side 1. (Edmonton: 25 June 1971) 5:45.
[267] Kvale, 125.
[268] Ibid.

the second phase in 1972), or if use of these techniques was a product of well-developed social and listening skills on the part of certain student fieldworkers.

As the fieldwork progressed, the student fieldworkers adopted what they had learned in each interview, thereby becoming more confident and comfortable with the unpredictability of the interview experience:

> Definitely it became a little bit easier, because then you got into a groove and I think we figured out what kind of questions to avoid and what kinds of things would bring out the story…what we found was that asking them - like, you had to kind of make them comfortable with you first, I think at first we just kind of jumped into the set of questions, and people were, I think, reluctant to talk about personal things. And they felt more closed up…[269]

Subtle moments of success or failure in the interview became lessons that were learned somewhat organically., Some student fieldworkers do recall adjusting and adapting their techniques to ultimately produce more information and a "better" interview. Undoubtedly, some were more cognizant of these understated personal dynamics than others.

SUCH Fieldwork as Heritage Preservation

Impressions -"Nashi" - The Students as Ukrainians

The foremost factor informing the insider position of the fieldwork experience was ethnic identity. "Ukrainianness" was not only the basis upon which people applied for the job and were subsequently hired, but it also provided the strongest level of relatability while out in the field. The initial motivations and interests of the student fieldworkers were often solely based on this factor, with some interviewers providing surprisingly emotional explanations regarding their initial desire to become involved in Project SUCH:

> Well, I felt at that point, I mean anything Ukrainian for me was really just it hit my heart and soul and if we could somehow record it, because you realize that these are not people that are going to be lasting for a long

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[269] Poilievre, Personal interview, 42:05.

> time, so now's the time to capture that. And I mean at the same time I was talking to my grandmother and asking all kinds of things about what it was like, because she lived with us, and I would ask her all kinds of things about…and I think what happens is that it skips a generation, that the grandchildren always ask baba and dido what it was like, whereas the parents don't necessarily ask that level of detail, they take it for granted. So I was always interested because we had things in the home that were from Ukraine, and I wanted to know more about how they came about and why they were.[270]

For some, like the interviewer above, this emotional connection with ethnic identity was predicated on the concept of family, specifically due to the fact that the interviewer had grown up with her grandmother close by. This sentiment was echoed by other interviewers, as well:

> I had grandparents that I spent every summer with that I adored. They were my very favourite people in the whole world… It was because they were, I don't know, a lot of their friends came over, so I was used to being around older people, and I thought they were very interesting, they told great stories, and I thought hey - this is a match made in heaven for me! I was attracted to the idea, I thought it was great…[271]

In one particular instance, the interviewer saw the SUCH project as a vehicle to record family history, by including his grandparents and the grandparents of his friends in the list of informants:

> The other part that interested me too was the Ukrainian heritage and what impact did the culture have across western Canada… My grandmother and grandfather telling me stories - because I used to spend summers with them - as I heard about this [Project SUCH] and I'm sitting on the phone, I said geez, it would be neat to get that record[er] and record it somehow - everybody would like to get that recorded. So here was an opportunity for me to do that, you know, because I did interview our grandparents, I did interview my grandmother as part of the project, and other relatives, and plus friends that I knew from church or other organizations that I belonged to - they gave me names of their grandparents…[272]

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[270] Lazarowich, Personal interview, 27:01.
[271] D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 1:36:44.
[272] M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 1:39:25.

For others, ethnic identity was less tied to the fact that their family was Ukrainian, but more closely related to their own feelings of identity and how the interviewers were intrigued to explore this notion:

> Well, they pitched it to our heart-strings, to help a project that would gather archival materials about Ukrainians in Canada, and particularly folklore, because we were looking for folklore information in Ontario, and as an offshoot of that is when we started finding that people were in Ontario long time before the Second World War, some were there even in the early 1900s… From the aspect that it was something to do with my culture, and secondly that it was a challenge, because it was creating something new, finding new information that hadn't been done.[273]

Having been born and raised in various Ukrainian communities and involved to varying degrees, some student fieldworkers had assumed a sense of responsibility to fulfill the project objectives, beyond the realm of it being simply a temporary summer job:

> I think that our hands were still tied, not only to the newness of Canada, like, through our parents, but also to our grandparents, so the hands still went across the ocean very easily, cause it was still a direct link. And the further you go away,… it just echoes us… When you do all this interviewing, that's what visually going to come back - it tells us that story of what it was.[274]

In a few cases (directly corresponding to those interviewers who have stayed actively involved in organizational Ukrainian community life), this obligation was significant and something that was deeply felt:

> L.B.: Remember, I was about 20 years old at that point, and I would have figured out that I had lost my grandfather, and I think, you know, as you went along you had this sensation that a number of your friends had fallen away in terms of attending your parish and so on…I think even then we had an idea that there was a necessity to preserve these songs, these stories, that perhaps would be lost otherwise. So, I think those of us that worked on the project we all realized that we were trying to indeed save the Ukrainian Canadian heritage.
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> N.F-O: So you were very conscious of that, then?

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[273] Shadursky, Personal interview, 14:55.
[274] Lazarowich, Personal interview, 51:07.

> L.B.: Oh yes. You see, there was no independent Ukraine then. We had all that on our shoulders. We carried that around, like most of my adult life I've been carrying that around, this idea that I had to save the Ukrainian Canadian heritage. And certainly my father instilled that in me and he was trained in that by his own father, who was a very devoted Ukrainian Canadian.[275]

As a learned behavior, this type of ethnic identity proved to be a powerful force in galvanizing the youth of that time, as discussed in Chapter 2. It was exactly this dynamic that the project organizers were hoping to capitalize on, both in terms of recruitment and for what was to come after the project concluded.

In this way, the student fieldworkers were a part of the culture they were documenting, in many cases strongly motivated by notions of obligation and responsibility to "save" it before it disappeared. This is the setting in which many popular ethnographies take place. According to ethnic studies contributor Yiorgos Anagnostou, the "ethnic folk" as popular ethnographers is a very common occurrence: "All cite ties with family histories of immigration. References to ethnic connections are common, though the generational distance of each author from the family's immigrant past may vary."[276] The cultural connections of these individuals to the interest in fieldwork is based on the interplay of immigrant, ethnic, or diasporic worlds, and comes from the position of a cultural insider.[277] This description fits the Project SUCH landscape quite well.

The fieldworker is part of, rather than separate from, the fieldwork in the way that they come to the task with pre-disposed ideas, feelings, and behaviors regarding the culture that is being studied. Whether from a position of familial comfort or as a member and therefore, student of the cultural community, this type of fieldworker starts in an advantageous position, when compared with outsiders to the community under study. The cultural distinctions between "self" and "Other" - though still there to varying degrees - are blurred, which will be examined more closely in the later pages of this chapter. Anagnostou offers that participants in popular ethnographies often actively

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[275] Bridges, Personal interview, 15:18.
[276] Anagnostou, "Metaethnography in the Age of 'Popular Folklore,'" 391.
[277] Ibid.

resist this opposition, given multiple cultural connections that are entangled in complex ways, with the fieldworkers standing (knowingly or unknowingly) at their intersection.[278]

Close identification with the informants from an "insider" position does have a problematic aspect to it, from an academic perspective. Many notable elements of the fieldwork content may have been overlooked because of the closeness of the fieldworkers to the subject matter. This bias could have significantly shaped the kind of information that was shared as the interviewer influenced the tone of the interview or perhaps as they stopped and started the tape recorder or steered/lead the informant to certain stories rather than others. These dynamics typically occurred unselfconsciously.

Ethnicity & Identity

> I remember going to school and I couldn't speak English and I was the oldest - there were three brothers behind me - and my mom didn't drive and she took me to school and she said 'you are going to school now…it's English' - what is that? When you're at school you speak English, when you're at home you speak Ukrainian. It was the first time in my life I remember realizing there was an "other" …then it dawned on me that there was a majority of the other, and I was in a subgroup, right? Why did I have to speak that other language? Why couldn't I speak Ukrainian?…And why did we only go to Ukrainian school on Saturday? If it was really important, why are we only going one day?… When I went on this project, I came to realize that I came from a very old culture, that there was history there, and then when I went to Ukraine I realized how old that history really was. And that I was a part of it. And that it's something to be very proud of. I was proud to be Ukrainian and Canadian at the same time, I mean, what a combination… And I think interviewing those people - they had that feeling, too. I had more pride after I did that - in my culture, in trying to understand better. I had a better understanding of what my parents were trying to deal with - I don't know, you go through that whole rebellion stage, where they'd be speaking to us in Ukrainian and I'd answer in English - and I'm thinking now it was probably the wrong thing to do, and I'm really sorry now that I didn't teach my kids Ukrainian and now they're sort of saying 'why didn't you,' and I think to myself, oh my goodness… I think my bottom line is that I came away thinking I'm very proud to be a

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[278] Ibid., 392.

> Ukrainian Canadian, cause I was very proud of what these people had accomplished in their life, I was blown away by what they had done.[279]

When examining the intersection of the SUCH project and the topics of ethnicity and identity in the lives of the interviewers, there is immediately a clear, basic distinction – those who believe the project directly affected their ethnic identification, and those who do not. For the majority who believe it did, the SUCH project was one of the first times that, as young adults, the student fieldworkers were confronted not only with the idea of who the pioneers were, but consequently who they, themselves, were as their descendants.

Studies in ethnic identification began as early as the 1960s, with works by Stone (1962), Gordon (1964), Strauss (1968), Erickson (1968), and Dashefsky (1975) being key among them. Specific definitions of the concept are plentiful, though all agree that ethnic identification involves a certain number of characteristics and symbols shared within a group of individuals claiming a common ancestry.[280] Identification of this sort may occur in either the organizational sense (by way of membership in an organization) or in the symbolic sense (thinking of oneself as a member of a particular group).[281] Identification with a particular group gives rise to one's identity.

Ethnocultural identity tends to involve an assortment of the following factors: language, parochial education, religion, endogamy, "ingroup" friends, ethnic media, and

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[279] D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 3:01:07.

[280] Arnold Dashefsky, *Ethnic Identity in Society*. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975) 8. Later notable sources on the topic of the intersection of ethnicity and identity are: Thomas C. Davis, "Revisiting Group Attachment: Ethnic and National Identity," (1999); Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (1992) and "Baba was a Bohunk and so am I: A Stranger, Despite Three Generations in Canada," (1977); Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* (1991); W. Roman Petryshyn, *Changing Realities: Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians*, (1980); Natalia Shostak, *Local Ukrainianness in transnational context: an ethnographic study of Canadian prairie community*, (2001); Alison Smith, Abigail Stewart, and David Winter, "Close Encounters with the Midwest: Forming Identity in a Bicultural Context," (2004); Stephen Stern, "Ethnic Folklore and the Folklore of Ethnicity," (1977); and Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*, (1993).

[281] Leo Driedger, *The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity*. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1989) 137.

participation in ethnic volunteer organizations.[282] These factors reinforce ethnic identification and can lead to ethnic affirmation, resulting in pride for one's heritage.[283]

"National ethnic identification" is a related concept which, according to Jeffrey Reitz, results in four possible identification categories: ethnic, ethnic-Canadian, Canadian-ethnic, and Canadian.[284] This scale of "ethnic salience" became especially topical with the introduction of Multiculturalism in Canada, and was on the minds of ethnic community members in the 1970s and 1980s.[285] In her discussion of living ethnic in a multicultural Canada, author Myrna Kostash picks up on this topic of hybridity within the Ukrainian context in Canada:

> …Ukrainian/Canadian. It acknowledges explicitly the sense of duality inherent in the being of anyone who is conscious of her origins in a people who had a history and a definition prior to even the drama of emigration. The compounded tag does not represent, as some fear, a diluted Canadian but rather a doubly-endowed one, a person who is rooted in two historical narratives.[286]

Kostash, through this article and much of her other writing, struggles with the concept of ethnicity and her own ethnic identification as a Ukrainian/Canadian (her typography). This discourse is indeed problematic for the generation Kostash represents, one which came of age in the 1960s and went out into the world in the 1970s (she is a few years older than the SUCH interviewers). Kostash is honest about her process of becoming a "born-again ethnic" and the many difficult stages of

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[282] Driedger, 139-40.

[283] This process can conversely lead to ethnic denial, resulting in feelings of inferiority, disdain, or shame in one's cultural identity. [Ibid., 142]

[284] Jeffrey Reitz, *The Survival of Ethnic Groups.* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980) 118.

[285] Olenka Lozowchuk (SUCH project manager, 1971) referred to this discourse during her interview: "The Ukrainian Canadian - I don't know in your lifetime, if you would have heard anything from your parents in terms of the hyphenated, you're just Ukrainians in Canada, or you're a Canadian with Ukrainian background, or the Ukrainian hyphen Canadian - did you grow up hearing any…? The 'Ukrainian-Canadian' was very much, to my understanding anyway at that time because of the whole multicultural scene across Canada with other ethnic groups, was very much, I don't know whether I'd call it an "in" thing, but it was very much in the forefront.... That did raise some things for some people, I was comfortable with it." [1:14:00]

[286] Myrna Kostash, "Domination and Exclusion: Notes of a Resident Alien," *Ethnicity in a technological age*. Ed. Ian H. Angus. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the University of Alberta, 1988) 59.

questioning that came with it, lending insight into the complexities of the issue at the time:

> By this, of course, I mean that I come from a European people who, not very long ago, uprooted themselves and resettled in western Canada, here to begin a story that runs alongside that of the family left behind. The Canadian story is fresh and inventive. It has never been told before and its tellers are a new kind of person, bred in Canada from far-flung antecedents. It is something to anticipate, this ethnicity which is neither melancholia of the ghetto memoirists nor the unthinking assimilation of the denatured suburbanites.[287]

Kostash alludes to the to the position that ethnicity is constructed, a "product of history and discourse,"[288] and something which takes time to plant, mature, and eventually be harvested. Much like Benedict Anderson's seminal theory that nations are imagined communities, such complexes do not simply exist as entities on their own, but are rather constructed (consciously and unconsciously) by those who subscribe to them.[289]

This treatment of the issue of ethnic identification, specifically within the Ukrainian milieu, is indicative of the timeliness of the SUCH project in the experiences of youth in the early 1970s. After all, it was in the 1960s and 1970s that it became fashionable to "discover, cultivate and cuddle 'ethnic identities' and 'roots'" - something was popular in Europe but especially within the ethnic communities in North America.[290]

Their liminal positioning allowed for them to at once feel comfortable (enough) with their informants and yet come away with an entirely new education and appreciation for what being Ukrainian could mean in general terms and for them, personally.

> I think it did because I think that I felt that I understood that first, second generation experience, or that I had an inkling of what it was about. It

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[287] Ibid., 66.
[288] Roman Onufrijchuk, "Post-modern on Perednovok: Deconstructing Ethnicity," *Ethnicity in a technological age*. Ed. Ian H. Angus. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the University of Alberta, 1988) 3.
[289] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London and New York: Verso, 1983).
[290] Pierre van den Berghe, 4.

> helped me in terms of thinking about my own identity as a Canadian and what it did about all that "Ukrainian hyphen" kind of stuff. I felt that this was now part, I felt like I had assimilated this experience and that this was my experience. So I was born in Canada, the first child to be born in Canada, I felt that the experience of the other two generations were my experience, so it made me feel that that's a Canadian experience. That's my Canadian experience. I guess at the end of it I felt that I identified with that community.[291]

For some interviewers, the connection between the ethnic identity they grew up practicing in the organizational sense was a direct result of the pioneers:

> As I was growing up, I belonged to all these Ukrainian youth organizations and so on, so we always celebrated only the song and the dance, you know, and then you go listen to these people, and the thing that struck me is it's only because they worked so hard that I can still do this. If they hadn't preserved it, I wouldn't be doing it, where would we get it from? And that's what got me that was amazing - that these people, through all the adversity they had, they still managed to preserve this wonderful culture and fit it into the Canadian mosaic, so I can celebrate it today, you know?[292]

A pervasive sense of pride in one's heritage can be felt in the words and impressions of the interviewers even decades later, and this particular topic brought out very clear, insightful, and well-formed ideas during the interviews:

> I would say that I felt a bit like a messenger from another land, and I talked to all my friends about this project and I talked to them about the people that I met and the experiences that I had and, you know, once again I was back in a world that just didn't understand this world or see it or value it. And I remember meeting Myrna Kostash and I talked to her about this project, and I encouraged her - she had had an interview I think in Tatler magazine, or one of the British magazines - and I remember I met her…in Toronto and I remember having a conversation about this and telling her how interesting the people that I met were and talked to her about my experiences and encouraged her to write about this. And I think for her it was interesting… Did it change my identity? Absolutely. It changed my idea of what the Canadian experience was about, so then I looked in places and got really interested in the labour history, history of the Communist party in Toronto and I met Petro Kravchuk and years later I've gone to some of the events at the Labour Temple here in Winnipeg. I think

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[291] Chomiak, Personal interview, 1:50:21.
[292] M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 3:01:07.

> it was absolutely enriching - I think this is a part of Canadian history that we still marginalize and keep waiting to get over, but I don't think it's over yet, and I think that there's a lot there that is relevant to the kind of discussions that we're having today.[293]

By having what they believed to be "Ukrainianness" challenged, their ethnic identity was often strengthened (since they agreed to be interviewed for this study, it may come as no surprise that most had something positive to say about their experience, unlike those interviewers who did not respond to my request for an interview). The interviewers were not consistent in their thoughts about whether they felt "more Ukrainian" after the project or not, since some of them felt very Ukrainian before the project started. However, a clear majority agreed that their ideas changed about what "Ukrainian" meant:

> I had a very strong background coming into this through PLAST and the church and *ridna shkola* [Ukrainian community school] and all the rest, so in a sense I was pretty well equipped to do this. But it very much was a formative sort of experience… I see it as a real privilege to go into people's houses and just sit down and talk to them in their native language and have them share those experiences. Like you say, the language - they were very much an oral community, so it's very different than talking to someone today. It was very rich in terms of what they shared with us, so it was very formative. It sorted of blended with the other background elements that I brought to it anyway. For sure it was something that you carry with you forever.[294]

The use of the term "heritage," besides being a part of the project's title, corresponded with the SUCH interviewers' feelings that it was very relevant to the project. The concept has been defined as a "cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present."[295] "Heritage" and the ownership of their ethnic culture was a powerful force for some of the interviewers, allowing them to engage with a sense of history (as per Lowenthal's theory later in the chapter). They were able to recognize this both during their time working for the project and now, when reflecting back on their experiences:

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[293] Chomiak, Personal interview, 1:45:19
[294] Melnycky, Personal interview, 46:20.
[295] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2006) 44.

> Meeting these people and talking to them - it just made me feel a closeness to my heritage… It's different when you're interviewing young people, but when you're interviewing old people, you can't help but feel the warmth of the conversation between them and you. A lot of it was laughs - they like to laugh - but a lot of it was heartbreaking, because they have sad stories to tell.[296]

Scholars in this field have argued that in order for one to acquire a "sense of heritage," the heritage has to be experienced.[297] In some cases, the summer employment opportunity for the SUCH project was the first time that the concept of "living heritage" was understood:

> Well, I guess the title says it all, ok - SUCH Save Ukrainian Canadian Heritage, it *is* heritage. And to me, personally, heritage is living, it's not a dead thing, and so it changes generationally, it may not be interpreted the same way... To me, the "Save" portion was trying to do it... and I guess one of the bigger things for me too…with SUCH and the federal government, oh - you mean you're really interested in OUR heritage, as well as others in Canada, to be able to collect and preserve? And so it's a living thing, it's not a dead thing even though the people pass on and so on.[298]

The connection between heritage and identity is well-established in heritage scholarship, focusing on the role of heritage in creating meaning in one's life by relating ideas of "timeless values and unbroken lineages," which are seen to be fundamentals of identity.[299] In fact, sociologist Joane Nagel argues that ethnicity is made up of these two building blocks - identity and culture,[300] which contribute to the central processes of the construction of boundaries and the production of meaning.[301] The construction and negotiation of ethnic boundaries determines not only who is a member and who is not, but also the ways in which the group and its individuals "create and recreate their

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[296] Poilievre, Personal interview, 1:21:02.
[297] Smith, 47.
[298] O.Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 1:12:50.
[299] B. Graham, G.J. Ashworth, and J.E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy*. (London: Arnold, 2000) 41.
[300] Though "culture" and "heritage" are two separate concepts, they can be viewed within the same realm, given that each designates notions such as the language, religion, a system of beliefs, folklore, and traditions of a particular group. [Nagel, 161.]
[301] Ibid., 153.

personal and collective histories."[302] Ethnic identification can be conceived of in different ways within a group, thus creating variants in ethnicity from individual to individual. This idea was evident in how some SUCH fieldworkers recognized that the project had little effect on their ethnic identification, simply stating: "That Ukrainianness was always there, at times I was ashamed of it, I think my Ukrainianness was there, but it added to it, no doubt."[303] Such evidence underscores the negotiated and problematic nature of ethnic identification.

The construction of ethnic identity via the reconstruction of pioneer culture through narratives and generational interactions was a powerful force during the fieldwork phase of the SUCH project:

> Cultural revivals and restorations occur when lost or forgotten cultural forms or practices are excavated and reintroduced, or when lapsed or occasional cultural forms or practices are refurbished and reintegrated into contemporary culture.[304]

Given that the pioneer culture being studied in the SUCH project was a part of their heritage, though something which they were certainly removed from, the student fieldworkers did use the opportunity for both discovery and appropriation, including intensification of their sense of ethnicity. Since there was no formal processing or follow-up after the collection phase of the project, reintegration of these cultural forms came by way of the subsequent SUMK-led SELO camps, which will be discussed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

Robert Klymasz presents an additional theory that is applicable in this discourse on Ukrainian Canadian folklore, ethnicity, and identity. Klymasz details the process of how immigrant folklore became ethnic folklore in the Ukrainian Canadian context, a sequence which can be broken down into three parts: resistance (to change), breakdown (due to change), and reconstitution (adjustment to change).[305] By applying

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[302] Ibid., 154.
[303] Myall, Personal interview, 1:34:15.
[304] Nagel, 162.
[305] Robert Klymasz, "From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore: A Canadian View of Process and Transition," *Journal of the Folklore Institute.* 10(3). (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973) 134.

this theory to the SUCH project and its role in the creation of ethnic identification among the student fieldworkers, one could suggest that Klymasz's three stages are indicative of the generational dynamic that was evident during the project. Namely the pioneers were the source generation for the historical narratives, whose way of life and rural isolation predicated an active or passive form of resistance to change, generally speaking. Their children were born into a new environment, one which was not homogenous and thus which involved a different process of identity-building. In many cases, the first generation born in Canada to the pioneers experienced discrimination for the different lifestyle of their parents, and as such a breakdown in the cultural knowledge occurred due to the children actively or passively seeking change in order to assimilate or integrate. The final stage can be representative of the pioneer's grandchildren, the generation of the SUCH fieldworkers, who given varied experiences engaging with their heritage and with the culture-keepers themselves (and given the aforementioned political circumstances at the time) had already adjusted to the "change" in context, having been born into a plural society, and were searching for their roots with a mild, moderate, or great desire to reconstitute that, which was lost - to "save their heritage." The process from passive immigrant identity to active ethnic and integrated[306] identity is thus complete. As has been shown, the intrigue of having a point of origin within the pioneer narrative resonated with some of the student fieldworkers

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[306] A discussion about ethnic identity deserves a mention of the acculturation process, which undoubtedly affected the development of Ukrainian heritage in Canada in general, and the feelings of ethnic identity among the SUCH fieldworkers specifically. J.W. Berry identifies four acculturation patterns, which affect the creation of identity: separation, assimilation, marginalization, and integration. Simiar to Klymasz's series above, these patterns are in many ways emblematic of the generations of Ukrainians in Canada and how they interact with their culture/ethnicity. People with separated identities identify and interact with their native culture but not their host culture - the pioneer immigration. People with assimilated identities, on the other hand, identify and interact with their host culture and disidentify with their native culture - this is applicable to many of the pioneer's children. People who have marginalized identities do not identify or interact with either their native or host cultures - also applicable to some of both the pioneer and their children's generations. Finally, people who have integrated identities identify and interact with both their native and host cultures; in this sense, they are often considered truly bicultural - the generation of the pioneer's grandchildren. [J.W. Berry, "Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation," *Applied Psychology: An International Review*. 46. 5-36.]

strongly. At the basis of these concepts of ethnicity and heritage was the notion of "roots" - claiming at least a portion of one's own history as part of a collective past - this is a key building block to the development of identity for some.[307]

Lowenthal, too, saw the concept of past or heritage as being an implicit part of the creation of identity, both in individual and communal constructions, by providing a sense of meaning, value, and purpose.[308] If history was a record of the past then heritage was a celebration of the past, and this celebration provided an opportunity for the creation of meaning that was fundamental to human existence. A sense of "roots" is even more important for individuals who feel "cut off" from the past due to migration, according to Lowenthal, and as such they may feel compelled to (re)create a sense of belonging.[309] Graham, too, argues that migration is a crucial component to the process of identity-building, resulting in the creation of a "diasporic identity," which negotiates a contemporary use of the past through heritage, with its meanings being created in the present (rather than in the past) depending on what specifically is required by the individual or the collective.[310]

There were instances where the project's effect on the interviewer's identity, who they felt they were then and who they came to be later, was separate of any ethnic issue. They communicated notions that could be summarized as "life lessons," aspects of the pioneer narratives that did not reflect anything Ukrainian, but rather ideals such as perseverance and hope:

> It shaped my identity in that when my husband traveled three weeks out of the month, we had no family here at all, and there were times when invariably he'd be going down the driveway and then child number one

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[307] Roger Just, "Triumph of the Ethnos," *History and Ethnicity.* Eds. Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald, and Malcolm Chapman. ASA Monographs 27. (London and New York: Routledge, 1989) 75-6.

[308] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[309] Ibid. Additional relevant reading on the topic of memory and nostalgia as tools to create meaning can be found in another of his works, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), Paul Connerton's *How Societies Remember* (1989), and David C. Harvey's "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning, and the Scope of Heritage Studies," (2001).

[310] Graham, 1011, 1004.

> would start throwing up and child number two right behind. And in those days there weren't cell phones, you know, but you still had to go to work, it wasn't like it is nowadays where there is just a little more give and take in the workplace - there wasn't at that time because in those days if you wanted to work then you darn well better show up and you'd better do the job and don't tell me anything about your family problems or woes or anything else.
>
> And sometimes I would think you know what - if those pioneers could walk from Edmonton to Vegreville, and if those women could self-deliver, what are you - I did, I did - just shape up and spring forward. They did, they inspired me actually, and really respected a lot of what they did, and I thought I had nothing to complain about, I had running water, I had a car, I mean what am I complaining about? What do I have to complain about? They were amazing human beings I think…we don't give them enough credit, because we're standing on their shoulders.[311]

The impressions of the pioneer stories about life in those early years must have made deep impressions on the largely urban and young student fieldworkers, to the extent that in their own difficult times, they could recall these narratives and be able to take comfort in them:

> You know, when they would tell you their stories, you could see some of the hardships and understand - well you can't understand - but you would realize that they had some hardships, but they never dwelled on them, never. The dwelled on all the good things that happened. It does shape your identity, cause you meet so many people of various backgrounds and histories and you learn to appreciate that. That's not an opportunity that most people get. It really is not. So to appreciate that and understand it, and admire the people that went through that, I think it gives you a broader perspective of the life around you and where we are today.[312]

Interviewers working in Ontario also found the very research process in previously unfamiliar communities to be influential in terms of their own identity-building. Given that the Ontario fieldworkers were predominantly from the Greater Toronto Area, fieldwork in smaller centers removed from the GTA was eye-opening. Many early pioneers left the prairies to work in the mines of industrial Ontario in the early part of the century, and their stories were revolutionized the fieldworkers' earlier assumptions

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[311] D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 2:53:17.
[312] Shadursky, Personal interview, 46:48.

about the Ukrainian community in Ontario. The insular attitudes that were common among those Ukrainians living in the GTA, many who were descendants of the post-World War II immigration, were consciously and unconsciously passed on to the youth of the community, and these attitudes were quickly quieted with the SUCH experience:

> I'm sure it did - it had to. I don't think you can just walk away from it and not have it affect you in some way…Yeah - it probably gave me a wider perspective of not being a Torontonian only, that there are communities that are very different, and that people have a lot that they contributed and their ability to work as a community in a lot of these smaller communities and how they kind of kept together and worked forward - they didn't have as much of the split, whether it be religious or political, it wasn't great.[313]

These experiences traveling to areas that were not their own, experiencing culture in communities that were not their own, provided them with other life skills that were used as tools to help gain a broader understanding of not only the immigrant experience, but of the current state of the Ukrainian community in Canada:

> It was catalytic for me because it's one thing to be in your own territory of your own little SUMK branch and your own little parish and your own, you know, *otochennia* [local environment] or whatever. Now in my case, we had already been involved with eastern SUMK, there were about five or six of us that were very active, and so on a moment's notice we would drive to Windsor or Montreal or Ottawa or whatever. So it was organizational skills were part of what we were doing, but this was kind of stepping out of that. There was a lot of excitement to it, because you know like I said - you're only bounded by yourself. You had the energy - away you go. You worked day and night, you'd publish leaflets, brochures, run around and hand things out, mobilize…When we were doing the conference, there was an element of that… It really gave a sense that, there was a confidence builder - I can do this stuff, I like it, I can start from nothing and do something, get something done.
>
> Working in a community space is not easy. I only realized later on how difficult really it is, how most people would have a hell of a time. But this was a natural for me, and I began to see my natural skills in this area. And there was a whole different era of involvement. Not only the multicultural stuff, but there was stuff related to Ukraine and the dissident movement at the time.[314]

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[313] Shadursky, Personal interview, 46:48.
[314] Balan, Personal interview, 58:30.

Three interviewers did not feel that the SUCH project greatly changed their level of ethnic identification. In all three cases, these individuals were already actively involved in Ukrainian community organizations upon starting their work-term with the project: “Oh no, it was very much more of the same. Again, it couldn’t [affect the level of cultural involvement] because we were so immersed in it already.”[315] Another interviewer echoed the same sentiments: “That Ukrainianness was always there, at times I was ashamed of it. I think my Ukrainianness was there, but it [SUCH] added to it, no doubt.”[316] One interviewer, who remains one of the five involved actively in the Ukrainian community in the present day, emphasized her life-long involvement when asked if the project affected her level of cultural involvement after the fact:

> No - I have been so active in the Ukrainian community from the time I was young, even though I married out of the faith, so to speak… In spite of all that, I can say I’ve remained in the Ukrainian community, and though I sometimes tear my hair out over it, it’s a community that I cannot leave behind, so I’m still extremely involved.[317]

Regardless of whether or not ethnic aspects were a part of the process of identification or not, we see that the SUCH fieldworkers were, wittingly or unwittingly looking for something to make the job relevant for them: “the feelings of attachment that comprise loyalty for many are not whimsical but are generally basic to the individual’s definitions of themselves. Loyalty to a group strengthens one’s identity and sense of belonging.”[318] The SUCH project was certainly a contributing ingredient to this process for the individuals involved. Early writing on the topic of anthropological fieldwork suggested that perhaps the very exercise attracted a certain type of student, who was searching for a better understanding of who they were, who wanted to become independent, and who wanted validation of their identity.[319]

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[315] Ashmore, Personal interview, 31:40 (2).
[316] Myall, Personal interview, 1:34:15.
[317] Bridges, Personal interview, 1:25:25.
[318] D. Druckman, “Nationalism, patriotism, and group loyalty: A social psychological perspective,” *Mershon International Studies Review*. 28 (International Studies Association, 1994) 44.
[319] Wintrob, 74.

SUCH Fieldwork as Life-Work

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the Project SUCH opportunity for the student fieldworkers was a common consequence of their cultural "immersion," whereby their participation helped shape and develop career options and life skills for them that would follow them long into their future. The interviews conducted with the interviewers (which included a section of questioning about what happened in their lives post-SUCH Project), show that it was actually a blur of their outsider and insider status that allowed many of them to have such profound experiences.

Conscious Partiality: The Outsider/Insider Blur

In the preceding pages, there have been examples where the blur between outsider and insider positions have been evident. It is in this way that Project SUCH is more intricate than it seems on the surface - more specifically, how the fieldworker experience of those who worked for Project SUCH carries a complex system of ways to both view and understand their participation.

Arguably, the very fact that all the student fieldworkers were young Ukrainian Canadians interviewing elderly Ukrainian Canadians should have meant that an insider position of their fieldwork would have been thoroughly dominant. As we have seen, this was not the case, mainly stemming from the fact that the student fieldworkers themselves came from diverse backgrounds and experiences:

> It was a comfortable environment because it was what I had grown up with. I would have been absolutely amazed if some elderly Ukrainian person turned me away or not treated me with hospitality, and so it didn't happen. The other thing is that people would sort of agree to the interview, so already you knew that they were interested in talking, but no, it was tremendously comfortable. It was certainly interesting to hear their stories. Because both my parents were immigrants, poor village people and like that, hearing the stories about the hardships they went through was tremendously interesting.[320]

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[320] Ashmore, Personal interview, 18:31.

Quite explicitly, this interviewer states that she was not only *of* this group, but that she had grown up *within* the group, so to speak. Given her familial background, she could relate quite well to the informants and their stories, despite the numerous other factors that presented differences between her and them. Still, the very fact that the informants are referred to as "poor village peasants" is a clear marker of ways in which they differ from her, and ways in which their community is somewhat different than hers. This is even more evident in a continuation of this discussion with the same interviewer:

> [the SUCH participants were] a little bit more rural, like my parents versus some of the church community in Vancouver, there was a difference because mom and dad were definitely the village kind of people, but in the Vancouver parish we had ones that had come from Kyiv or other places, or whose parents themselves had come from there. So I could relate much more to the people I was interviewing than I could to some of the people in the church. But not to make it sound like it was a hierarchy or a snobbery, but just in terms of the lifestyle.[321]

Once again, in a complex way the interviewer both relates to and differentiates herself from the community of her informants. Furthermore, assumably, project organizers would have found it surprising that the employee from urban Vancouver would end up feeling more kinship to the SUCH informants than to her own home community and church parish. The line of delineation for her was in fact geographic origin, meaning that her parents came from a rural area in western Ukraine, as did most of the SUCH informants (or their parents), despite the fact that her own parents were third wave immigrants.

The role of the student fieldworkers as young Ukrainian Canadians placed them in the position of partial insiders to the Ukrainian pioneer community that they were collecting from:

> In some ways, I was a non-threatening figure because I was a young woman who sort of knew about their lives, but didn't. You know, I could enter linguistically into their lives… I think they knew that I'm a stranger to their life, so maybe in some ways that makes it easier - it's easier to talk to a stranger about your life than it is to someone that you know, and I was a stranger who was overall just positive about everything that they had to say to me. I wasn't judging them, in fact I was telling them over and over

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[321] Ashmore, Personal interview, 10:20 (2).

> again how interesting this was, and it was genuinely interesting for me. I genuinely enjoyed this - it was like entry into this world that I knew and yet knew nothing about.[322]

Not one of the student fieldworkers was a complete insider - they could not be, by the very fact that they were born two or more generations later into a completely different context. In most academic insider studies concerning fieldwork, ethnographers start collecting data from the insider position, only after trying to make sense of what they have collected by stepping beyond the research to the outsider position, for reasons of scientific analysis and validity.[323] However, one could argue that given the non-insider roots of the SUCH project, the opposite pattern is evident - namely, that students approached the project from a largely neutral position (as they would most summer jobs), but most ended up becoming quite involved in the process and finding themselves invested in unexpected ways.

In general this type of blur is not surprising from an academic perspective, nor is it considered to be a negative aspect of the fieldwork, but rather, the grey areas are what makes the information gathered both interesting and complex.

Indexicality and Shared Experience

The outsider/insider blur discussed in the previous section is a result of the dual nature of the SUCH student fieldworkers - not exactly outsiders, and not perfectly insiders, either. Much has been written about the dual perspectives of the researcher and the participant in the writing of ethnography, the "self" and the "Other,"[324] but what about the space in-between? The liminal space found in the middle of this relationship

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[322] Chomiak, Personal interview, 1:34:52.

[323] David M. Fetterman, "A Walk Through the Wilderness: Learning to Find Your Way," *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research*. Eds. William Shaffir and Robert A. Stebbins. (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991) 91.

[324] A detailed look at this issue can be found in Linda L. Snyder's "The Question of 'Whose Truth'?: The Privileging of Participant and Researcher Voices in Qualitative Research," where the author presents a comprehensive background to this research question, including an extensive bibliography on the topic. [*Doing Ethnography: Studying Everyday Life.* Eds. Dorothy Pawluch, William Shaffir, and Charlen Miall. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2005) 128-40] An additional key source on the topic is Svašek's "In the Field" (2010).

warrants attention from the qualitative perspective, and in the case of the SUCH project, this liminal space is where many intriguing ideas about the project and its participants arise.

Indexicality is a term that is applicable at this point of the study, as it refers to the amount of shared background knowledge that is necessary to understand a message.[325] An added complexity of indexicality in short-term research is that there is less time in which to build up the shared knowledge that is needed to make sense of the ethnographic product. As such, one needs to be actively aware of numerous dynamics happening simultaneously, while tackling the tangible tasks of asking questions and recording answers. This can require some effort for the fieldworker, creating an intense, energetic environment that is constantly in transition. How, then, could this be applicable to the student fieldworkers of the SUCH project, who were largely unaware of these concerns?

The subsequent chapter focuses on the SUCH informants themselves as a stakeholder in the success of the project. From listening to many of the collected interviews, it is possible to deduce, generally speaking, their impressions to the process in how they responded to the interview experience. The feelings of success of the interviewers themselves decades later are also an indication that they at least partially understood the message that was being shared. The student fieldworkers seem to have increased in their indexicality. Further, it is important to note that good conversational skills can be naturally-occurring, without formal fieldwork training, though applying them in an interview context may well be somewhat more challenging for those without training.

Perhaps the SUCH fieldworkers were not experienced enough in the area of ethnographic fieldwork to be aware of these dynamics in the field. One could say that they did not have any interest in such notions, and that they were just there to do their summer job and then move on. Perhaps these assumptions are valid for some of the student fieldworkers, but for others this was not the case. Some of these young

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[325] Agar, *Professional Stranger*, 58.

students managed to traverse complicated interview situations and emerge from them with fruitful interviews, which in turn made the project a success in their eyes; some of the fieldworkers experienced a steep learning curve for not only fieldwork methodology, but for interpersonal skills; despite being strangers to their hosts, they managed to create comfort and come to a place of shared knowledge, refining and adapting their fieldwork skills from interview to interview; and somehow, the majority of the fieldworkers came away affected by the process in ways which would follow them throughout their lives. For many of the student fieldworkers, the finer aspects of achieving good rapport with their informants - such as recording substantive stories, getting the informant to open up and achieve a natural "flow" to the interview, and honing their fieldwork skills as they went along - were the clearest measure of their successful participation in a successful project.

The various aspects that contributed to the insider position of the student fieldworkers, together, allowed the fieldworkers to do *what* they did, *how* they did. As partial insiders to the cultural group they were studying, it can be said that only from this liminal position[326] were such accomplishments possible, especially given the various factors noted above that were working in opposition to them. American anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff examines a similar principle in her discussion of a Jewish-American community, allowing for some interesting comparisons. In the foreword of the volume,

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[326] The concept of liminality, in this case the grey area between "self" and "other," has been written about extensively in ethnography, particularly in the area of indigenous ethnography. A selection of literature on this type of liminality includes: Georgios Agelopoulos, "Life among anthropologists in Greek Macedonia," *Social Anthropology.* 11(2). (Oxford: European Association of Social Anthropologists, June 2008) 249-63; Ayca Ergun and Aykan Erdemir, "Negotiating Insider and Outsider Identities in the Field: 'Insider' in a Foreign Land; 'Outsider' in One's Own Land," *Field Methods*. 22(1). (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2010) 16-38; Kirsten Hastrup, "The native voice - and the anthropological vision," *Social Anthropology*. 1(2). (Oxford: European Association of Social Anthropologists, June 1993) 173-86; Jean E. Jackson, "Deja Entendu: The Liminal Qualities of Anthropological Fieldnotes," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 19(1). (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, April 1990) 8-43; Deborah A. Kapchan and Pauline Turner Strong, "Theorizing the hybrid," *Journal of American Folklore*. 112 (445). (Chicago: American Folklore Society, Summer 1999) 239-53; Keyan G. Tomaselli, Lauren Dyll, and Michael Francis, "'Self' and 'Other:' Auto-Reflexive and Indigenous Ethnography," *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. Eds. Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln. (Los Angeles, California: Sage Publications, 2008) 347-72.

famed anthropologist Victor Turner calls upon the theory of Indian anthropologist M.N. Srinivas - the theory that each of us is "thrice-born:"

> The first birth is our natal origin in a particular culture. The second is our move from this familiar to a far place to do fieldwork there. In a way this could be described as a familiarization of the exotic, finding that when we understand the rules and vocabulary of another culture, what had seemed bizarre at first becomes in time part of the daily round. The third birth occurs when we have become comfortable within the other culture - and found the clue to grasping many like it - and turn our gaze again toward our native land. We find that the familiar has become exoticized; we see it with new eyes. The commonplace has become marvelous… 'Thrice- born' anthropologists are perhaps in the best position to become the 'reflexivity' of a culture.[327]

Though Turner was using this theory to describe Myerhoff and her ethnographic study, it could be similarly applicable to the journey of a novice interviewer, such as the SUCH student fieldworkers, vis-a-vis their discovery of ethnic identity or pioneer culture.

Myerhoff wrote *Number Our Days* a few years following the release of a documentary by the same name that was produced on the basis of her ethnographic research. As a career anthropologist, Myerhoff had traveled to faraway places to study exotic peoples in their remote native environments. Upon deciding that her next ethnographic focus would involve the study of aging within an ethnic group, it was suggested that she study her own, herself being a Jewish American.[328] The political and cultural climate of urban America at the time, coincidentally the same time that Project SUCH was taking place, was one where "ethnic groups were not welcoming curious outsiders."[329] After having given it some thought, Myerhoff - painfully aware of the complications that would arise with regard to objectivity - came to the conclusion that there was validity in being able to identify with her research subjects. Namely, she would one day be a "little old Jewish lady" - what could make this work more valid and advantageous than that?

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[327] Victor Turner, "Foreword," *Number Our Days*. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978) ix.
[328] Myerhoff admits to wondering that if she proceeded to study her own community of people, would that even be considered anthropology and moreover, did not all anthropology have to be remote and exotic? [*Number Our Days,* 12]
[329] Ibid., 11.

> The anthropologist engages in peculiar work. He or she tries to understand a different culture to the point of finding it to be intelligible, regardless of how strange it seems in comparison with one's own background. This is accomplished by attempting to experience the new culture from within…all the while maintaining sufficient detachment to observe and analyze it with some objectivity. … Working with one's own society, and more specifically, those of one's own ethnic and familial heritage, is perilous, and much more difficult. Yet it has a certain validity and value not available in other circumstances. Identifying with the "Other" is an act of imagination, a means for discovering what one is not and will never be. Identifying with what one is now and will be someday is quite a different process.[330]

Though the Myerhoff was also not of the exact same roots as her informants, she, too, found her conscious partiality to be both fruitful and rewarding. By coming to the SUCH project as individuals who were mostly detached from the pioneer aspect of their ethnic heritage, the student fieldworkers could allow themselves to become intrigued by the perceived rarity of the Ukrainian pioneer story and lifestyle. However, the true value of their experience, at the individual level, could not have been realized had there not been indexicality upon which to create a fertile basis of understanding and appreciation. Perhaps on some level, they felt that these were "their people" and that this was as much a proverbial look into the future as it would have been for Barbara Myerhoff.

"Life-Work" - A Formative Experience

> It was a great project to work on and we certainly felt like we were contributing to something very worthwhile. We really enjoyed the personal stories that entered into the conversation. I can remember in Mikado, we were there one day interviewing this person and the next day we went back and people knew of these two young girls that spoke Ukrainian in this yellow car and they were coming back, so they said we were expecting you, because we heard about you from other people… I think as soon as word spread, especially in little towns, people were often expecting us - so there was a fresh cake waiting for us, in anticipation for us coming or something like that…[331]

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[330] Ibid., 18.
[331] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 1:23:20.

> Of all the jobs that I did in the summer, it's the only one that I remember. One of the best things I've done… I think it changed all of us, without a doubt.[332]

In the opinion of the majority of the fieldworkers interviewed for this dissertation, Project SUCH was a success. Despite having remained unprocessed and inaccessible for over forty years, the project's reach has, in several cases, extended far and long in the lives of the interviewers. In the interviews recorded with the interviewers, present-day impressions of the SUCH project focused on its impact on their personal lives and development - specifically in regard to the notions of educational enlightenment, ethnicity, identity, and its influence on certain life trajectories. Ethnicity and identity are sometimes intentionally separated in this discussion, given that some interviewers shared ways in which they strongly identified with non-ethnic factors through the SUCH project.

The non-ethnic impressions on the forming identities of the student fieldworkers were merely one aspect of the experience that was, arguably, accidental. In several cases, the interviewers offered that not only did the SUCH project influence their ideas about their own ethnicity and identity, but it also affected their future life experiences - and in certain instances, life trajectories - in various ways:

> For me it did - you learned how to talk to people, you're always talking to people your own age, you know, and talking with your parents is a different kind of talk, but here you were talking to these people that were like your grandparents but you're doing it every day, you know - so, it was good practice in how to talk, because my first job I got, I'm dealing with people that were war veterans, so they're much older than me, you know - so how do you talk to these people? You don't talk to them in the same vernacular that I would talk to people my age, you know, but you've got to talk to these people the age of your parents and older.[333]

The conversational skills gained while conducting fieldwork during the SUCH project are specialized. Not only are young adults put into situations where they have to strike up a meaningful conversation with strangers, but they are to quickly build rapport with individuals of their grandparents' generation, often times in order to be able to

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[332] M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 3:27:10.
[333] M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 2:50:40.

speak to them about difficult or painful topics. This experience was very valuable for the job the interviewer quoted above went on to have, talking to war veterans.

Another interviewer, having also gained specialized life skills while working on the SUCH project reflected on the impact this created in his own career:

> So these things have tremendous impact - people discover a lot about themselves and say, you know what - I can do. And the opportunity the government created by saying hey, you know what we'll pay your salary for a summer, you know… All in all, it was an extremely important part of my development and an important part of recognizing my own skill set, and it became a catalytic force that drove me on.[334]

This individual went on to become a multiculturalism officer for the Province of Manitoba, and encouraged similar SUCH-like projects during his tenure.[335]

A third interviewer also went on to pursue research in Ukrainian topics and fieldwork beyond the scope of the SUCH project:

> I think SUCH steered me in life, but also I think my interests steered me to this fieldwork in the first place, so it was pretty symbiotic. You know I was pretty much on track - ever since that job with the Man and Nature Museum, for me that was a formative experience. Up until that time, summer work was working in a steel mill, and Man and Nature - sure the money was not as good, but the rewards in other areas was much greater and for me that was a turning point…and really that sort of changed my life in many ways.[336]

The only student fieldworker to have had prior fieldwork experience, this individual credits much of his interest to the previous summer's work conducting similar interviews for the Man and Nature Museum in Winnipeg. The experience of fieldwork encouraged him to seek more opportunities of the same sort, leading him to the SUCH project and beyond, steering into his career with the Historic Sites Service of Alberta.

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[334] Balan, Personal interview, 1:02:18.
[335] Balan, Personal interview, 1:03:03. He also went on to become a founding member of Manitoba Ukrainian Bilingual program under the banner of the various multiculturalism initiatives.
[336] Melnycky, Personal interview, 47:35.

Finally, the individual most directly touched by the project in terms of career choice was both a fieldworker and project manager for the second phase of the project in 1972:

> I guess it was a really positive one. It certainly didn't turn me off of our culture and our heritage. If anything, it strengthened where I felt, not where I felt, where I knew I had to move professionally. So that is why, although I did an education degree, I didn't go to teach. I had to go - it was driven, I just had to go work at the Museum. I can't explain why, there was no major thinking process, I just had to do it… It made me feel more proud, I mean I was proud already, I had a strong identity, so that was already there. I think if anything, I saw that this is something I could make a life in. It helped to seal me to consider the potential for looking at this professionally, that there was a life in this area.[337]

This interviewer went on to accept a position as the curator of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, which at that time was housed at Mohyla Institute, but which soon moved to its current stand-alone location overlooking the South Saskatchewan river in downtown Saskatoon.

Not every student fieldworker went on experience the direct influence of Project SUCH in their life paths or careers. This is a realistic indicator of the spectrum on which individuals process experiences and how they relate and identify with those experiences. This does not necessarily colour their impressions of their involvement, but is worth noting.

In this chapter I have examined the goals anticipated by the student fieldworkers regarding their participation in Project SUCH and the various ways in which these goals were achieved. From having a unique summer job to genuine moments of education, to the informing of ethnicity and identity, and even to influencing and affecting life paths, the reach of the SUCH project in the lives of many of the student fieldworkers could be felt long after the project's completion. The next chapter will seek to examine the successes of the project through the lens of the fourth stakeholder group - the informants themselves.

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[337] Lazarowich, Personal interview, 1:22:38, 1:25:04

CHAPTER FIVE:

Stakeholder #4 - The Project SUCH Informants

The effects of fieldwork on the informants has been a topic of study in recent decades, and research shows that given the obvious human element of fieldwork, this is a natural consequence.[338] The opportunity of remembering and having someone genuinely interested to share their stories with was perhaps thought of by the informants as a gift of time and interest.

The "sources" of the knowledge to be collected as part of Project SUCH are stakeholders in the success of the project, as well. Human beings rarely choose to be part of something that they do not wish to be successful. No formal information exists on what the opinions of the informants were about Project SUCH, as they were not officially asked those types of questions either as part of the interview or afterward, as a follow-up. This type of contextual questioning in research was not imagined for the project, since the primary goal was to "save" as much information about the *past* as possible; present-day circumstances were not seen to be part of that equation. As such, this discussion of the informants as stakeholders will be based on: the impressions of the interviewers about the feelings communicated verbally and non-verbally throughout the interview process, and the general tone of their conversations with the informants, before and after the formal interview.

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[338] Scholarly literature on this topic includes works by: Agar (*The Professional Stranger*); Kvale (*InterViews*); Wolcott (*The Art of Fieldwork*); Spencer and Davies (*Anthropological Fieldwork*); Hunt (*Psychoanalytic Aspects of Fieldwork*); Kleinman and Copp (*Emotions and Fieldwork*); Halstead, Hirsch and Okley (*Knowing How to Know*); Shaffir and Stebbins (*Experiencing Fieldwork*); McMahan and Rogers (*Interactive Oral History Interviewing*); and Stewart (*The Ethnographer's Method*). A particularly notable source relevant to this study is Patrick Mullen's *Listening to Old Voices: Folklore Life Stories and the Elderly*, (1992).

Recruiting Sources and Excavating Memories

> Sometimes a telephone call alone can be enough. There can be appeal in a request for an interview. People may welcome the chance to make their situation known or just have a break in the day. People marooned at home tend to welcome interviewers. So do people with time on their hands, like the hospitalized or the retired… But most people, given adequate assurance about the legitimacy of the interviewer and the confidentiality of what they say, are willing to talk.[339]

Before delving into the idea of the informants as stakeholders in the project's success, it is necessary to first understand who they were and how they came to be part of the project. The aim of the SUCH project was to interview first and second-wave Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, to collect their biographies, songs, and stories. By the early 1970s, most of the immigrants were older than 70 – the quest was to pinpoint the oldest members in the target areas that were still in good health and who would be willing to share their time and story with the student fieldworkers. The ideal informant was not only of a particular age, but one who was a good storyteller and who had a vast cultural knowledge. Selecting informants on the basis of their cultural knowledge is a common strategy in ethnographic research, though there is also a (sometimes unspoken) component of fieldworkers interviewing "whomever they are able to convince to cooperate."[340] This was certainly a consideration for the SUCH project, which had little time and resources to work with, and which sent student fieldworkers out into the field with the mission to "collect as much as possible."[341]

Most interviewers recall being sent out into the field with a preliminary list of contacts supplied by the project administrators. Sometimes these individuals were resource people (local priests, community leaders), who were to point the student fieldworkers in the direction of "good" informants. For this reason, the project tended to

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[339] Robert S. Weiss, *Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies*. (New York: The Free Press, 1994) 33.
[340] Jeffrey C. Johnson, *Selecting Ethnographic Informants.* Qualitative Research Methods Series 22. (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990) 15.
[341] Bridges, Personal interview, 32:03; Chomiak, Personal interview, 58:01; Noseworthy, Personal interview, 27:53.

be biased in favour of people whose families were active in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, and its related organizations. Orthodox Church affiliation was a clear assumption for all those involved, though there was never any indication that the student fieldworkers must only interview those in the Orthodox community, nor is there ever any mention of Church affiliation in the Final Report (though SUS and SUMK are mentioned numerous times, Presumably, those reviewing and approving the application would not have been particularly aware of their religious connotations). The community "gatekeepers" had the most power in deciding who was interviewed and who was not, even including Church membership or lack thereof.

In other instances the initial list contained names of actual potential interviewees in the area.[342] In the experience of many interviewers, the initial listing lead to further names, continuing to grow indefinitely.[343] This technique of recruiting informants, known as the "snowball" method, is not uncommon to ethnographic fieldwork and can prove to be very fruitful. The "snowball" method involves an informant who has been interviewed proceeding to assist in "locating others through her or his social networks."[344] This type of sampling method was plausible in the small-town community context, where everyone is known to everyone else, and thus was a successful means of recruiting informants. Student fieldworkers often simply asked at the end of an interview if the

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[342] To borrow a term from organizational culture, these resource people are essentially "gatekeepers" to their communities - individuals who exercise a certain amount of control, access, and/or information and who can play a significant role in the recruitment process. [Robert R. Burgess, "Sponsors, Gatekeepers, Members, and Friends: Access in Educational Settings," *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside View of Qualitative Research.* Eds. William B. Shaffir and Robert A. Stebbins. (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991) 47.

[343] Ashmore, Personal interview, 19:28; Balan, Personal interview, 17:50; Bridges, Personal interview, 33:29; Chomiak, Personal interview, 58:01; Lazarowich, Personal interview, 54:00; Melnycky, Personal interview, 21:33; Myall, Personal interview, 33:56; Noseworthy, Personal interview, 31:10; Shadursky, Personal interview, 23:29.

[344] Carol A.B. Warren, "Qualitative Interviewing," *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*. Eds. Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002) 87.

informant knew of anyone else that they could speak to, and people often passed on a few names of relatives, friends, or neighbours.[345]

In the initial stage of the fieldwork in 1971, the students heavily relied on their homestay families - for contacts, for transportation to interviews, for food. If the student fieldworker was spending time interviewing in a small town, they would most often travel on foot with their equipment and supplies from interview to interview.[346] If the interviews were to take place in more distant rural areas, the student fieldworkers would rely on the kindness of other informants or their homestay family. The issue of transportation was reviewed and purposely changed for the summer of 1972, renting cars for each team of fieldworkers, minimizing the reliance on and inconvenience to the homestay families.

Interviews generally took place in the homes of the informants, for sake of project efficiency and the comfort of the informants. Ethnographic fieldwork often involves going into the group's environment. Furthermore, with attention to ethnographic interests, one can learn much about others from their home and daily surroundings.

Observing a person in their element can provide additional interesting information which may be recorded in field notes/interview reports, or can provide an opportunity for other types of techniques to be used to draw the informant into story-telling (family photo albums, etc.).[347] There was mention of photo albums emerging during a SUCH interview by one of the student fieldworkers, commenting that "if they felt comfortable with you, they would bring stuff like that out and we knew we were making progress if they brought out the albums."[348] The fieldworker was able to deduce that this gesture illustrated enthusiasm and openness within the interview context.

In one instance, the student fieldworker was placed with a family in the town of Smoky Lake, Alberta, and was given the contact name of the main administrator at the local nursing home.[349] The Apollo 15 spaceflight was taking place at this time, which

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[345] Poilievre, Personal interview, 36:19.
[346] Ashmore, Personal interview, 14:16.
[347] Agar, *The Professional Stranger*, 120.
[348] Poilievre, 42:05.
[349] This interviewer's experience conducting fieldwork in a nursing home was a distinct anomaly in this project, as no other fieldworker interviewed in such an establishment, and several

proved to be an interesting "icebreaker" in the interviews at the nursing home, and served as a notable juxtaposition: "On the one hand, my foot was on the moon, and on the other, I was going to Hamburg and pioneers setting off into the unknown."[350] The experience of being a young, enthusiastic student in a small-town nursing home proved to be somewhat tentative at first, but the student fieldworker soon became the attraction in the dining room, where she would conduct her interviews:

> You know, when you're [living in] in a nursing home, people don't pay any attention to you, you've sort of been shuffled off and no real activity in your [immediate] community. So I think they were happy to talk to me just because they were happy to talk to me. And I was a young person and they hadn't seen me.[351]

It was not long before her list of potential informants grew to be quite substantial, with many of the residents eager and interested to speak with her and share their stories:

> Well, I felt that I had come into a whole new world - and it was sort of, I would say when I finished with my nursing home residents, it was like a corrective…I think there was a great deal of interest, and people felt validated that the younger generation might be interested in their experiences… And I think once people started talking they really did just feel, I felt that people as they got more comfortable they would tell me all sorts of things and then they would sort of say look - who gets to see this, and I would say it gets to go into an archive. People also wanted the material to be published, in a book form or some kind of article - they wanted to be remembered. They would do this because they wanted their *own* experience to be remembered.[352]

Only rarely did the interviewers recall having a "dry spell" for interviewing.[353] More often, they recalled not having enough time or resources to respond to the interest and demand of interviewees wanting to participate in the project:

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commented that this was not very common in the early 1970s, with the trend still being that most elderly people in need of care moved in with other relatives.

[350] Chomiak, Personal interview, 59:00.

[351] Ibid., 1:00:33.

[352] Ibid., 1:07:01.

[353] This instance occurred with the fieldwork team in Ontario in 1971, who while in the Beamsville area, experienced a slow point in interviewing: "Sometimes we even took a phonebook and looked at names that sounded Ukrainian and then called them and just…I

> I think I felt with most people that they wanted - if you came across as friendly and interested, the more you talked to them, the more they opened up and they actually wanted to tell you stories. And to this day, I still think that, because you talk to any person who is in their later years, they like to talk, they want someone to talk to, so there you are, you know, if you're willing to listen, they're willing to talk.[354]

Though each interview differed in some ways from the next, a basic structure can be identified:

> You'd knock on the door, and say who you were and what you were doing and hoped that they'd invite you in. And you would come in and you would begin to ask them about where they were born and how they came to be there, and how their family came to be there, and you'd go on from there - that would have been a typical interview. And occasionally, you know, they'd want to sing you something and that would be a nice surprise and you would record that.[355]

Arrangements were usually made ahead of time by phone, and the informant always had the opportunity to agree to the interview (or not) ahead of time.[356] For the most part, the daily interviewing schedules of the student fieldworkers were quite flexible, revolving significantly around the availability of the informants and local individuals who could grant access to the churches and halls.[357]

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mean, we tried whatever we could! We didn't do it all the time, but you know when we were stuck, we said ok - let's check the phonebook in this area." [Shadursky, Personal interview, 23:29]

[354] Poilievre, Personal interview, 38:03.

[355] Bridges, Personal interview, 42:16.

[356] This was perhaps the only check for willingness to participate, in place of an interview agreement/waiver in this context. Though the issue of ethics in interviewing was not developed at the time, and taking into consideration the non-academic roots of this project, it was likely the correct choice of how to deal with this type of informant. Given that many of the pioneers were illiterate or not very educated, and given several historical circumstances where signing official documents was both intimidating and perhaps dangerous, an interview agreement would have been an additional obstacle for the novice fieldworkers in building rapport with their interviewees. Furthermore, the issue of confidentiality was rarely discussed, as the informants were generally proud to share their personal stories and to have them included as part of a broader historical record. There was only one documented instance in which the topic of confidentiality was a concern for the informant.

[357] Interviewers recall not having a "9 to 5" work schedule, having evenings and weekends open for interviewing and processing of interview paperwork [Shadursky, Myall]. Furthermore, especially when a more concerted effort was made to document churches and halls in 1972 (when the student fieldworkers were more independently mobile), the work extended to

> L.B.: I probably didn't… Well, I don't know that I'm particularly charming, but certainly my parents were social beings and they taught us to be social beings as well. Well, I guess we were polite, I'm sure many of the SUCH workers would say the same - we were polite and tried to be respectful. I think we knew that if a person said no, that wasn't a failure that was just the way it was and carry on, next person. How did we make them feel comfortable…I have to say, a young person doesn't always think about making others feel comfortable, and I think that is true today. I'm not sure that I went out of my way to do so. I probably was more the type of person that if they agreed to speak with me I sort of sat down and monopolized them for an hour or whatever, and kind of imposed myself. I'm not sure I was all that good at making them feel comfortable. Aside from murmuring in sympathy, cause there was a lot of hardship that was spoken about…
>
> N.F.O.: Did it ever create discomfort or any sort?
>
> L.B.: Sure it did, you see because my generation hadn't had to do that, and we didn't know what it was like to be lonely to that degree, so isolated, there were discomforts that you and I would be hard-pressed to put up with…[358]

The loneliness felt by some informants was not just in the present day when the SUCH interviews were taking place, but also in their past that was the topic of interest. Presumably, the trauma of any loneliness - past or present - is made less painful when there is the opportunity to recount it *to someone* who is keenly interested to hear it. This type of sharing could quickly develop into a desire for continued contact beyond the boundaries of the interview:

> I sometimes wonder if it was hard to get out the door, once you got in - I wonder how many of the SUCH workers found that the were being asked to stay for dinner… I think it did happen, I'm sure we visited with lonely people who were quite happy to have anybody come by and chat with them. And I'm sure we were asked to stay more than once.[359]

It seems quite common that individuals chose to participate because they were lonely and welcomed the opportunity for company and for someone who was interested

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weekends quite regularly, in an effort to include church services and other events in the collection [Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 1:01:44]. Only the fieldworkers in Manitoba (1972) recalled working specifically from Monday to Friday, as a rule [Noseworthy, Personal interview, 31:48].

[358] Bridges, Personal interview, 44:32.

[359] Bridges, Personal interview, 49:23.

in what they have to say. Especially with elderly informants, participation in a successful project could provide them with a feeling of prestige and worth in an otherwise lonely existence. It is not uncommon for qualitative researchers conducting similar fieldwork to have much the same reactions to the interview experience, particularly when the interviews are conducted in the homes of the informants. Moreover, as an indicator of good rapport, the desire for the informant to have the fieldworker stay on beyond the interview and spend time with them is perhaps a typical inclination by qualitative research scholars, whose focus is the sensitivities within research: "Researchers reported staying with the participant for a while after the completion of the interview, having a cup of tea, or taking a walk in the garden."[360]

A key element that influenced rapport in certain cases was the issue of age. In some cases the generation gap proved to a dividing factor, in that it highlighted difference between the two parties (fieldworkers and interviewees) and therefore emphasized the outsider position. However, there were examples of the generation gap which proved to be a uniting factor, especially in terms of the establishment of rapport. The ability to relate to the student fieldworkers as they would to their own grandchildren, and vice versa, allowed for a expedited comfort level to occur in some instances:

> M.K.: We tried to look like their grandchildren! [laughter] You have to remember, and I don't know whether this helped or not, but the Beatles were out at that time so there was long hair - I didn't have long hair. And plus Dennis [Pihach, another student fieldworker] was thinking of going into the priesthood, in fact that was how he introduced himself, saying that he was going to St. Andrew's and he's a future priest, so that helped a lot, yeah.
>
> D.K.: I think about it now, we were very non-threatening - two girls, and I think the fact that we were away from home…
>
> M.K.: Looking clean-cut I think, respectful, nice clothes, it helps a lot.
>
> D.K.: And I think it helps if you like people - if you're a people person, if you actually enjoyed it. And I think if someone knows that you're enjoying

[360] Dickson-Swift et al., 332. The authors go on to say that while these types of "courtesies" are important for the maintenance of rapport, if continuing on for an extended period of time, they can complicate the research relationship, spilling over into behaviors more common of a friendship.

> listening to their story, you're interested in their story, then that's going to bring some walls down. And there was - I mean, it's like a great book.
>
> M.K.: They always wanted to know who else you were going to talk to. And I swear to God, we're out that door and they're on the phone.[361]

The concept of reciprocity - the "give and take" which occurs within an interview - is an important contributing factor to the development of rapport, and even brief moments of this, as a means to introduce oneself to "get in the door" as seen above, prove to be helpful and effective.[362] The absence of this dynamic can lead to an imbalance and create distance between the interviewers and interviewees, making the goal of a "conversation" more difficult to achieve. Harry F. Wolcott, a scholar in the area of fieldwork, has referred to this process as the "art of gift-giving," suggesting that a good interview includes a "subtle kind of exchange," which may sometimes include an actual monetary payment for the information collected.[363] In the SUCH project, the "payment" the informants received for sharing their stories was having someone there who was young and interested that they could share their stories *with*.[364] Generally, informants feel validated by virtue of having their stories actively listened to, and this validation can be a crucial building block for rapport.[365] Furthermore, this complimentarity involves "the fieldworker wishing to learn and get the data, and the

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[361] M. & D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 2:23:26.
[362] G. Clare Wenger, "Interviewing Older People," *Handbook of Interview Research: Context & Method* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002), 272.
[363] Wolcott, 91.
[364] No informants were paid for their contributions to the SUCH project. Sensitivity or feelings of guilt on the part of the interviewer are essentially a related to issues reciprocity. Interviewers sometimes feel as if they are "using" their informants, or "exploiting their generosity and friendship for the purpose of gathering data." [Wintrob, 71] Other than the student fieldworkers feeling concern for the safety of the more isolated and elderly informants (as discussed in Chapter 4), no other guilt regarding their fieldwork was mentioned by the interviewers.
[365] Dickson-Swift et al, 331. It is not uncommon in ethnographic fieldwork, especially among the elderly, for the informants to feel as though they do not have enough people in their lives to have a genuine interest in listening to what they have to say. This factor is emphasized even more by the fact that the age of the student fieldworkers would be akin to that of their grandchildren, alluding to the well-documented rural-urban and grandparent-grandchild disjoint that was not uncommon in the post-World War II era.

people among whom he works having the capacity - and sometimes the wish - to teach and provide the data."[366]

One of the ways in which a "teaching" style could be evidence of a positive rapport developing was clearly seen in the following SUCH interview between student fieldworker Leona Faryna and informant Mrs. Hafia Janishewski:

> L.F.: Do you remember what exactly children did during those winters when they didn't go to school, did they work on the farm?
>
> H.J.: Well, they worked on the farm! Those who were on the farm, worked on the farm! … they cut wood, because it wasn't how it is now, that you turn the gas on, get the thermostat working, and it's heating! [laughter]
>
> L.F.: Aaaa! [laughter][367]

The interview process allowed the informants to think of themselves as "culture keepers," feeling as though they were experts and specialists passing on their knowledge about Ukrainian culture and history to the youth.

The vast majority of the interviewers remember being impressed and surprised that, once access was granted and the interview commenced, the interviewees were so willing and open: People were only too happy to talk about their experiences, and that someone was interested to do this.

> At the time we were saying how quickly all this is moving, that it's going to be gone when you're gone, *nikhto ne bude znaty [no one will know]*… I was conscious, and I don't know quite why, but there was an urgency about it. People who are genuine, who are interviewing - the people are going to give you the information now whether you are plastic or not. They know, you can't hide that.[368]

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[366] Satish Saberwal and Frances Henry, "Introduction," *Stress and Response in Fieldwork.* Eds. Frances Henry and Satish Saberwal. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969) 3.
[367] Leona Faryna, Personal interview with Mrs. Hafia Janishewski. Project SUCH reel 12, side 1. (Edmonton: June 15, 1971) 14:33. L.F.: Чи пам'ятаєте, що саме діти робили під час тих зимів, коли не йшли до школи, чи вони працювали на фармі? H.J.: Ну, та працювали на фармі! Ті котрі були на фармі, працювали на фармі! … дрова різили, бо не так як тепер шо ґаз накрутили, термостат направила, тай горит!
[368] Lazarowich, Personal interview, 45:35.

> And I honestly - if there were any people that didn't want us there or shut us down, I don't remember those people because it was a positive experience for me.[369]

For example, in an interview with Mr. Semchuk of Foam Lake, SK, student fieldworker Sophia Liss engaged with an enthusiastic storyteller and interested participant in the SUCH project. Only three minutes into the interview, Sophia recorded a long story from her informant, who chuckled as he got lost in the memory of one working summer, thereby making Sophia laugh as well. This memory gave way to another of the following summer:

> M.S.: And then came the next spring, next summer, and I already was working on the gang [railway] somewhere, I don't remember the town.
>
> Wife: …in British Columbia.
>
> M.S.: …somewhere in Saskatchewan where Blyzeiko was, in Albert, I already told you that part, [the time] when I was hungry.
>
> Wife: No, you say it now, because she's recording you on the machine.
>
> S.L.: Yes, please!
>
> M.S.: Oh, ok![370]

In this particular instance, the spouse of the informant was also present and involved in the interview to a certain degree. The involvement of the informant's spouse in the storytelling proved to be fruitful and assisted in establishing good rapport in the interview.

There were several examples within the Project SUCH fieldwork where the interview became very open-ended and steered by the informants themselves, showing their comfort and openness in another way. Interviewee initiative was shown several times by enthusiastic informants who were clearly good storytellers and enjoyed

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[369] Poilievre, Personal interview, 50:45.

[370] Sophia Liss, Personal interview with Mr. Semchuk. Project SUCH reel 45, side 1. (Foam Lake, SK: July 1971) 12:00. M.S.: А вже прийшла друга весна, друге літо, то я вже робив на ґеніку десь, не пам'ятаю то містечко. Wife: …в Британ Колюмбії. M.S.: …десь в Саскачеван там де Близейко, в Альберт, то вже то шо я вам сказав, шо я був голодним. Wife: Но, ти кажи, бо вона крутит тепер на машині. S.L.: Так, прошу. M.S.: О, окей…

performing, in one case the informant spoke exclusively for twenty-five minutes before the student fieldworkers voice can be heard on the recording laughing at a comical comment.[371] In another interview, the student fieldworker is interviewing elderly siblings. There is virtually no fieldworker presence on the recording, as both were enthusiastic storytellers, feeding off one another's stories and energy:

> B.G.: I remember how we traveled to Canada…[before we left] we were at a [village] wedding and the wedding [party] was traveling past me and some were really singing and others were crying, and I didn't know why they were crying, and where they were going, and what they were doing. And after mama told me that my mom's sister -
>
> S.K.: - [had gotten married and] was leaving for the next village.
>
> B.G.: And mom's sister was giving away her daughter, it was the same village but another farmyard, and it was far away -
>
> S.K.: - far away, half a mile maybe… In Canada, [a girl] gets married and goes to Vancouver, or Edmonton, or Calgary, or somewhere that's 300, 400, 1000 miles and no one cries, because it's good that they're gone [married off], and maybe even will just write "dad, mom, I've gotten married." [laughter][372]

As has been discussed above in this dissertation, the cultural and personal "sympatico" between the Project's goals and its employees was not a primary deciding factor in the hiring, given the short timelines and geographical concerns of the project. Though their informants, the learned behavior or etiquette that proved to be successful in the interview setting (specifically for the establishment of rapport) was often based on the cultural common ground shared by informants and the student fieldworkers. Often,

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[371] Natalka Chomiak, Personal interview with Mrs. Chornohus. Project SUCH reel 38, side 1. (Smokey Lake, AB: 20 July 1971) 15:15.

[372] Mary Zerebeski, Personal interview with Mrs. Sophie Kostyna and Mr. Bill Goy. Project SUCH reel 131, side 1. (Tway, SK: 20 August 1972) 00:12. B.G.: Я си пригадаю як ми сі їхали до Канади… Ми були на весіллю і та то весілля всьо ішло попри мене і дуже співали дехто і деякі плакали, а я не знав чого вони плачуть і де вони йдутъ і шо вони роблять. А потому мама мені сказали пізніше же то мамина сестра - S.K.: - віддаваласи на друге село. B.G.: А мамина сестра віддавала доньку, то було в тім самім селі, але шо вже на друге господартсво і вже було дуже далеко… S.K.: далеко, пів милі може… А в Канаді, віддається а то їде в Ванкувер або Едмонтон або Калґарі або де, то 300, 400, 1000 миль а то не плаче, бо добре шо вже пішло, знає, шо може навіть напише 'тато, мама, я си віддала."

individuals chose to participate because of a sense of duty or responsibility to their cultural community - because it is a project that is Orthodox, Ukrainian, etc. By participating and having it be a positive experience for everyone involved, this gives them community status and a sense of self-pride:

> I think on the most part, they made us feel comfortable…which I think in most places that we visited, they were hospitable, so that breaks the ice - typical Ukrainian, you come in and sit down, you have *chai* or *kava [tea or coffee]*, and they pull out a *solodke [dessert]*. And they were curious about us - they would ask us a few questions and then we'd ask them. It wasn't a very strict type of approach that we took, we kind of reacted to who we were talking to.[373]

This reliance on ethnic community norms in regard to hosting strangers in one's home was a significant factor which was important to the informants, as well:

> L.B.: I think easier, because you know, they already knew who I was, so they weren't reluctant about telling me their story, and the ones you didn't know you had to establish some sort of rapport first, before they would agree to speak to you about the past.[374]

Though not personally familiar with one another, the broader community connections that were pre-existing were powerful vehicles for establishing this relationship and helped many of the informants feel comfortable with the proposition to participate in an interview.

An examination of Leona Faryna's fieldwork in 1971 shows consistency with her memory that she did not have difficulty in developing comfort and rapport in the Project SUCH interviews. In most of her interviews, she would have to pose few questions to get the informant to "warm up" and answer openly and comfortably. Typically, her informants would offer long responses from the outset, in response to a question such as "Please tell me about how you came to Sifton, Manitoba, and then what happened, who was with you, how you felt, and so on.[375] she was a known youth in the community,

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[373] Shadursky, Personal interview, 31:22.
[374] Bridges, Personal interview, 1:09:28.
[375] Leona Faryna, Personal interview with Mrs. Justina Melnychuk. Project SUCH reel 12, side 2. (Edmonton: 16 June 1971) 00:10. Так, пані Мельничук, прошу розкажіть мені про те, коли ви приїхали до Сіфтона, Манітоби і що тоді сталося, хто за вами приїхав, і як ви чулися, і

this initial and potentially awkward stage of the interview was not an issue, and her interviews support this claim.

The age difference between the student fieldworkers and their informants was discussed quite extensively in conversations with the interviewers. As alluded to earlier in this chapter, the learning opportunities that stemmed from this fact often allowed the student fieldworkers to feel a kinship with their informants and an affinity for their job.

Whether it was because the student fieldworkers had previous experiences dealing with elderly people,[376] or because they were exceptionally close with their own grandparents, the age difference seemed not to be a problem between the generations:

> M.K.: I think that's what these people were used to - they had seen their grandchildren, and we were probably the same age as their grandchildren, so they still had a close connection with their grandchildren.[377]

Another way in which the generation gap proved interesting and notable for the student fieldworkers was when the student fieldworker encountered a more difficult story or topic, and drew on their own background or experiences to help negotiate the situation and the potential gulf between themselves and the informant:

> I think my advantage in perspective was that knowing mom and dad's story, knowing the poverty in their villages, and knowing the very bad things that they went through in the war, because mom was slave labour at a German farm, yeah, so having heard what happened in their villages and during those years, I was primed to hear of people having a hard life.[378]

The difference in age sometimes seemed to serve a therapeutic purpose for the informants, providing them an audience that appreciated the stories they had to share. The respect and admiration felt by the student fieldworkers for their informants was, in some cases, unexpected though profound. Student fieldworker Natalka Chomiak wrote in her fieldnotes that she had "hit the jackpot" with one of her informants, who was "the

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так далі.

[376] "I think it was partly because I grew up in a general store, there was always seniors coming in, so no problem at all." [Myall, Personal interview, 52:07] Sylvia Myall's father was an immigrant from Ukraine, who arrived with his brother and settled in the Preeceville area of Saskatchewan. Together, they owned "Dmytriw's General Store" in the town of Preeceville.

[377] M. & D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 2:27:27.

[378] Ashmore, Personal interview, 01:19 (2).

most lovable person" she had met "in the longest time." The informant wanted to sing for her but was not confident in her own skills (she had set her own melody to verses she had read in a magazine), so she asked if Natalka would sing a song for her first. The trust-building exercise resulted in songs eventually being recorded on tape for the project.

Even at a fundamental level, the familiarity that could come from the grandparent-grandchild relationship was seen as being helpful in the development of rapport:

> I don't think we needed any of that [techniques for rapport] because we were young, and elderly people love young people, and that seemed to have been what broke the ice and that we were interested. And then when we said we were working for this, it was never an issue really, to tell you the truth, to develop that comfort level. I don't ever remember that we had to work to do that.[379]

Still other interviewers considered age to be an important element as it was forgone conclusion that elderly people loved to talk, and therefore would be happy to do so in the interview context:

> I think that when you're dealing with that age of demographics, they were very open in sharing, because these are people that have an oral culture rather than a written culture. For them it was no problem, it wasn't a big barrier because that was what they were used to. They were used to talking to people. They were willing to give of that knowledge… You know what, I never found it tricky because of the demographic. I think a lot of these people were yearning for contact, because it was a transition period where they no longer had any interaction with people who wanted to sit down and talk with them about these things in their native language, that maybe in some way it was a positive thing for them, rather than something that they were reluctant to do.[380]

In other instances, it could have functioned as a confidence-boosting "educational" moment on the part of the informant, teaching the young fieldworker about "hard work" and life experience:

> Yes, to the extent that they're probably looking at me and saying you have no idea what I went through, you know. That would have been part of a

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[379] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 40:32.
[380] Melnycky, Personal interview, 22:38.

> generational gap between us. On the other hand I think most people are very happy to talk about themselves, right? So if you are a good listener, then you are going to be amazed at what they will tell you, even those that are a little more reticent. In that sense, the difference in our ages was insignificant. People liked to talk about themselves.[381]

There were other positive consequences to the student fieldwork happening as part of Project SUCH, especially in rural areas. As officials of the project, the student fieldworkers were to collect pioneer artifacts that were to be donated to the UMC upon project completion. The donation of these artifacts was a way in which the informants' positive feelings about the project could be seen. In many cases a donation like that served as a source of pride, that their objects would become somehow part of something more official:

> I know one gentleman who had all sorts of artifacts that he insisted on giving us, oil lamps and he had some beautiful embroideries and ribbons that had been brought from the Old Country and all sorts of things. And I remember being so astounded that he wanted to give these to us so that we would take them to the museum.[382]

The informant mentioned above obviously valued these artifacts and wanted them to be "saved." As mentioned in Chapter 1, 235 artifacts are part of the Project SUCH collection at the UMC, which unfortunately does not include all that were collected.

Furthermore, given that the fieldworkers were encouraged to document and collect oral histories about church and community buildings when the opportunity presented itself (and in a more focused initiative in the second phase of the project in 1972), an opportunity arose for the community members themselves to show off some of the places that were already seeing declined use and that were falling into disrepair in the early 1970s:

> I think right after we worked on Project SUCH, people started to realize the value of the [church] artifacts, so they started putting locks on the church doors, just because we told them some of these things were invaluable.

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[381] Bridges, Personal interview, 49:23.
[382] Bridges, Personal interview, 34:33.

> They were made in Ukraine, often, the handcrosses were often made in Ukraine and brought to Canada.[383]

Still at the time of the project, interviewers recalled that many of the churches found in the rural countryside in 1971-2 were regularly kept unlocked, and as such were in danger of being damaged and looted.[384] Project organizers clearly hoped that the benefits of the SUCH project extended to the broader community, who would benefit from having pioneer oral histories recorded and "saved" for posterity. However, the benefits of the fieldwork to the informants themselves were unexpected and caused some informants to experience a moment of reflection on how their own family's interest in their history:

> I think that was a very common thread - why are you asking us? Our own children aren't interested in this, we haven't written this down. But I think it probably tweaked something in some people's memory - maybe I should document some of this and write this down for our family. I think some of them probably went on to do that.[385]

What were the informants' thoughts about Project SUCH? Did they reflect on their interview experience after the fact with loved ones or privately? There is only so much that can be heard and gleaned by simply listening to the interview recordings, and not having access to any pre- and post-interview dialogue. Similar interview collections have shown that the elderly informants have a variety of reasons to participate, and perhaps even further, to see this participation as having been positive and successful.[386]

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[383] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 1:11:20.
[384] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 41:57.
[385] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 1:25:22.
[386] This information is gathered from my own personal experience as a fieldworker and as a former archivist, having managed and been familiar with many collections comparable to SUCH. The consent form for interviews involving similar informants and students of the Ukrainian Folklore Program conducting fieldwork included discussion of this topic.

Strangers in Their Home

No personal interview is ever free of challenges or obstacles. Especially considering the informants were inviting fieldworkers (who in most cases were strangers) into their homes, this was yet another facet of having to create a comfortable environment for everyone. As shown above, in most cases the response of the community - including the informants themselves - was positive, though in some cases there were a few situations which needed to be negotiated so that the informants were left happy and satisfied with their contributions to the project, and so that the snowball method of recruiting informants would continue to be effective.

In certain instances, the informants themselves behaved as though they were suspicious of the student fieldworkers, though most of these still granted them interviews:

> Most people were very open to it and thought it was a wonderful idea, some people were very skeptical as to why we were there, and as I mentioned earlier, some people chose not to let us into their homes, we had to interview them in our car. I think there was just that paranoia that maybe we were there with a different motive, other than just to interview them…We just invited them to talk to them outside or in our car. For the most part, it would be people who lived on their own, I remember one gentleman beside Calder - same thing, would not let us into his home, but we could talk to him, he came into our car and talked to us.[387]

Rather than risk losing a potential informant and interview, the student fieldworkers were quick on their feet and adapted the context to suit the informant. This was a rare occurrence throughout the project as a whole. Whether the cause of this suspicion was their own worry and concern as elderly people living in a fairly isolated environment, or perhaps because they were told to behave in a certain way with regard to strangers by their children, it is difficult to say.

Since the average age of the informants was approximately 80, and given that most of the informants still lived on their own in rural areas, it was understandable that

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[387] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 43:01.

their children (if made aware of the interview and living close by) would want to monitor the situation for the sake of their elderly parents:

> I remember one of the people we interviewed, his son drove up while we were interviewing or whatever, and he was a little bit suspicious of who we were and why we were there, so we explained and he seemed to accept it, but he was worried for the safety of his mother. But I remember all of these people were so trusting, I remember when we were explaining what we were doing, they were all happy to be interviewed. And very welcoming and warm… They loved it - I don't think anyone ever stopped and asked them for their stories. I think we were the first ones. It was like you've had your thumb in the dam or whatever, and you take your thumb out and it was all flowing out.[388]

Another example of suspicion surfaced in an interview with an elderly gentleman who had different political leanings from the rest of those interviewed for the SUCH project:

> I had lots of people ask me what, who would have access to this interview, you know, and in particular one of the gentlemen that I interviewed in Vilna was a communist, and he was very concerned that people would have access to this and that it would have repercussions for him, and so there was some fear.[389]

In this instance, the student fieldworker did her best to reassure her informant that the interview would be accessed by specialists only, and that it was worthy to be included because it was an important part of Ukrainian history in Canada.

Reluctance or suspicion are not uncommon when interviewing the elderly. Reluctance can stem from issues of inferiority, as it was not uncommon in older generations to have had only very basic education. Being afraid to answer questions, associating the exercise with tests, was sometimes a real obstacle for the informants.[390]

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[388] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 31:48. Similar situations were echoed by another fieldworker, where children of the informants would come to check on the interview, just in case something untoward would be happening: "In one or two cases, I remember a child showing up and you'd have trouble selling it (the project) to the kid, because they would worry about what you're trying to do with their parent" [Myall, Personal interview, 44:14]. I heard of only one case in which the student fieldworkers have to leave and abandon the interview.

[389] Chomiak, Personal interview, 1:08:20.

[390] Wenger, 265.

Moreover, feelings of suspicion can come from either the informant or their children (or both). In fact, fear of their children's suspicion can sometimes lead to informant reluctance in participating fully in the interview.[391] In one particular instance, student fieldworker Sophia Liss described in her fieldnotes how the daughter of an informant by the name of Mr. Woloschuk was present when she arrived for the interview, and though the informant himself seemed comfortable, his daughter wanted the fieldworker to show identification and explain the specifics of the project before she could carry on with an interview. As it turned out, the informant did not wish to be recorded though he was willing to share a life history. The student fieldworker noted how at the end of that particular day, she had to sit and write down what she remembered of the interview, which took her approximately two hours. Especially in the context where many of the informants were elderly individuals who were living on their own in isolated rural areas - the concern for their safety - namely, allowing strangers into the house, was an important factor to take into consideration and offers a bit of proof that some informants, perhaps, did not have the most positive experiences taking part in the project.

Reluctance has long been a part of the process of ethnographic fieldwork, with informants generally falling into two categories - those you are reluctant to grant access, and those who resist once access has been granted.[392] According to sociologists Adler and Adler, there is a spectrum of reluctancy, with respondents ranging from secretive to sensitive, from advantaged to disadvantaged.[393] Virtually any topic can be or become a sensitive topic, and in those cases, a delicate approach is needed to be able to overcome the obstacle with a reluctant informant.

As can be expected, it was not always easy for the informants to feel comfortable opening up to the young strangers who had entered their home, often with little notice. For a positive environment to be created and for a fruitful interview to result, often the

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[391] Ibid.
[392] Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, "The Reluctant Respondent," *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*. Eds. James A. Holstein and Jaber F. Gubrium. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 153.
[393] Ibid., 156-60.

informants would have to be "drawn out" with small talk and other conversational etiquette before they felt comfortable enough to open up about their lives and their past:

> There was a little bit of unease I think with us, because they didn't know who we were and we were asking all these questions, so there was a little bit of that. And you have to think back to the history right - Ukrainians in Canada, and who we were actually talking to, and when you think about what really did happen during the war,[394] that a lot of people didn't know about, that a lot of these people were considered under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, you were considered an enemy alien, for them this was *stydno* and really they didn't want to talk about that part. For us, I mean, we didn't really know all that history, I mean we were beginning to get little glimmers of it, there were of course pockets of the populations that had communist roots that we did know of…[395]

In aiming to build rapport with the informants, the student fieldworkers did have to think on their feet and consider some of the underlying reasons as to why strangers asking questions may elicit cool reception, at first.

Especially when being interviewed about sensitive and perhaps traumatic topics such as immigration and settlement, the partial reluctancy of some informants was understandable, but sometimes lost on the younger student fieldworkers due to not being aware of the history and dynamics concerned.[396] In those instances especially, the informants and their stories benefited from "active listening"[397] and more developed inter-personal skills on the part of the student fieldworkers:

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[394] Here, the interviewer is referring to the internment of Ukrainian Canadians during and after World War I, as discussed in Chapter 1.

[395] D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 17:00.

[396] Adler and Adler, "The Reluctant Respondent," 157. The authors suggest that in some cases, the temporary nature of the interviewer- interviewee relationship (in non-long-term fieldwork situations, like the SUCH project) can be in a tool in overcoming reluctance, with the informant knowing (consciously or subconsciously) that they will likely not cross paths with the fieldworker again, and as such have less fear when sharing their stories.

[397] "Active listening describes a set of techniques designed to focus the attention of the interviewer or observer on the speaker. The goal of active listening is to attend entirely to the speaker, not to oneself or one's own inner dialogue, with the goal of accurately hearing and interpreting the speaker's verbal and nonverbal communication. Active listening skills are useful not only in research but also in any area where accurate communication and mutual understanding are useful." [Lioness Ayres, "Active Listening," *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Ed. Lisa M. Given. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2008) 7.]

> Yeah, I did, very much so, because in the stories that they're telling - it's all based on your reaction to them right? So if you were open to their stories, you know… like I remember leaning in and getting close and showing my interest because these old people were like my baba and dido - you wanted to show them more sincerity and then they would open up. So I was really conscious of that… I did feel a genuine closeness with those people that I was interviewing.[398]

In one particular instance, the SUCH informant began his interview giving a brief biographical description of himself, including immigration to Canada. Uninterrupted by the student fieldworker, the informant quickly arrived at the topic of his internment during World War I, recalling the event quite matter-of-factly, using terminology such as "concentration camp" to describe the place where he was interned. Five minutes into the interview, the awkwardness is audible to the listener. After sharing this painful story, the informant is left "hanging" with no follow-up questioning from the student fieldworker. After thirty seconds of silence, there is a break in the tape and the interview audio resumes with a different topic:

> B.S.: The policeman came, [I] took my pillow or whatever I had, some pants… And then came the train, about 12:00 from Edmonton and they loaded us into the train and took us to Prince Rupert, and from Prince Rupert on a ship and took us to Vancouver. From Vancouver on a train to Vernon, and there in Vernon was a so- called 'concentration camp," where people were imprisoned. So I was imprisoned there for 16 months. And in 1916 I came out of that and worked for a farmer in [inaudible] and there I got married in '19.
>
> [silence]
>
> B.S.: So, I started going to school at six years old…[399]

As I understand it, he caught the fieldworker off-guard by sharing such a personal story so soon in the interview, and this created much discomfort rather than becoming a source of historical information and further questioning and could have caused further embarrassment regarding this painful episode in his past. Here the reluctance was not on the part of the informant due to the trauma he was relating, but

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[398] Poilievre, Personal interview, 50:45.
[399] Carl Tatarin, Personal interview with Mr. Bill Shapka. Project SUCH reel 43, side 1. (Vegreville: 12 July 1971) 03:28.

rather on the part of the student fieldworker, who seemed taken by surprise, thereby causing additional unnecessary awkwardness in the interview and an opportunity for a first-hand account of an important historical tragedy lost.

Sometimes reluctance on the part of the informant it was not necessarily associated with traumatic subject matter. In another example, the elderly male informant being interviewed by the young female student fieldworker was slow to put together his thoughts and verbalize them. Presumably, the informant was experiencing feelings of being rushed and interrupted by the terse verbal support of the student fieldworker.

There seemed to be an audible disjoint between the informant and the student fieldworker in the interview following such a start, assumably hampering a positive rapport to develop.[400]

Another example of reluctance on the part of the informant was heard due to discomfort with the interview setting and technology, common with people who function primarily in the oral sphere. In one Project SUCH interview, this was an obvious issue, where the student fieldworker can be heard whispering instructions to the informant between her answers:

> [as the tape begins to roll, whispering is heard]
>
> A.L.: I already told you that, “where my dad was born”…
>
> D.H.: Mhm [as if to repeat again]
>
> [into the microphone] Today is June 20 and it is now 8:50, and I’m in Saskatoon at Mrs. Lazarowich’s. This is Dennis Hawrysh speaking and I will be posing some questions to Mrs. Lazarowich about her life, and she will be responding to these questions. These questions will show what her immigration [experience] was like. [whispers to her] Now you can speak about that…
>
> A.L. My father was born in 1885…

Following this excerpt, follow-up questions were whispered, as if almost feeding the responses, with questions being formally spoken aloud only every so often

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[400] Katia Horobec, Personal interview with Mr. Fred Yurkiw. Project SUCH reel 22, side 1. (Radway: 7 August 1971) 00:00.

throughout the interview. As such, there seemed to be uncomfortable "flow" during the interview, and audible hesitation on the part of the informant when speaking.[401]

Sometimes informants felt self-conscious about their educational background, and thus behaved in the following way:

> Sometimes, a request to answer questions is anxiety provoking (perhaps particularly if the interviewer has identified him- or herself as being from a university) because questions are associated with tests, and many older persons have had only a very basic education. One woman told me that she felt she could tell me nothing. I explained that although she might feel that way, all I wanted to do was to find out about the experiences of older people, and without people like her answering questions, this was impossible.[402]

The topic of education was a standard question. In one example, when talking about the her education, the informant was struggling to remember the basic details, which could possibly be indicative of its non-priority status:

> Z.K.: And how many years did you go to school?
>
> M.D.: How many did I go…I finished…I can't say how many years I…six? Hmm…six, six, sixth grade or six years or what? Maybe [inaudible] more? That's more or less. I don't know…
>
> Z.K.: Yeah, that's ok, that's ok.
>
> M.D.: I have completely forgotten all of that…[403]

This exchange could also be indicative of the informant's desire to distract from her lack of education or even the topic of education as a whole.

In this chapter, I have attempted to show how the informants as stakeholders in the project experienced challenges (non-successes) and successes within the SUCH

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[401] Dennis Hawrysh, Personal interview with Mrs. Anna Lazarowich. Project SUCH reel 98, side 1. (Saskatoon: July 20, 1971) 00:00. A.L.: [то я вже вам то сказала, "де народили тато."] D.H.: Мгм. Сьогодні 20 червня і тепер десят до дев'ятої і я у Саскатуні у пані Лазарович. Це Денис Гавриш говорит і я буду пані Лазарович задавати кілька питання про їх життя, і вони будут мені відповідати на ці питання. Ці питання покажут яке їх переживання було. [Тепер ви можете про то говорити] A.L.: Мої тато народилисі в 1885 року…

[402] Wenger, 265.

[403] Zoria Kyba, Personal interview with Mrs. Doktor. Project SUCH reel 134, side 1. (Tway, SK: August 1972) 2:01.

interviews. The final chapter of this dissertation will examine the perspective of current and future researchers as the fifth and final stakeholders in Project SUCH's success. In addition to providing background information for what followed after the project's completion, I will examine the collection from a researcher's perspective, considering both the advantages and disadvantages of Project SUCH as a fieldwork collection.

CHAPTER SIX:

Stakeholder #5 - Current and Future Researchers

> That whole excitement - it all started with multiculturalism, and the federal government was giving us money to do stuff like this? I mean that was *incredible* - when you asked me if it was exciting - *of course* it was exciting! Who had ever heard of such a thing? You've got to remember, what it was like before that, wholly different! That was exciting, it was.[404]

The air of excitement surrounding Project SUCH peaked in two stages - first, in the completion of the first round of fieldwork in 1971; and then again with the completion of the second round of fieldwork in 1972. The short-term student fieldworkers had completed their jobs, and it was up to the project organizers to decide what was to happen next. This last chapter will focus on current and future researchers who may engage with the project materials as further stakeholders and as a lens through which the project can be viewed. Before examining these topics closely, I will provide background on how the project concluded, and what happened in the community following its completion. The discussion will then turn to an examination of the SUCH project through the eyes of a present-day researcher. First I look at the results of Project SUCH, including creating inspiration in the communities it touched; the current status of the project and its future research potential.

The Results and Influence of Project SUCH

"From the moment individuals first contemplate fieldwork, they consider also the probable results of their efforts."[405] By the end of August 1972, the fieldwork portion of Project SUCH had been completed. After finishing an evaluation course at Mohyla Institute (which not all fieldworkers or project administrators attended), the project

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[404] Kachkowski, Personal interview, 1:19:20.
[405] Robert A. Georges and Michael O. Jones, *People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) 135.

materials were submitted, along with written evaluations from the student fieldworkers. In total, 536 interviews, 235 artifacts, and 432 pieces of printed materials were collected, 1136 photographs were taken and collected, and 360 additional individuals were identified as possible future informants.[406] The interviews were organized and basic information for each interview (name, place, date, main topics covered) was compiled by each fieldworker before submitting their data. Project materials were deposited with the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, at that time housed at Mohyla Institute. As far as the project materials show, no application was submitted for a third phase in 1973.[407]

Though no formal intentions were documented, most interviewers and project administrators had general ideas of what was to happen to the project materials: some were under the impression that project findings would be published in a book,[408] while several others were assured that the project would be "made accessible to researchers in an archival format."[409] In contrast, the administrators interviewed for this project had a very clear understanding that the project focused solely on the collection aspect:

> I don't think we thought through what we were going to do with all of it. When I was in Ukraine in the early 70s, they were focused on collection - there was no time for analysis, because as a sociologist I was interested in theoretical perspectives and all that, and I would talk to Klymasz and he'd say "What the hell are you talking about? Collect the stuff!" and so that would have been our responsibility, to fulfill our duty and to collect it.

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[406] These statistics are not listed in any one spot, but were compiled by the author thanks to the numbers provided in the 1971 Final Report, calculations within the existing administrative paperwork, and the Ukrainian Museum of Canada digital database. The project materials were all to have been handed over to the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, though many of the artifacts enumerated were not accounted for as part of the project inventory.

[407] This was due to the fact that in 1973, the National SUMK Executive moved from Saskatoon to Edmonton and was comprised of an entirely new group of people. These individuals did not have any experience with the project, and as such, did not re-engage with any additional phases of work. [Zip, Personal interview, 1:20:45.] A proposal was made in 1992 by the curator of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada at the time for "SUCH 3" - a processing project. Applications for funding were submitted to both the federal government and various Ukrainian community agencies, though the applications were not approved. [SUCH administrative files, Ukrainian Museum of Canada collection]

[408] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 1:07:26; M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 3:17:50.

[409] Shadursky, Personal interview, 49:10; Lazarowich, Personal interview, 1:34:41; Melnycky, Personal interview, 50:56; Chomiak, Personal interview, 1:41:21.

> Somebody else is going to have to deal with whatever needs to be done with it. As long as we collect it, we preserve it, that's our mandate - it's complete. But the consequence of that was this growing notion of awareness that ok, so what's the next step? How do you engage people in a meaningful way in terms of the cultural background and identity and so on.[410]

This sentiment was echoed by other administrators, who saw the job of processing and developing the material into a further product as someone else's responsibility:

> If information were collected, even if nothing had been done with it at that time, if it were archived properly and held, then someone someday would be able to look at it and glean something, and that was the hope....I guess nothing more could have been done at the time, barring more funding and someone taking it on to do it.[411]

More than one administrator assumed that people who could serve as potential researchers would know that Project SUCH existed and where it existed: "The focus was on the collection, although we did talk about though 'well who's going to use it?' and the thought was that well, somebody is going to want to do research soon. Our hope is that it would be a lot sooner."[412]

The interviewers made critical comments about the intended destination of the materials and project completion - clearly influenced by the fact that so much time had passed since the project began:

> From the federal government's point of view, I'm fairly certain that they threw money at all the different cultures, and whether anything came of that was not the objective. It was saying to the public that we gave everybody money. If any of it was successful, it was only through the determination of the participants that were doing something.[413]

This pragmatic perspective comes from the position of a commentator with 40 years of hindsight, likely not held by the young student fieldworkers. The idealism regarding this experience in their lives, as seen in earlier recollections, fades quite

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[410] Y. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 36:07.
[411] O. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 1:10:20.
[412] Zip, Personal interview, 1:20:45.
[413] M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 1:25:35.

dramatically when asked about what did happen or what should have happened following the collection phase:

> You see, there were these projects, right? And I'm not sure that anyone thought them through. They were largely a means of providing summer employment to students. And so you had to come up with something that was interesting enough to get approved, but then I don't think anybody really cared, which is maybe why you found all the tapes stuck in the Museum. You know, project's done, you've collected all this data, and no one has any money to do anything with it, and nobody has the time - everyone else is back to class and then looking for real work, and it just gets done and then stored, and forgotten.[414]

This is the likely explanation as to why there was no continued work on Project SUCH - namely, that the collection phase was complete, there was no additional funding (nor was there someone to organize an effort to raise more money), so the materials were stored for some later time and purpose.[415]

For some interviewers, their strongest critique of the project was the disappointment of nothing having been produced. This touched on the emotional investment from their time in the field:

> Disappointment - I feel that our energies were maybe wasted - when you put your heart into something like that, when nothing is ever done with it, then you go it was all for naught. That way I'm disappointed.[416]

In another instance, disappointment was tied to the educational aspect of the project, and how given her career as a teacher and education administrator, project materials would have contributed to important resources:

> I really, really appreciate and recognize whoever had that vision of doing this was excellent. I'm only sorry, I'd be much happier if I knew that

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[414] Zamulinski, Personal interview, 30:50.

[415] This fact was corroborated by Martin Zip, National SUMK President at the time of the project. In his interview, he stated that though people in the community were pleased and interested, any small volunteer efforts "just weren't enough." Also, there was no research money available to study the material and the new national executive based in Edmonton did not follow up with the possibility of renewal. [Zip, Personal interview, 1:20:45]

[416] Poilievre, Personal interview, 1:15:40. Similar sentiments were echoed by Mike Korpesho, who added that "people full of good intentions did wonderful things," and that it is a disappointment that nothing has been done with the project materials thus far. [M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 3:17:50]

> something concrete comes out of it. Especially, as an educator, I would love to see somebody writing children's literature based on some of those stories."[417]

The disappointment regarding a lack of resources arising from the project speaks to the value placed on the experience and the data gathered by the interviewers.

An interesting perspective was offered recently by Dr. Robert Klymasz, who has been involved in several similar efforts over the time of his career, and whose approach to field data and processing can be rather sobering and in direct opposition to some of the idealist interpretations by the community:

> I would rebel against that [community goal]… The language they use is "we have to save our heritage" - I say, you have to save your heritage for the benefit of Canada, not for your lowly Ukrainian community, which isn't supporting you anyhow, you know… you do a little more than that…saturation point of collection - massage it, digest it somehow, condense it. Fieldwork is easy, it's fun, but where do you stop?[418]

Klymasz's point about processing and analysis is important. Indeed, the goal of preserving pioneer reminiscences requires three elements. The interviews need to be recorded in the first place, the processed to make them accessible, and further, analyzed in ways that researchers may choose.

> The results of fieldwork entail more than the objects produced and presented to others to document and describe in retrospect an individual's completed fieldwork adventure… The results of fieldwork include the intangible and human as well as the tangible and impersonal; they are characteristically ongoing, diverse, complex, and often unpredictable.[419]

What Came After - Ukrainian Cultural Immersion Camp Experience "Selo"

Beginning in the mid-1970s and lasting for nearly a decade, the *Ukrainian Cultural Immersion Camp Experience*,[420] commonly known as "Selo" was organized by members of the National SUMK Executive, geared at older teenagers and young adults.

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[417] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 1:05:28.
[418] Klymasz, Personal interview, 1:30:30.
[419] Georges and Jones, 136.
[420] These camps were conceived of largely by Roman Onufrijchuk, together with Bohdan Zajciw, Irka Onufrijchuk, Jars Balan, and Bill Balan. The concept of the Selo camps "evolving" from the SUCH project was also mentioned by Yars Lozowchuk [19:15].

This camp experience traveled and resided at different Ukrainian children's camps throughout the country annually, and provided its participants with a unique experience to become exposed to obscure "authentic" Ukrainian traditions and topics. In addition to the transmission of cultural knowledge and enthusiasm, it was a mandate of the experience to leave the camp in better shape than it was found, which typically meant the decoration of camp buildings with traditional "*rozpys*" artwork.[421]

According to one of the interviewers, who also happened to be one of the lead organizers of the Selo camps, the interest in an "authentic Ukrainian culture" was significantly inspired by the SUCH project:

> One of the results, one of the things we started working on conceptually at this time were the cultural immersion camps…the Selo network. …The whole idea about building a sense of knowledge…it was one thing to be interested in the politics of things, it was another to be knowledgeable. And so therefore we were able to see that this is great - you have all these political zombies walking around, but when you ask them any questions, they had very little knowledge of history or background or their culture or tradition or whatever. So hence…actually, it was the brainchild, I would say mostly the brainchild of [Roman] Onufrijchuk, but I was the one that had to find the money and make it work, the logistics…. I think they created a lot of interest and filled a much- needed niche at that time, because there was a lot of energy, a lot of energy - this whole issue of community, community development, and community aspirations and, you know… It was a very dynamic time.[422]

The Selo camps rose in popularity quickly, enticing students and young adults from various Ukrainian communities across Canada to become involved to expand cultural awareness and to build personal connections with other young people interested in similar ethnic identity issues. This was strongly linked to the grassroots movement and multiculturalism, which have already been discussed as strong motivational circumstances for the SUCH project.

Even individuals who were outside of the target audience were intrigued by the concept:

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[421] Kachkowski, Personal interview, 1:07:30.
[422] Balan, Personal interview, 13:30.

> I remember, we thought that was really kind of the ultimate, but our life was already different, like we're not kids anymore - our life was different, we were married. But I remember us thinking about SELO, the immersion thing. I would have…[423]

> The concept was to have a strong foundation of knowledgeable instructors and good leadership, which assisted in "converting young minds into patriotic Ukrainians."[424]

The Selo camps significantly shaped and influenced a generation of Ukrainians in Canada, many of whom are still active in the promotion of Ukrainian folk arts and culture across the country. Other, smaller, fieldwork projects focusing attention on church history, material history, etc., were said to have been inspired by the larger-scale SUCH project.[425] Though not federally-funded, these projects contributed additional smaller collections of pioneer oral history from the 1970s. These materials are also inaccessible at present.

Project SUCH: Its Current Status and Future Potential

> For researchers or writers and so on, it's just a wealth of information there, and I don't want to say there's a thorough accounting of everything because I don't know how much was collected and how much was discarded or left with us, but as for exhibitions and visual history for the Museum, some of the photographs in there are remarkable, just for themselves. There wasn't as much artifact- collecting perhaps, as much as the oral history part of it was the priority, so that can never be done again - that was a rare opportunity and that vintage of Ukrainian Canadian is gone. And even people now that are hitting their 90s and so on had a different experience, they were the second generation and so its hugely valuable, it's immeasurable for the time and for what was captured, even if it wasn't comprehensive, it's still really a good snapshot of the time. Sometimes there's a real joy or candor in that, that it wasn't done by a professional or by somebody with a lot of training - in some ways, and in some conversations that were recorded - they're very raw and very gritty,

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[423] V. Senchuk, Personal interview, 1:30:51.
[424] Kachkowski, Personal interview, 1:07:30.
[425] These projects were brought up several times by individuals interviewed for this study, both on and off the record, and none remembered formal titles for these projects: Chomiak, Personal interview, 52:06; Lazarowich, Personal interview, 42:08; V. Senchuk, Personal interview, 1:23:07; Zamulinski, Personal interview, 36:40.

> and very honest… For the time, and for what they had to work with, it's really quite amazing.[426]

In the summer of 2006, on an impromptu visit to the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in Saskatoon, I greeted the then new Director, Janet Prebushewsky-Danyliuk, who gave me an informal tour of the storage areas, given that I was employed as an archivist at the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta at the time, and had a special interest in this area. It was at this time that we came across the collection of SUCH recordings, a project I had only recently learned of, and one which had been sitting dormant since the project was completed in 1972. An agreement was reached between these institutions to have the reels digitized and stored at the BMUFA, with a digitized copy of the recordings shared with the UMC, a project which was completed the following year. Since this time, the Museum has actively re-engaged with SUCH, digitizing the over 1000 photographs that were taken and collected as part of the project, and compiling the administrative paperwork of the project into a properly organized collection. However, in spite of the fact that certain individuals in the appropriate academic community have known about the collection since this time, forty-six years after the project's inception, the interview recordings of Project SUCH are still unprocessed beyond the digitization.

Many would argue that the SUCH project will remain inaccessible to researchers without interview indexes at the very least, or full transcriptions of the interviews:

> You need to have that processed, and condensed - indexes are good, off the top of my head if there were songs collected, have an index to the songs collected by the SUCH project. Tell your golden material, if it's historical or something else, wedding songs, and I think at this point who sang them is not as important as where it's from…because the singers are dead - who did it, who cares, unless they're Queen Victoria - so you have to approach it with a bit of knowledge and discernment… At this stage in the game you need people with some knowledge who are picky, by that I mean careful, who know a little bit…[427]

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[426] Janet Prebushewsky-Danyliuk, Personal interview. (26 August 2015) 7:27. A comprehensive discussion of how to curate similar collections can be found in Nancy Mackay's *Curating Oral Histories: From Interview to Archive*, (2006).

[427] Klymasz, Personal interview, 1:20:20. Similar notions were shared by one of the

As argued by Klymasz above, it is perhaps at this stage, when the 536 interviews exist unindexed (except for basic cataloguing information for each), and when resources (both human and financial) for processing are not immediately available, that some judicious selectivity needs to be applied to the next stage of work, should there be one at all. Without this additional step, the project likely will remain inaccessible, even to those researchers that are aware of its existence, a circumstance which seems to be the curse of many smaller community-based fieldwork projects that were "temporary" in nature:

> From my viewpoint, it needs that added step, which we never dealt with. We were so happy collecting and *preserving* it…I hate that word "preserving"… it implies pickling it, but not all pickles are good, so this is useless unless you have the time to read through… and then they'll say, well, this is recorded on tape, where's the friggin' tape? Oh, it's in… I don't know, what's on the tape? I don't know what's in there![428]

These sentiments on the crucial importance of processing were echoed by some of the interviewers, as well, with some being not at all surprised with the lack of progress given the "temporary" status of the project.[429]

The only work currently being done with the project (aside from this study) is the gradual digitization of project materials at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada:

> By digitizing it with the rest of the collection, it will still have its own place and that's the joy of new computer software, is if we were looking for just Project SUCH, we would enter that and it would come up just associated with that. And yet if we're looking for photos of rural Saskatchewan, well something collected at that time may come up in there, but it will be identified as SUCH. It will still have its identity as a project, and that's important to us - not to just have it in a big melting pot, it's that the provenance of these things is so important.[430]

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fieldworkers, who cautioned against the collection of "tom, dick, and harry" biographies and stories: "Well, I'm not sure it has much value today - you'll see… when it's not done from the outset on a professional basis and its really, just sending out a bunch of wild- eyed kids and saying interview and collect and whatever… You need to say we need to collect these 15 people, their oral histories, you know, they're important." [Balan, Personal interview, 1:04:05]

[428] Klymasz, Personal interview, 1:43:50.

[429] Myall, Personal interview, 1:41:50; Ashmore, Personal interview, 32:11.

[430] Prebushewsky-Danyliuk, Personal interview, 23:40.

They are committed to continuing this work. As a working part of the overall Museum collection, the project's artifacts and photographs are available for various Museum exhibits on pioneer life. By having the pieces of the project identifiable and the provenance known, the project contributes to the Ukrainian pioneer narrative being told at the Museum.

When asked about the relevance of the SUCH project now, the project participants shared positive impressions of the work that was completed, even decades later. According to Martyn Hammersley, relevance is a key concept in making an assessment in the value of an ethnographic study. Hammersley suggest two aspects to this idea: first, the importance of the topic is key, as people must be able to relate to it, even if remotely; and second, how the research contributes to the existing knowledge is important, so that there is a value-added component.[431] In a way, the SUCH project filled a gap of information for those involved, and for the community in general, as such a widespread and large-scale project had not previously been undertaken. For some of those involved in the project, the fact that the project focused on pioneer history, soon before the pioneer generation had passed, means that the project will continue to be relevant as a record of those people and that time.[432] For others, the relevance of this project is tied to current notions of immigration and ethnicity, and the word "save" from the project's title is key to its relevance:[433]

> No - in the sense that the world that we were fixing on tape couldn't be saved - it was just passing - but in the sense that it was part of a larger questioning about our history and culture, then yes, it was saved because it is still something that we are grappling with today, that we're thinking about. I guess I understood as a result of this experience, what I understood was that the fact that every generation reinvents its own

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[431] Hammersley, 111.

[432] Myall, Personal interview, 1:43:40; Noseworthy, Personal interview, 1:07:52; Y. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 55:42; Kachkowski, Personal interview, 1:09:55; M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 3:20:46; Luciuk, Personal interview, 51:05.

[433] "The relevance of this project is that people still immigrate…adaptation is still happening. If people understand the process of immigration a bit better, then they will be more open to have immigrants arrive in this country." [D. Korpesho, 3:20:46]; "I gather that since [Ukrainian] independence, people from Canada have gone to Ukraine to teach people there about their heritage. And so, the preservation of it here has been a good thing, since it's vanishing here too, the project was worthwhile, right?" [Zamulinski, Personal interview, 50:57]

> identity, and as long as you sort of have an idea of where you're coming from, how other people solved this or thought about it, then it helps you to work through your own identity. In that sense, is there still a Ukrainian Canadian heritage? Yes, and in some ways we're once again at this very acute moment, because Ukrainian identity is being reformulated in Ukraine again, and our own identity here, we're faced with this existential question 'will we survive, how will we survive, how do we want to organize the community, what is the future for us?' In that sense, 'can Ukrainian Canadian heritage be saved?' We're still asking that question.[434]

The future potential of the SUCH project is still largely nebulous. Community members of various generations encountered in the research for this study seemed genuinely awestruck that such a collection existed, still virtually in its raw form so many years later. Sadly, this is not an uncommon fate for collections of this type, with insufficient funding and conducted with temporary employees:

> I think it was a huge opportunity that was not lost, that we took the opportunity to record these things, number 1. And number 2, that you have found it and to take it the next step. Our culture has so much to be recorded and we always so under-funded, you know? Unless it comes through an academic line, as rich as some of these materials are, how are we going to put wheels on it unless someone brings money to do it? This is the sad part, it is such a rich document and history of our early life in Canada.[435]

Unlike other projects that likely reside in individuals' basements, Project SUCH was accessioned for the most part into one central location, where it could hypothetically be re-engaged at a later date. Perhaps this is yet another success of the project - that it was not physically lost. On the other hand, that which was "saved" in 1971 and 1972 needed saving of its own in 2006, and given academic re-engagement, the words captured on those reels can now be heard by researchers into the future, assuming that another stage of processing can be complete to ensure better accessibility. This includes safeguarding the digitized versions for future use, which is a circumstance facing all those conducting fieldwork and trying to sustain older fieldwork as it becomes widely accessible to researchers in a digital medium. Without a constant

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[434] Chomiak, Personal interview, 2:01:37.
[435] Lazarowich, Personal interview, 1:35:21.

eye on the future, these collections, including Project SUCH, run the risk of having to be saved again and again, technologically speaking.

Regardless, for all of the reasons apparent in the discussion of Project SUCH in this dissertation, the community members saw it as a success:

> Yeah - I think it was! It wasn't major, but still it was a significant, strategic contribution to the repertoire, the database, that future academics - proven by yourself - can say, 'hey - this is interesting, you know?' So from that point of view, I think it was very successful. Thank God that virtually most of it seems to have been still saved.[436]

Academic Fieldwork Issues

As one fieldworker pointed out, the very concept of interviewing about personal experiences was not as understood at that time on a popular level, citing that even on the news you would rarely find the documentary style of reporting - "it was mainly facts, with the 'man on the street' stories coming out of political unrest, [they were] just starting to get into first-hand accounts in the 70s."[437]

Several interviewers felt as though Project SUCH was an exercise of retroactively applying a label to something that was seemingly organic given their background:

> So they [the relatives] just told each other stories, and I grew up - I was the kid in the house that sort of hid in a corner and listened, I just found it fascinating… I didn't really understand it as an 'oral history' - I just knew that the best stories were in those rooms. So I was really curious, I wanted to hear what people had to say, so it [the project] introduced me to the idea of oral history and how you can write a history on the basis of this.[438]

Especially given the tight timelines of the project in both 1971 and 1972, a key part of the project's anticipated success was tied to the preparation and training of the student fieldworkers. As discussed in Chapter 1, concrete administrative information

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[436] Y. Lozowchuk, Personal interview, 58:30.
[437] Mike Korpesho, Personal interview. (19 October 2014) 1:54:36.
[438] Natalka Chomiak, Personal interview. (3 July 2015) 43:59. Similar notions of being naturally exposed to such stories as a child were mentioned by other interviewers, namely Zoria Poilievre (25:09), Valia Noseworthy (19:41), and Raya Shadursky (17:45).

has been preserved with project files only for the first phase of the project in 1971, within the final report that was submitted to the Government in September of that year.

Though most of the interviewers working in Saskatchewan and Alberta remember some preparations and instructions at Mohyla Institute about using forms and procedures, an extensive three-day orientation session that focused on methodological considerations that is described in the final report is remembered vaguely by the student fieldworkers:

> We were not expert information gatherers at that time, being so young. I suppose having been to university, we had some training in researching things. We weren't given a huge amount of instruction as I recall, we were told to go out there and speak to people, interview them, and get their recollections on tape. If they sang something, we were to record that, you know…speaking, singing, and mostly I remember the recording of these tapes. I assume we must have each had a tape recorder to haul around with us.[439]

Another interviewer supports that there was some practical instruction given to them, and most clearly remembers the concern about seniors (as informants) not welcoming strangers into their homes - because of this, each interviewer was to wear an identification tag when doing fieldwork.[440] There was even an individual orientation session held in Saskatoon for Alberta fieldworker Natalka Chomiak, who was hired last minute and joined the project late, after the group orientation at Mohyla Institute had ended.[441]

According to the 1971 final report, students conducting SUCH fieldwork in Ontario had a comparable orientation session held at St. Vladimir's Institute in Toronto. Similarly, the interviewers recall having been instructed on what to do, but fail to

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[439] Leona (Faryna) Bridges, Personal interview. (18 October 2014) 13:35.
[440] Sylvia (Dmytriw) Myall, Personal interview. (15 October 2014) 29:25.
[441] Chomiak, Personal interview, 47:51. This individual orientation was led by Olenka Lozowchuk (project manager) at her mother's house and was largely practical in nature. Natalka remembers reading Mykhailo Marunchak's *The Ukrainian Canadians* (1970) to help prepare for the project, and had a long discussion with Olenka regarding what kind of questions to ask, and what kind of things the project was interested in collecting.

remember any details, only recalling having been given practical guidelines, which meant that they did not have to "go out cold."[442]

The second phase of the project in 1972 is remembered similarly, in terms of the preparation and training of student fieldworkers. Only one interviewer clearly recalls the process, which is valuable to the project itself, since no project report exists for that year:

> We did have a two-day orientation where we talked about what to ask and who to seek out, and we were given our contact lists, because somebody had done the work ahead of time, because there were some… a lot of them were ministers - go see them and they can put you in touch with…things like that. I think there was an outline of some of the types of questions that we could ask to generate or to get a story flowing. How to pull the stories out.[443]

Those who do recall an orientation in 1972 agree that it took place at Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon.[444] Some remember it being a session solely focused on the forms that were to be filled out by fieldworkers concerning interview particulars and artifact donations, while others recalled having the opportunity to do a handful of practice interviews with local individuals.[445]

Still others from 1972 recall little or no training at all, contradicting the previous memories, or perhaps providing evidence that not all students were hired and sent out to the field at the same time:

> Since I don't recall any training, I don't believe there was any training at all. So it was just a bunch of students basically being told to go out and ask about this. Everyone went off and worked on their own, covering as much territory as possible.[446]

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[442] Raya Shadursky, Personal interview. (22 October 2014) 17:45. From Raya's memory, it was Olenka that prepared them at this point, whereas according to all other sources, Olenka was not present at the Toronto orientation.
[443] Poilievre, Personal interview, 26:27.
[444] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 19:57; Peter Melnycky, Personal interview. (26 October 2014) 17:23.
[445] Ibid.
[446] Brian Zamulinski, Personal interview. (26 September 2014) 17:10.

None of my interviewees remembered administrators or specialist presenters at the 1972 orientation. One interviewer provided a unique explanation for having been able to fulfill the job requirements with relatively little training:

> At that time when you're young, you don't even realize that you're unprepared. No, we improvised and that. Growing up in church, right, when you've got to be on stage all the time, you've got to improvise, so no - that didn't bother me at all… I knew to make a list of questions and things like that.[447]

Taking quite a radical position on this point, anthropologist and ethnographic fieldwork specialist Harry F. Wolcott supports the idea of training not being crucial fieldwork preparation: "I do not think that 'training' or formal coursework is absolutely essential preparation for fieldwork, for I do not think of it as a mysterious process as much as a matter of good sense and sound judgement."[448] Regardless of the level of preparation that each student fieldworker brought to the field, each learned on the job and refined their style and method as they became more comfortable interviewing. Any "gaps" in the fieldwork preparation were filled in over time while interviewing, only to reveal new "gaps" in another area. Qualitative knowledge of any sort can only ever be partial.[449]

Tasks in the pre-fieldwork stage in the project's 1972 phase were to assign partners (for those that went out in teams) and to assign geographical areas for each individual/team to focus their work in:

> I think there was an opportunity for us, when we were mapping out this thing to say ok - where would we have natural connections and whatever. I think it was more that. Ok, so I have distant family there, so I could probably live for nothing, so economical…that kind of start.[450]

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[447] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 22:54.
[448] Wolcott, 238.
[449] Eric Hirsch, "Knowing, Not Knowing, Knowing Anew," *Knowing How to Know: Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Present.* Eds. Narmal Halstead, Eric Hirsch, and Judith Okely. The EASA Series, 9. (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008) 33.
[450] Balan, Personal interview, 25:00.

In many cases, students were sent to their home areas, or the home areas of their grandparents, which allowed for reduced project costs and for funds to be allotted elsewhere.

Most of the interviewers interviewed for this dissertation agreed on the fact that they "learned on the job," gaining interview experience while simultaneously learning what exactly it was that they were expected to do and how best to, in fact, do it. With project paperwork in hand, students traveled to their designated geographical areas to begin making contacts and setting up interviews.

Representativeness

As discussed earlier in this dissertation, a common method used in Project SUCH for recruiting informants was the "snowball method." Though this method did prove to be fruitful in gathering interested informants efficiently, it did rely on the community "gatekeepers" - those contacts and in many cases the students' homestay families. As "leaders" in those communities, they would want to connect the student fieldworkers with the best representatives of their community, and thus many other subgroups of the local Ukrainian population in the area were under-represented or absent entirely (Ukrainian Catholics or members of other religious denominations, lapsed-churchgoers, non-religious, the left, people of mixed ethnic ancestry, etc). Being a project organized by a religious sub-group of the Ukrainian community, filters were built into the project and thus created a very strong bias in the data collected.

Language

The use of the Ukrainian language in the SUCH interviews presented another lens through which many notable observations could be made. In many ways, language was one of the keys to the success of the SUCH project, and one of the only factors considered seriously during the hiring process. From the perspective of the project organizers and management, the informants worth interviewing were exactly those who spoke Ukrainian, and as one interviewer stated: "It was taken for granted that everybody

was going to speak Ukrainian. In fact, I would think that if the person wasn't going to speak Ukrainian, we would think there wasn't much point in visiting them."[451] This was emphasized by the fact that the only employee to discontinue working for the project did so largely on the basis of language - namely, that his Ukrainian language competency was not at an appropriate level to successfully achieve the objectives of the project.

For everyone involved, language was the first "foot in the door," allowing the student fieldworkers to immediately identify themselves as insiders to the community, at least linguistically:

> I think because we spoke Ukrainian it was easy to sort of gain their confidence, you know that we're not just someone off the street, because the language they could understand us, so I think we made it clear that we were trying to preserve any stories or songs or how they came to Canada - that's what we wanted.[452]

As a tool for building even the early stages of rapport with their informants, the student fieldworkers recognized this fact: "I think that's where the trust issue came in - once we were speaking Ukrainian, I could just see them start to relax. They knew, *shcho my buly iikhni, nashi*."[453] Language acted as clear marker for this initial stage of contact, virtually operating on the assumption that if the students were Ukrainian, then they were safe to allow into one's home.

For the most part, the student fieldworkers felt moderately confident that their language competency would suffice:

> My Ukrainian is not very good but we were quite, I guess, comfortable because the people that we spoke to were primarily a lot of people from Bukovyna, and so it seemed like they were comfortable in answering my questions with our language. Sylvia's [Myall, her partner] command of Ukrainian was better than mine, but it was fine. We had this set list of questions and I understood everything that was being said, and perhaps didn't pronounce words correctly, but I think we got along well.[454]

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[451] Myall, Personal interview, 48:36.
[452] Myall, Personal interview, 38:10.
[453] Noseworthy, Personal interview, 35:23.
[454] Kindrachuk, Personal interview, 47:04.

For others, in particular one student fieldworker who was hired very late in 1972 to fill a remaining spot, the issue of language presented him with the opportunity to practice with his fieldwork partner, resulting in an overall linguistic improvement and unexpected benefit of the project:

> I couldn't speak any English until I was in grade 1. So I would be listening to Dennis [Pihach, his partner], and somehow a lot of this stuff started coming back to me. You know, I would memorize the kind of questions that Dennis was asking and I'd say ok, what does that mean when you asked that question, and we'd be stuck in a car for hours you know so we'd be going through this kind of stuff and I'd be practicing.[455]

Still for others, the issue of language was more complex, and involved the acknowledgement of subtle intra-cultural differences:

> Most of the interviews were in Ukrainian, and I felt perfectly comfortable though my Ukrainian and there was a lot of sort of dialect on the part of my interviewees. So it was really interesting for me to hear them speak Ukrainian, because it was obviously a little bit different from mine, I understood most of what they had to say, and I laughed about some things. So for example, one of the interviewees said "*vin zapukav v dveri*" [he knocked on the door] and obviously I grew up not using "*zapukav*" [can also mean to have gas] in that way, so there were a few things like that that were kind of funny. I wouldn't laugh at them, because that would be just bad behavior, bad manners, but I would just sort of smile to myself… Well my aunt spoke Ukrainian that was a little different from my father and mother, and it's one of those markers right?…[456]

The differences referred to above are those dialectal differences among the different waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Most notably, the third wave post-World War II immigrants tended to be more educated political refugees, and as such their spoken language was more literary. On the other hand, the waves represented by

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[455] M. Korpesho, Personal interview, 1:11:30.

[456] Chomiak, Personal interview, 1:14:13. The explanation for the heightened sense of awareness concerning language was explained further by this interviewer: "Because my father was a writer and journalist, there was constantly discussions around language, and plus he's from western Ukraine and my mother considered herself to be a part of *Velyka Ukraiina*, and there were all these people that were eastern Ukrainians that were in our family life, so there would be endless discussions about language and what's correct usage, and what's incorrect usage, and what's dialect, and what's Polonisms and what's Russisms, what's borrowed…all of that stuff."

the SUCH informants were comprised of poorly-educated peasants, whose spoken Ukrainian was based more on western dialectal variants brought to Canada in the late 19th or early 20th centuries. This same issue was raised by another interviewer, who though a product of the earlier waves of immigration, had a considerable post-secondary education in Ukrainian language:

> I think in my case I would have been worried that the Ukrainian I spoke would not have been adequate when speaking to these elderly Ukrainian people, because you must remember what was the western dialect - yes, I spoke the western dialect at home, but I had been trained at university so my Ukrainian became more standard, more literary, and I wasn't sure that these people would figure me out… What I was speaking, I was imitating my professors, largely Dr. Yar Slavutych, who had an absolutely beautiful literary Ukrainian, and some would criticize his pedagogy, but I said you know what, just sit back and listen to him and imitate how he speaks - you cannot go wrong. He was, in and of himself, his manner of speaking was an education, just listening to him.[457]

The consciousness of the student fieldworker to the implications of types of language was important and notable, clearly reflexive. Again, this seemed to have transpired on an instinctual level, since none of the interviewers recall hearing about "language mirroring" during the orientation sessions. The possible implications (especially since language was a marker of the waves of immigration and class in the Ukrainian community) would have greatly affected the tone of the interview, in terms of the level of formality, thus quite obviously affecting the development of rapport.

The student fieldworkers were sometimes able to use their linguistic competence "draw out" the more reluctant informants, after having shared some information about themselves as a means of desensitizing a sensitive situation:

> I think once they knew a little about me and the background of my parents, that again it would be sort of a two-way conversation, not just me, at least not at the beginning. But once it got started then that stopped and they just got going. And there's so many, many aspects of it, that the questions I could ask were endless. I don't remember awkwardness, I don't remember thinking how can I get this going - I think the getting going, again, because we'd be sitting over a cup of tea by then and had the cookies or whatever and just general conversation, it was a segue, right?… I was so

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[457] Bridges, Personal interview, 29:13.

> comfortable in the Ukrainian community, it was an intuitive thing because of our background - by osmosis, just in baba's kitchen having tea and talking. In the community it means you sit there quiet and respectfully listen.[458]

Especially among the student fieldworkers who were quite competent in the Ukrainian language, there were several examples of language mirroring, where the literary Ukrainian they would have spoken normally was abandoned for a more dialectal form of the language, akin to what the informants were conversing in. One of the most fluent student fieldworkers was Leona Faryna, who adopted elements of a Bukovynian dialect in her interviews with individuals from that part of the Old Country.[459] Often this included using different words or pronouncing typical words differently, but in this case it also included using a Canadian Ukrainian mode, whereby Ukrainian grammar is applied to English words - something which was common among the pioneer generation, especially by the time they were elderly.

Methodology

Project SUCH can be seen as more successful from contemporary researchers' perspectives if the interviews brought out many stories and a great deal of information on early Ukrainian Canadian life, and the quality of this content is influenced by the skills of the fieldworkers at that time, being sensitive to support their informants and to encourage them to express themselves freely. The term "reflexivity" and its definition seem to have been unknown to the interviewers in the 1970s, and they did not recall any discussion of the topic at the orientation sessions. The interviewers had little to say on the topic of reflexivity during my interviews - most of them were aware that their presence and how they presented themselves and participated in the interview affected the actual interview process, but did not recall explicit discussion about this subject either before, during, or after the project. As cited in the previous section of this chapter, conscious considerations were made regarding clothing choices, how they introduced themselves (as insiders), and how they chose to listen and elicit answers.

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[458] Ashmore, Personal interview, 6:17 (2).
[459] Leona Faryna, Personal interview with Hafia Janishewski. Edmonton, AB: 15 June 1971.

> D.K.: Because we talked about what happened, and sometimes we would kill ourselves laughing, I mean, you know some of these people you have to know had really tremendous senses of humour, you know, and they would just make us laugh, and they liked to tease a lot too, they had that art of teasing down a little bit more than people do now. And there wasn't that whole hangup about politically correct…all these sorts of things. Very earthy sometimes. Some of these women told the most risque jokes, I mean Vera and I didn't even get it until we'd be sitting there going "holy crap - she meant that?!" And so, I don't know if it would change how we behaved, but we discussed it and maybe subconsciously somehow? We weren't trained on how to debrief or examine our data or anything else.
>
> M.K.: If you were a little bit older…you know, cause some of these older people were a little bit wily, and they wanted to know more about you…you're trying to learn about them and they know more about you at the end of the day.
>
> D.K.: I do remember this - sometimes you got the feeling that, say if the person was Orthodox, and they thought you might be Catholic, you kind of downplayed that a little bit, and vice versa. Yeah, you did. Because you didn't want to open that can of worms, you knew that that could be something that could affect your interview.[460]

Again, although the student fieldworkers sometimes approached the interviews quite pedantically, they developed, in other cases, a spontaneous or organic reaction to how they were approaching the task, and became keenly aware of the interview subtleties:[461]

> It's [being aware of one's behavior affecting the research] something that, I think, all of us in our group - I don't know whether it was inherent in us, or is it part of growing up ethnic in communities where you have to know how to position yourself.[462]

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[460] M. & D. Korpesho, Personal interview, 2:34:30. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada and the Ukrainian Catholic Church were the two largest traditional churches in the Ukrainian community, and these denominations competed and experienced conflict in many communities.
[461] Though some students recall keeping field notes (the current location of most of these is unknown), most recall only writing additional points regarding the interviews to help jog their memory when it came time to writing up each interview report.
[462] Shadursky, Personal interview, 34:48.

The interviews varied in the degree to which the student fieldworkers clung to their list of questions. Several of the student fieldworkers asked the questions in a very orderly fashion:

> M.Z.: Your place of birth, such as the region and the village?
>
> S.K.: The region of Sokal', village of Parkhats', now Mezhyrichchia. M.Z.: Was there a post office there?
>
> S.K.: Yes, a post office.
>
> M.Z.: Under whose rule was Ukraine when you were in the Old Country?
>
> S.K.: Under Polish [rule].
>
> M.Z.: And from the village where you lived, by what means did you arrive at the port [city]?
>
> S.K.: By train.
>
> M.Z.: To which port did you go? S.K.: Gdansk.
>
> M.Z.: You said that you were young when you left the Old Country, how old were you?
>
> S.K.: 23 years [old].[463]

In certain interviews, a succession of closed-ended questions was sometimes amplified with a series of leading questions as well:

> V.S.: Was there music? [at weddings]
>
> M.S.: There was, old dances that were played. V.S.: And what, when they played, was it a violin?
>
> M.S.: Yeah, that Chornyi really played the violin [well], that people sang along…he played Bukovynian [songs]…[464]

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[463] Mary Zerebeski, Personal interview with Mr. Steve Kinach. Project SUCH reel 114, side 1. (Prince Albert, SK: 13 July 1972) 00:00. M.Z.: Ваше місце народження, так, повіт і село? S.K.: Повіт Сокаль, село Пархаць, тепер Межиріччя. M.Z.: Там була пошта? S.K.: Є, пошта. M.Z.: Під якою владою була Україна як ви були в краю? S.K.: Під польською. M.Z.: І від того села де ви жили, з яким способом ви приїхали до порту? S.K.: Залізницею. M.Z.: До якого порта ви поїхали? S.K.: З Ґданську. M.Z.: Ви сказали що ви молодим лишили край, кілько ви років мали? S.K.: Двадцять трети річчя.

In other interviews, there were just a few short questions in the beginning and then the informant talked on and on for the majority of the interview, with almost no further questions or interruptions from the student fieldworker. The interviewer quoted above regarding this very circumstance spent the majority of an interview simply providing good conversational support in the form of verbal cues such as "mhm."[465] As she referred to earlier, her reluctance to interrupt with a subsequent question was based in her not wanting to "break-up the flow" of remembering that the informant was experiencing. From my perspective as a fieldworker and the research questions that interest me most, this is a desirable situation. Other interviews showed a combination of these styles even within one interview, likely related to the fact that the student fieldworkers were learning on the job and becoming accustomed to a new process.

Not surprisingly, there was evidence of an entire spectrum of interview styles and techniques. A few notable things were heard with respect to interview methodology. First, there were clear examples of experience and aptitude with technology - some student fieldworkers were perhaps unaware of how to use the microphone properly, resulting in a very faint interview, or simply the informant's voice being faint. Others obviously asked the informants to hold the microphone relatively close to their mouths, and the informant responses are especially clear and crisp. Still others begin with poor audio quality, with shuffling and microphone feedback, and then the overall sound quality improves. In one particular case, keen methodological observations were made by a student fieldworker, even while in the field:

> You're in a position of power, and so I certainly understood that, that I was in a powerful sort of place. But I felt that what I should be doing is letting people talk about themselves and their own lives and their experiences and that *that* was the important thing. And that I could help them along by asking them things about, maybe things that they wouldn't have thought about… I felt that of course I was aware that I was directing this interview, and that I have a form and that I want to ask all these different questions. What I would say is that whenever I would start an interview, you have to

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[464] Vera Szewczyk, Personal interview with Mrs. Semotiuk. Project SUCH reel 5, side 1. (Vegreville, AB: 23 July 1971) 04:20.

[465] Sylvia Dmytriw (future Myall), Personal interview with John Anaka. Stenen, SK: 5 August 1971.

> remember the technology actually was pretty bulky, so you've got the big tape recorder, you've unloaded it, you've put on the reel to reel, you're turning it on, and that's intimidating to people. So here I am, I'm this new person who's dropped in into their lives with this new technology, you're not necessarily comfortable with the technology, so the start of every interview you had to get over that barrier, right? And so I was really aware of that, so I would take some time before people felt comfortable and then we would slip into the interview.[466]

The concepts of reflexivity and rapport were interconnected in the understanding of the interviewer, and when asked how she considered her own role in the interviews, her memories and explanations revealed how she was observant of her own behavior in creating more comfort during the interview. An examination of this interviewer's SUCH interviews reveals that any preliminary conversation intended to relax the informant and to create comfort was not recorded. Additional interviews given by other student fieldworkers reveal the same. Given the aforementioned concern with having enough tapes in the field to complete their scheduled interviews, this is not surprising.

The connection between these two concepts is not uncommon, with understanding of one's position (reflexivity) often coming out of the practice of understanding the other's position and showing interest in it (rapport).[467] Laura Ellingson, a scholar of women's and gender studies, considers this paradox to be better described as "conscious partiality" - a process which is "achieved through 'partial identification' with the people one is engaged in studying."[468] Being simultaneously close to and distant from the object of study is the grey area where the interesting observations can be made.

As the only living sources on the fieldwork experience, this study relies primarily on the interviewers' memories and perspectives. A test sampling of the actual content of the SUCH interviews reveals several dynamics that both corroborate and challenge their recollections of this experience so many years ago.

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[466] Chomiak, Personal interview, 1:22:33.
[467] Laura L. Ellingson, "'Then You Know How I Feel': Empathy, Identification, and Reflexivity in Fieldwork," *Qualitative Inquiry*. Vol. 4(4). (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998) 506.
[468] Ibid., 499.

Creation of a Corpus of Data to be Mined by Future Researchers

The SUCH interview recordings themselves are an essential component of the project vis-a-vis the notion of its success. By virtue of the aural colour given their age, they easily transport the listener to a different time. It is clear that the digitized recordings are incomplete. Not all recordings were salvageable - some reels had simply disintegrated due to their age and improper storage since they were first submitted.

Several more were “saved,” though the audio quality is poor and it is difficult to make out what is being said. Nonetheless, when listening, I was able to gain better knowledge of exactly what did occur during the interview process and enrich the information on the issues raised above.

Next, the final chapter of this dissertation will seek to summarize the main points of each chapter, reviewing the goals and ideas of success as seen through the lenses of the five stakeholders in Project SUCH.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

Conclusion: Project SUCH - a Success?

Was Project SUCH a success, in the end? The preceding pages have shown that this is a complex question with an even more complex answer. The equitable conclusion here is that it was a partial success, for the many reasons discussed above, though not without its challenges and inadequacies. As an example of popular folklore, the action undertaken by the Project SUCH organizers, administrators, and student fieldworkers did produce various individual and collective processes of self- reflection.

Again, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of both Project SUCH and the research undertaken for this dissertation. The SUCH project was merely one, narrow window into the attempt at capturing information about pioneer life in the Ukrainian community. Though the largest project of its kind, it was focused on only one segment of the Ukrainian community, and given the grassroots nature of the effort, included several inherent inconsistencies, biases, and omissions. This dissertation attempts to shed sober light on this project, albeit with its own set of limitations given the resources available. Not all living participants of the project were interviewed, nor was every aspect of the project examined. As an introductory foray into this topic, this dissertation merely scratches the surface of what is possible when examining the SUCH project as a raw repository of folklore and ethnographic data. The focus of stakeholders and success was chosen as one possible route to mining this data for the first time.

This conclusion will be structured according to the stakeholder perspectives that have given this study shape. Within each section, I will identify the goals of Project SUCH as seen by each of these groups, and summarize their subsequent successes or challenges.

Stakeholder #1 - The Canadian Government

Canadian nation-building processes in the 20th century benefited from projects like SUCH. By the 1960s and 1970s, Canada was a completely different nation than it

was even twenty years earlier. At this point in history, the Canadian Government sought to represent ethnically diverse cultural groups as contributing agents in the nation building process. Project SUCH directly contributed to this process by training and engaging its youth in heritage maintenance. The Canadian Government fulfilled several obligations that it offered to these cultural groups. First, the Government wanted to employ Canadian youth, which it did successfully. Almost thirty students were employed by this project at various levels, and funding granted was indeed all spent on youth employment opportunities. From the other perspective, ethnic communities capitalized on this opportunity putting their youth to work.

By way of creating this program and engaging with local communities across the country, the Government also wanted to pragmatically gain electoral support. Though the information to be able to accurately respond to this goal is not within the scope of this project, it can be said that Trudeau and the Liberal Party were re-elected in 1972 for his second term as Prime Minister, and that projects such as this did serve of evidence of the government supporting and working toward Canadian national unity. It is possible that an additional goal from their perspective was to embolden and strengthen ethnic communities in Canada. Perhaps they were successful in this, as they granted funding to various ethnic organizations through the Opportunities for Youth program. Finally, I initially assumed that the Government had a desire to incorporate information about ethnic communities into the Canadian knowledge base. This did not transpire however, as they were neither the repository for the Project SUCH materials, nor did they even seem to find a reason to keep documentation about the project in their files at all.

Stakeholder #2 - SUMK

This stakeholder had very clear notions of what their goals were, as they had listed them in the original funding application and repeated them in the Final Report for Project SUCH. The first goal they wanted to achieve was that the traditions and knowledge of Ukrainian pioneers were recorded, including: legends, songs, pioneer experiences; collecting books, records, crafts, and other artifacts; recording information about Ukrainian historical sites; inventorying private collections they came across while in the field; and surveying cultural centres and creating an inventory. Much of this they

managed to accomplish, as the SUCH collection has shown, including hundreds of interview recordings, artifacts, and photographs. Despite being hidden away for decades, they were then found and show future potential. The student fieldworkers, especially the second year of the project, did collect as much information as they could about rural churches and community halls, though this was not a priority for fieldworkers in 1971, and only a generally priority for designated fieldworkers in 1972. Several interviewers mentioned that they would occasionally take account of an informant's private collection, but this was not done consistently and not by all fieldworkers. Finally, there is no mention or record of the project having surveyed any cultural centres in order to create an inventory.

The second goal listed focuses on stimulating community concern for the preservation of Ukrainian pioneer history and cultural materials. The applicants proposed to hold public information meetings and stimulate action groups to preserve buildings and groups. There were a few instances where the student fieldworkers stimulated some concern in the communities they visited, for instance when the day following their documenting a community hall, the community responded by taking interest in what was "in their backyard." This circumstance was not consistent enough to be considered a strong success, however. The only public meeting that was held regarding Project SUCH was a presentation at the National SUS Convention after the first summer of work - again, a weak success. It could be argued that SUCH stimulated the action that took place with the SELO camps, which focused on cultural content and the fixing up of camp buildings, many of which were old already at that time - however, this is a stretch in justifying SUCH as a success.

The third goal focused on awakening awareness of Ukrainians as to their role in building Canada through: initiating discussion of the Canadian mosaic; stimulating thought on the relevance of the ethnic past to the Canadian present; and stimulating future work in the area. Most of this did not materialize, at least not in measurable ways. With the exception of an informant who potentially felt like their past had been validated by the SUCH experience, there was no awareness that was awoken as far as the evidence shows. Though discussion of a Canadian mosaic would look rather impressive on the funding application, the discussion all remained insular, focusing instead on

Ukrainian community concerns. The only way in which the project connected a pioneer ethnic past to a Canadian present was perhaps indirectly, for the student fieldworkers who experienced an awakening with regard to their ethnicity and identity. And finally, perhaps future stimulation might happen after the project has been rediscovered again, exemplified by this study, as a first step. An exception to this are the occasional artifacts and photographs from the project that have been used as part of UMC exhibits.

The fourth goal focused on alleviating the community's lack of awareness of the wealth of ethnographic information and historic structures. This included: alleviating a lack of community awareness of the resources which hold such information; alleviating the inaccessibility of this material for individuals and institutions who conduct this type of research; acknowledging that there is a lack of individuals with skills to this type of work; the urgent need to collect this information and materials; alleviating the lack of awareness of students regarding the importance of the Ukrainian community in contemporary Canadian life; ensuring adequate materials for future studies of Canadian culture; and alleviating the unavailability of bilingual people to do this research. The SUCH project has had a very weak impact on the community, as it has largely been forgotten. Connections were not made with other resource repositories, nor did the collection become accessible, but rather the focus was solely on collecting the information. Several of the student fieldworkers did become quite skilled, thanks to their fieldwork experience, with a few choosing career paths influenced directly by this experience (Melnycky, Lazarowich, Balan). Though the project did have an influence on the ideas of ethnicity and identity in the lives of the student fieldworkers, this was a limited, small group, and likely not the number the organizers had hoped to reach. There is a potential for the SUCH project to become a valuable resource for researchers, but this has not yet been realized. Finally, matching their expressed goal, they did find student fieldworkers, who generally were bilingual enough to complete the research job.

The unofficial fifth goal of SUMK was to create more leaders for their organization and for the Ukrainian community in general. They were moderately successful in both of these areas, though some of these individuals likely would have become leaders regardless of their SUCH involvement.

Stakeholder #3 - The Fieldworkers

The fieldworkers as a stakeholder had goals that were much more amorphous, and that applied to some fieldworkers more than others. The fieldworkers first wanted to make money at a summer job, which they did, with no information arising of problems with employee payment.

Second, some of the fieldworkers wanted the chance to get away from their parents and grow up and learn about themselves. Though this was not an explicit goal, it was seen to have been significant for many in the discussion about “life-work” in Chapter 4. The thoughts shared on this topic were done so in a the context of my interviews with them several decades later, which allowed them the easy opportunity for reflection about the relevance of this aspect of their work.

A similar small group welcomed the opportunity to travel for a summer job as a third goal, being happy to not be stuck in an office job. This was especially clearly seen in the choices of those, who decided to come back for a second summer of employment with the SUCH project (Myall, Ashmore).

A strong and consistent fourth success for the fieldworkers was the opportunity to learn about Canadian pioneer culture.

Fifth, many of the student fieldworkers were interested in gaining professional skills, and there are numerous examples of this actually affecting them positively in their future lives. Peter Melnycky continued on to a career at Historic Sites Alberta, contributing for many years to historic research for the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, and other heritage projects. Linda Lazarowich changed her career to follow this line of activity more.

Stakeholder #4 - The Informants

The goals and therefore potential successes from the perspective of the informants is all based on indirect data gleaned from Project SUCH tape evidence and my interviewer impressions, since the informants themselves could not be asked directly any more. Most of these goals and successes were in the moment, short-term, and opportunistic.

First, the informants were eager to have a pleasant interaction with a young person because they were isolated and lonely. This seems to have been a common situation, as very few potential informants refused the opportunity to be interviewed.

Second, many informants wanted to support and promote the Ukrainian (Orthodox) community and be positive participants in their project. Again, it was rare for there to be a negative reaction from the informants. Connected to this goal was the desire to be agreeable and active members of their church community. This desire may well have been related to the fact that the priests or parish leaders usually referred the student fieldworkers to them.

Also connected to the above goal was the interest of the informants to raise their personal status among their own peers in their community. Examples of this were presented in the Smoky Lake old folks home, and the story about community members hoping to be visited by “the girls in yellow car.”

Finally, a few informants clearly stated that they wanted their story, their history to be seen as important and to be recorded for posterity. There was some clear evidence of awareness of this aspect in the story of the man who donated many artifacts, and the woman urging her husband to retell a story because it was now being recorded. However, for many, agreeing to participate in Project SUCH was simply an opportunity for a pleasant social interaction - they did not think or even understand much about the bigger picture of creating a historical record. For these informants, this was a personal experience narrative and was not about “heritage” – in their view, their things were just old as compared to antique, where a new value is ascribed.

Stakeholder #5 - Future Researchers

Though there are no real researchers outside of this study and what has been done at the UMC as of yet, this description of goals and successes for this stakeholder reflect my perceptions of potential success.

First, the collection exists - many recollections were recorded and preserved. A large corpus of data and many hours of recordings comprise the project holdings, though its contents are not perfect. Some of the interview recordings that exist in the inventory are missing and many of them have deteriorated significantly, some to the

point of unusability. Many of the recordings exhibit poor sound quality, sometimes due to the age of the reels and sometimes due to the inexperience of the fieldworkers, who were not trained sufficiently to operate and care for the equipment properly.

Second is the issue of accessibility. Project SUCH is still inaccessible, unadvertised, and physically not available to researchers (though no one has asked for it). According to the standard practice at the time of the project, no waivers were signed by the informants, which is a negative characteristic in today's academic climate. As stated in Chapter 6, perhaps the best solution to this issue is to wait a few years until the project enters the public domain, and then to give access "for research purposes only" and/or perhaps to present the informants anonymously. Such strategies require financial resources, time, and energy of someone with specialized and professional skills.

A third and important goal for current and future researchers is that the information be useful and relevant. I perceive this as a mixed success, but one with great potential. The fieldworkers sometimes asked leading questions, or did not clarify a context, or failed to pursue appropriate follow-up questions. However, Project SUCH remains to be a potential corpus of data for folklorists interested in song repertoire, material culture, customs, etc. Hypothetically, the project is also valuable for a variety of other disciplines, such as: gender studies research; geographers studying the use of space and place; cultural studies scholars interested in a variety of topics (including sports, recreation, power structures in communities, leadership, commercial life, among many others); sociologists, historians, museum scholars, and Canadian studies scholars interested in their local communities; literary scholars interested in issues of orality and literacy; Canadian prairie history scholars interested in issues of ethnicity, integration, assimilation, economy, holidays, etc.; linguists, for the purposes of studying dialects of the Ukrainian language and their interaction, macaronic language, and meta-linguistic features of speech in the pioneer generation (not often recorded in casual conversation); scholars interested in ethnographic methodology, since the size of the corpus allows a researcher to separate many different variables, such as gender and age differences between the interviewer and informant, leading questions, use of tone, rapport, reflexivity, and other factors within this area; creative authors wishing to collect

materials to inspire fictional works; and family members of the informants completing genealogical research. The Project SUCH collection provides a great opportunity for many of these potential veins, since most large corpora are more recent.

Fourth, the project should be considered most successful insofar as it is representative. Representativeness, of course, is largely dependent on what variables are being studied by the future researcher and thus difficult to comment on. It has already been said that the sample is particular (Ukrainian Orthodox community members, for the most part) and thus filtered in particular ways. It was not really a goal for any of the stakeholders to be representative of any group in particular, rather, they just want a large quantity to be collected.

The final goal identified is that the project be usable by museums. This has been clearly demonstrated by the fact that the UMC has included photographs and artifacts from the SUCH collection in their exhibits on Ukrainian pioneer history for many years.

A Sixth Stakeholder?

One potential stakeholder that has not yet been discussed in this study is the conservative community leader, an individual whose sole intention is to promote and glorify all things Ukrainian. This stakeholder would have had the goal of promoting and celebrating Project SUCH as a success simply because it was a Ukrainian effort, further emphasized because it reflects richness in the narrative of *successful* Ukrainian immigration and settlement in Canada. This type of stakeholder is motivated by being "faithful to the cause" and very seriously commits themselves to this position, even if there are obvious disadvantages and negative aspects to the cause.

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Project SUCH - in many ways, this project represents an important position in the life cycle of the Ukrainian community in Canada over the last 126 years. The pioneers immigrated, settled, and soon established community buildings and organizations for over a hundred thousand individuals that had arrived from the Old Country prior to the First World War. One of the key institutions in the early years, promoting upward

mobility and integration into the New Country, while simultaneously encouraging ethnic pride and distinctiveness was the P. Mohyla Institute. The Institute became an incubator for Ukrainian community leaders, including those who established the organizations of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada. The youth contingent of the USRL, SUMK, was among those that played a key role in harnessing youth interest in Ukrainian cultural life. Finally, it was the genuine curiosity to know whence they came that inspired the National SUMK executive, decades later, to create summer employment in their ranks and initiate a project studying the pioneers within a federal government program - something considered to be an achievement for the community. A continuum of heritage awareness has been examined in these chapters according to the various parties involved - Project SUCH attempted to celebrate heritage, capture heritage, preserve heritage, remember heritage, and the intent is that in the future, it will be accessed and used.

For the interviewers who were, in many ways, the source of research and a focus for this dissertation, the opportunity to complete this circle was intended to give them a sense of roots, which it clearly did for several. The roots were to have inspired them to continue working for the “Ukrainian cause” by way of the USRL organizations, which some found to be relevant. For the others, the sense of roots gained or increased through participation in Project SUCH followed them in life down different paths. The possibilities for this collection are many, and the collection is seen quite differently by each of the stakeholders examined in this dissertation. From roots to routes - Project SUCH has the potential to contribute significantly to the study of Ukrainian Canada for generations to come.

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APPENDIX 1:

List of Informants

Ashmore (Szewczyk), Vera. Personal interview. 23 November 2014.

Balan, Bill. Personal interview. 29 August 2014.

Bridges (Faryna), Leona. Personal interview. 18 October 2014.

Chomiak. Natalka. Personal interview. 3 July 2015.

Danyliuk, Janet Prebushewsky. Personal interview. 26 August 2015.

Kachkowski, Albert. Personal interview. 27 August 2015.

Kindrachuk (Wintonyk), Linda. Personal interview. 8 October 2014.

Klymasz, Robert. Personal interview. 29 August 2014.

Korpesho, Mike and Delores (Lyseiko). Personal interview. 19 October 2014.

Lazarowich, Linda. Personal interview. 3 October 2014.

Lozowchuk, Olenka. Personal interview. 25 September 2014.

Lozowchuk, Yars. Personal interview. 24 September 2014.

Luciuk, Gerald. Personal interview. 20 September 2014.

Melnycky, Peter. Personal interview. 26 October 2014.

Myall (Dmytriw), Sylvia. Personal interview. 15 October 2014.

Noseworthy (Shewel), Valia. Personal interview. 5 October 2014.

Poilievre (Kyba), Zoria. Personal interview. 16 September 2014.

Senchuk, Vera and Wolodymyr. Personal interview. 4 October 2014.

Shadursky, Raya. Personal interview. 22 October 2014.

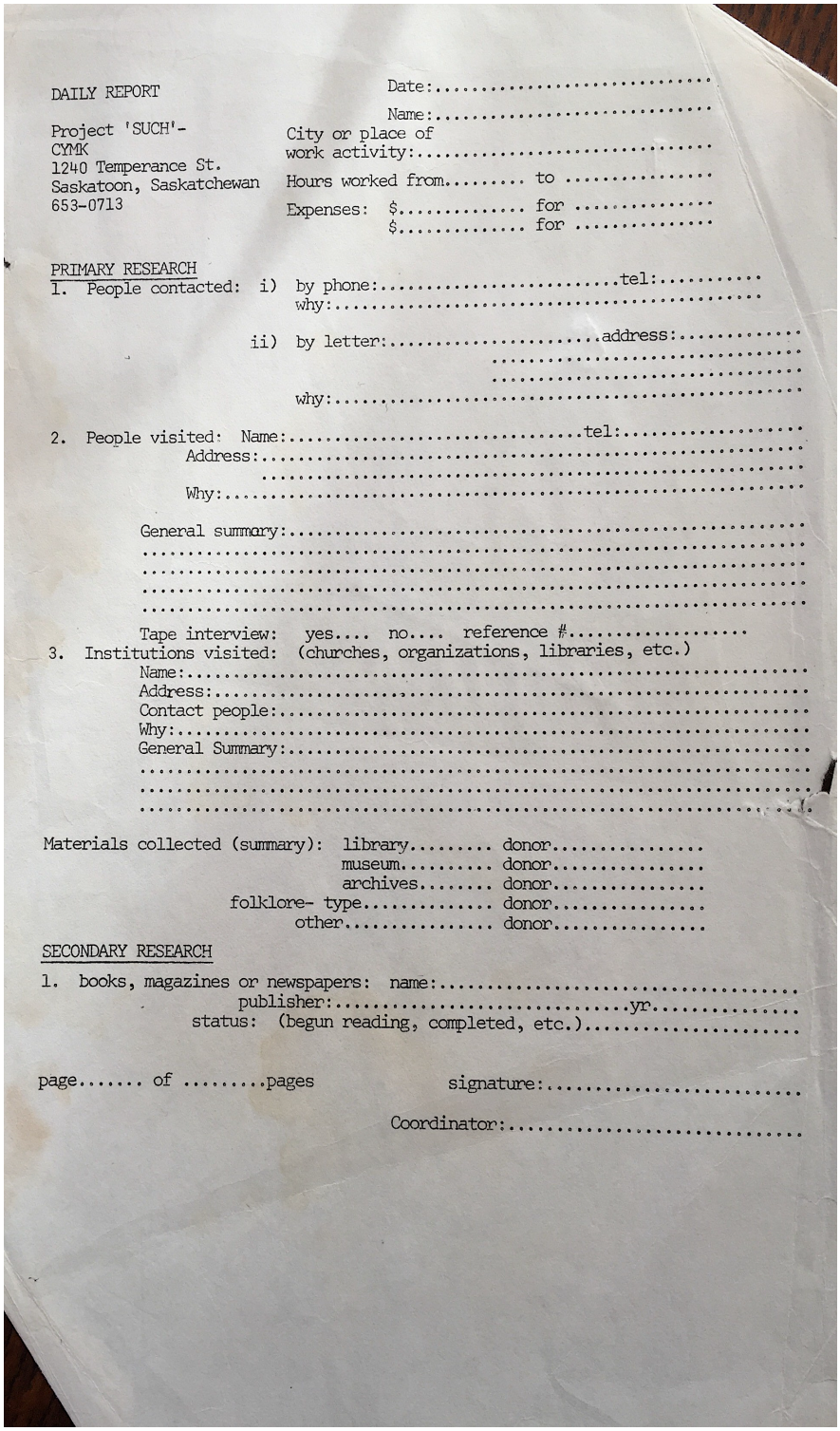
van Doornum (Herman), Georgia. Personal interview. 29 September 2014.

Zamulinski, Brian. Personal interview. 26 September 2014.

Zip, Martin. Personal interview. 2 December 2014.

APPENDIX 2:

Fieldwork Report and Questionnaire



DAILY REPORT

Date:.....

Name:.....

Project 'SUCH'-
CYMK
1240 Temperance St.
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
653-0713

City or place of
work activity:.....

Hours worked from..... to .....

Expenses: $..... for .....
$..... for .....

PRIMARY RESEARCH

1. People contacted: i) by phone:.....tel:.....
why:.....

ii) by letter:.....address:.....
.....
.....

why:.....

2. People visited: Name:.....tel:.....
Address:.....
.....
Why:.....

General summary:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Tape interview: yes.... no.... reference #.....

3. Institutions visited: (churches, organizations, libraries, etc.)
Name:.....
Address:.....
Contact people:.....
Why:.....
General Summary:.....
.....
.....
.....

Materials collected (summary): library..... donor.....
museum..... donor.....
archives..... donor.....
folklore- type..... donor.....
other..... donor.....

SECONDARY RESEARCH

1. books, magazines or newspapers: name:.....
publisher:.....yr.....
status: (begun reading, completed, etc.).....

page..... of .....pages

signature:.....

Coordinator:.....

PIONEER FOLKLORE

Name
Address
(Do you live in or outside of town? Did you always? Since what year?)
Where did you live before coming to Saskatchewan? (From what year to what year?)
Where did your parents live vefore that/ (From what year to what year?)
What language did your father (or you) speakbefore coming to Canada?
Age
Where born
Occupation by which you earn a living
Hobbies or talents (either for pleasure or to supplement your income) such as: playing a musical instrument; hunting, trapping; collecting curiosities; photography, etc.
Father's occupation before coming to Saskatchewan
After
Father's hobbies or talents.
Mother's hobbies or talents, such as: fine sewing or other handiwork; china or other painting; playing a musical instrument, etc.

II. SETTLEMENT

The Land

1. Where you lived or now are living, are there any natural features or landmarks (eg. butte, coules, valley, stream, lake)? Name? Why so called? What stories are connected with them?
   Are there any man-made features (eg. Indian rings, old trails, ruins of fort or dwelling house or other building)? Name? Why so called? What stories are connected with them?
2. What jokes did people tell about (a) gumbo (b) fording strams or getting caught in unusual situations caused by weather, work at home, travel, etc. (c) the loneliness of the open spaces.

CLIMATE

3. Outline briefly any tales or beliefs you have heard about (a) cold weather (b) snow and blizzard (c) hail (d) drought (e) high wind. Example: the way to tell if the wind is blowing is to nail a chain to the top of a post; if the links stand out straight horizontally, it's windy; if they begin to snap off, it's good and windy. (What variants of this one have you heard?)
4. What similies about climate were in general use in the old days? eg. as dry as
5. What do people generally remark about a rainbow? Adouble reainbow? A mirage?
a Do you know of any strange happenings generally asid to be connected with these?
6. What animal behaviour was generally considered a weather sigh and of what kind of weather? eg. actions of frogs, crickets, groundhogs, wasps, muskrats.

CELESTIAL BODIES

7. Do you remember hearing stories (possibly Indian legends) about the sun, moon, stars?
   What is your belief about sun dogs, a ring aroung the moon, position of horns o of the new monn, a change in the moon, sleeping in moonlight? Shooting stars? Use of North Star as a guide - for what? How? Northern lights? Caused by? Do they make a noise? If so, what kind?
8. Do you know any stories or beliefs about heavenly bodies, not listed here?
9. Have you ever kept an account of the weather, bird migrations, blooming time of trees or plants, etc? Do you kn ow who did so? Are these accounts available?

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

10. Tell briefly any stories of ghosts or fairies or strange beings who inhabited your pioneer districts. From whom did you hear these stories.
11. Do you know any tales of an individual who lived where you do (or did live) who performed prodigious or somehow unusual deeds? Or who wass notably wise or silly, strong or feeble, well formed or misshapen? Tell briefly. From whom did you hear these?
12. What tales or anecdotes do you remember where animals provided the main action or in which animals as well as people are involved? eg. buffalo, deer, rabbit, gopher, birds, insects (such as bees, grasshoppers, mosquitos, fish)

III. SUPPORTING ONESELF AFTER SETTLEMENT

13. How did you learn to do the following (eg. learned from other settlers, Indians

read in book, etc)
(a) build a house
(b) put in and harvest a crop
(c) hunt local game
(d) use wild plants or their gruits for food (eg. prairie, potatp, prairie turnip saskatoon, wild rice), list others.
14. Did you have help other than members of your family for (a) outdoor work, (b) housework
How were these helpers treated: as servants, as members of the family, somewh where in between?
What was the basis of payment?
15. What domestic animals did you have for work? What were their names?
What animals did you have for food?
What pets did you have? What were their names? (Example: dog, cat, canary or other bird, wild animal or bird you tamed?)

IV. FAMILY OR GROUP GATHERINGS IN THE PIONEER COMMUNITY

16. Comment on the following activities. Add others whereever possible.
(a) Story telling. Were the stories about animals, people of another time, ghosts fairies, Indians?
(b) Did just anybody tell these stories or was there someone with a reputation as a teller of tales who usually did so? Man or woman.
(b) Singing Were the songs story-telling songs or were they about an emotion or work songs.? Were there some of eadh? Were there hymn tunes with different words? Were the songs accompanied by a musical instruement? Were any popular songs composed by people in the distric.
(c) Swapping stories - Anecdotes(about settlers adventures, Indians, animal behaviour, hunting adventures, the party line etc.)
Jokes (tricks played on people, jokes on pioneering life, showing the funny side of something serious etc)
Tal tales (exaggerated accounts of some well-known character, who may be l local, strange happenings) Tonge twisters, riddles.

V. LIFE CYCLE IN THE PIONNER COMMUNITY

17. By whom were children baptized or christianed? Where? How? How many names were given and were they named after someonw on not.
18. At what age were the children baptized? Was it considered unlucky to delay the baptizism?
19. By what name did you call your parents?
20. How were birthdays celebrated, both children's and adults'.
21. What prayers were taught to you. Give examples.
22. Waht lullabies or cradle songs do you remember?
23. What songs(baby songs) and rhyming songs do you remember that were sung or played with you.
24. What games did you play and how? What did you believe in when you were a kid such as stepping on a crack etc.
25. What did you do when you lost your baby teeth? If they disappeared, did you know what happened to them and what were you told that happened to them.

MARRIAGE
26. What accessories were considered indispensable for the bride?
27. What connected with a wedding would bring bad luck? What would bring good luck Were any jokes played on them after the wedding or at nay other time? Details

DEATH-
28. What was believed to be a sign someone was going to die?
29. How much time elapsed between death and burial? Was this interval considered "proper" or merely convenient or predent.
30. Dis anyone "sit up with the corpse"
31. Was someone chosen to do this, was there a wake at all times or just sometimes. Was food served at the wake. What was the general procedure.
32. Was there a diference between a child's funeral and an adults.
33. In the absence of a church representative, who conducted the funeraland burial services.

34. Mention or ask about the thing s that were thought to be symbols of bad luck and of good luck. What was used to bring on bad luck and what to avoid it. The same hold true for good luck. Also the ways to foretall the future.

35. Mention the proverbs. Are they still believed in today and name some of them. Is the attitude the same towards them today as it was several years back/

APPENDIX 3:

Listing of SUCH Fieldwork Centres (1971)

1. Alberta
    a) Smoky Lake - Bellis - Vilna area
    b) Edmonton - Thorhild - Redwater - Radway area
    c) Lamont - Skaro - Star - Bruderheim area
    d) Mundare - Chipman - Andrew area
    e) Vegreville - Warwick - Royal Park area
    f) Willingdon - Hairy Hill - Two Hills area

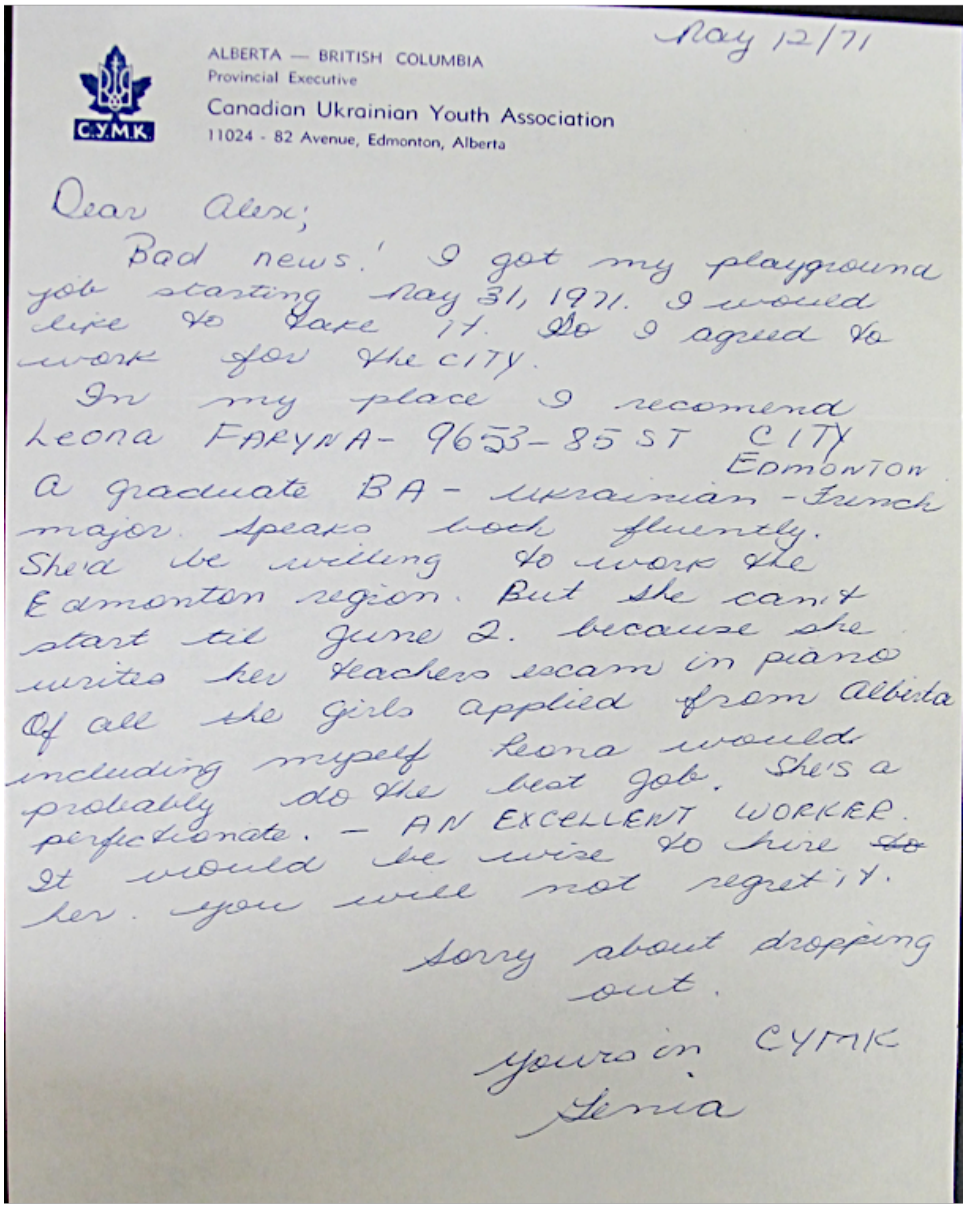
2. Saskatchewan
    a) Preeceville - Buchanan - Sturgis - Canora - Yorkton area
    b) Meacham - Cudworth - Wakaw - Aberdeen area
    c) Hafford - Whitkow - North Battleford - Glaslyn area
    d) Blaine Lake - Krydor - Sich area
    e) Rose Valley - Wadena - Foam Lake - Sheho area
    f) Saskatoon

3. Ontario
    a) Ottawa - Waterford area
    b) Fort William - Thunder Bay area
    c) Toronto area
    d) Horseshoe area

APPENDIX 4:

Samples of SUCH Project Correspondence

4.1



ALBERTA — BRITISH COLUMBIA
Provincial Executive
Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association
11024 - 82 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta

May 12/71

Dear Alex;

Bad news! I got my playground job starting May 31, 1971. I would like to take it. So I agreed to work for the city.

In my place I recomend Leona FARYNA - 9653 - 85 ST CITY EDMONTON. A graduate BA - Ukrainian - French major. Speaks both fluently. She'd be willing to work the Edmonton region. But she can't start til June 2. because she writes her teachers exam in piano. Of all the girls applied from Alberta including myself Leona would probably do the best job. She's a perfectionate. - AN EXCELLENT WORKER. It would be wise to hire ~~to~~ her. you will not regret it.

Sorry about dropping out.

Yours in CYMK
Lenia

4.2

June 14, 1971

A NOTE FROM THE COORDINATOR OF PROJECT SUCH:

Apparently some field workers have not understood how much work they are expected to do, in terms of hours on the job. The project was to have begun on May 19 and ended on August 20. We all agreed that the termination date will remain the same, but since the entire project didn't begin until May 31, everyone would have to work harder in order to put in the proper numbers of hours. Your job is equated to 13 1/2 man weeks, at a MINIMUM of 40 HOURS PER WEEK. With a little multiplying, you arrive at a figure of $40 hours as a minimum number of hours which must be spent by each individual worker in order to be paid for the job completed. Unless this minimum is done, then total salary will not be paid.

I am assuming that every worker will work the necessary time, and 'make up fortime lost', so that he/she has essentially completed 13 1/2 man weeks of work. How you arrange your time in the field is up to you, as long as it is done.

As well, you are supposed to keep track of time spent, number of hours, etc., on your daily and weekly reports. This was explicitly stated during orientation courses, but apparently some misunderstood.

Income tax, pension plan, and unemployment insurance will NOT be deducted from your monthly pay cheques unless you have not returned a TD 1 form to me statingthat you will not be earning over $1,000 this year, or if you have told me that your total earnings this year exceed $1,000. If, for some reason, the job was cancelled, then, you people must be aware of the fact that you will not be drawing unemployment insurance, nor any other benefits. When I receive the money from the government, I will send out the first monthly pay cheque. If, to that date, I have not received the TD1 form, then I am forced to deduct income tax. PLEASE MAILTHE FORM IMMEDIATELY .

If there is anything else which you do not understand, please write or check with me. I would hate to see a misunderstanding arise over some small incident. I also want a letter from each worker, stating whether he or she will be at the National Convention. If for some reason you are unable to attend, then I expect you to be working during that time: if you will be in Saskatoon, then you are expected to meet with me and the other field workers for evaluation sessions, do some work, etc. I must know, for those coming to Saskatoon, when you are coming, so that I can arrange some meeting times. When you arrive in Saskatoon, I should not have to look for you. I expect you to find me (someone around the institute should know where I am, or else phone 653-0196- home). By the way, that doesn't mean after the four day convention is over....

Since I haven't heard any bad news....I assume that all work is going well. Buest of luck. Just remember order of priorities. All things are important, but you only have so much time to work in the field, so stick to collecting things which we stated should be given priority.

Dopobachynia

Olenka

4.3

SAVE THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN HERITAGE

Under the federal government sponsored plan for student employment "Opportunities for Youth", the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association is sponsoring project "S.U.C.H."- Save the Ukrainian Canadian Heritage. This Association, which may be briefly designated as "C.Y.M.K." is a nationally based youth organization founded in 1931. Its prime aim is to foster, promote and develop in the national life of Canada the finest cultural elements and traditions of the Ukrainian people. The national office of CYMK, located in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, serves as an information bureau, a programme source, public relations office and an organizer of various workshops, conferences and conventions.

Project SUCH is research oriented. The main objective is to record and collect information and artifacts of historical and ethnological significance from various Ukrainian communities across Eastern and Western Canada. This will be primarily accomplished by recorded interviews with Ukrainian pioneers and through public meetings to turn the attention of local youth and adults to the precious nature of their heritage.

Specifically, the research will be carried out by talking to pioneer settlers, recording folklore, songs, traditions and pioneer accounts of life in Canada, collecting books, records and accounts of historical interest from the Ukrainian community.

Fifteen students will be doing field work in Ukrainian communities throughout Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario for the summer months, with an additional student coordinator in Saskatoon overseeing the entire project.

The necessity for work of this nature has been evident for some time but lack of funds has impeded the realization to a great extent. This project as SUCH will provide an opportunity for our young students to make a valuable contribution to Canadian culture- to study the process of acculturation- preservation and adaptation of one's cultural heritage.

As a result of this work various groups and agencies will benefit, e.g., **universities, provincial tourist bureaus, Dominion and Provincial Archives and Museums, local Ukrainian community organizations and public libraries.** It is therefore, sincerely hoped that the communities will welcome these young students and where necessary, provide assistance and support.

APPENDIX 5:

Interview Questions (for Interviewers)

1. What is your name?
2. Tell me a bit about your background - where were you born? Were you involved in the Ukrainian community as a child?
3. Did you speak Ukrainian at home?
4. Did you attend a Ukrainian church?
5. How did you learn about the SUCH/Local Culture project?
6. What interested you about this project? What was your motivation to become involved?
7. Had you ever participated in oral history interviews prior to this experience?
8. How did you go about getting involved?
9. How did you prepare for your participation in this project?
10. Did you know any of the other participants, prior to this experience?
11. Tell me about the pre-fieldwork stage of the project? What kind of training was provided?
12. Were you clear about the expectations and goals of the project?
13. Did you do anything outside of the group training to help prepare yourself?
14. Describe the instructions that you were given, including the general plan for interviewer participation.
15. What were your feelings upon becoming actively involved - were you confident? Nervous?
16. How did you go about finding interviewees for the project?
17. Describe the logistics of your work - transportation, accommodations, equipment, daily work schedule.
18. What were your impressions after the first few interviews that you conducted?
19. At any point during the collection phase, did you reconvene as a project staff? What kind of communication existed between you, your co-workers, and your supervisors?
20. Approximately how many interviews did you conduct?
21. What was your most memorable interview? Why?
22. What was your least memorable interview? Why?
23. Did you interview anyone that you had known previously? How did this differ from the strangers that you interviewed?
24. After the collection phase, what protocol was there to wrap up the project?
25. What were your impressions after finishing active participation in this project?
26. What are your impressions now, years later?
27. Looking back on your experience now, were you well-prepared for what was required of you then? Why?
28. Do you know what came to be of the project findings?
29. Have you been in touch with any of the other participants/co-workers/supervisors since then?
30. If you had to describe your experience in this project in three words, which three words would you choose? Why?

APPENDIX 6 - Interviews conducted

Interviewee name	Year of birth	Hometown / Place of residence	Year of participation / role	Family background	Language at home	Religious affiliation (during SUCH)	SUMK member	Previous fieldwork experience	Fieldwork locations
Ashmore, Vera (Szewczyk)	1953	Vancouver / Vancouver	1971 and 1972 / fieldworker	parents both part of third wave immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	1971 - AB: Vegreville; 1972 - AB: Vegreville and area
Balan, Bill	1949	Toronto / Winnipeg	1971 / fieldworker and administrative duties	Ukrainian (both second and third waves of immigration)	UKR ENG	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	ON: Thunder Bay area
Bridges, Leona (Faryna)	1951	Edmonton / Edmonton	1971 / fieldworker	grandparents immigrated to Canada	UKR	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	AB: Edmonton
Chomiak, Natalka	early 1950s	Edmonton / Winnipeg	1971 / fieldworker	parents both part of third wave immigration	UKR	father was Ukrainian Catholic, mother was Ukrainian Orthodox; attended both churches	No	none	AB: Smoky Lake and area
Kachkowski, Albert	1941	Hudson Bay, SK / Saskatoon	1971 and 1972 / rector of Mohyla Institute	parents both part of first wave of immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	n/a	n/a

Interviewee name	Year of birth	Hometown / Place of residence	Year of participation / role	Family background	Language at home	Religious affiliation (during SUCH)	SUMK member	Previous fieldwork experience	Fieldwork locations
Kindrachuk, Linda (Wintonyk)	1952	Yorkton area (Stornoway) / Saskatoon	1972 / fieldworker	paternal grandfather part of first wave; maternal relatives Dukhobors	UKR ENG	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	SK: Calder, Rhien, Yorkton, Kamsack, Mazeppa, Mikado, Stornoway areas
Klymasz, Robert	1936	Toronto / Winnipeg	1971 / orientation guest speaker	parents both part of second wave immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Catholic	No	professional folklorist	n/a
Korpesho, Delores (Lyseiko)	1952	Winnipeg / Spruce Grove, AB	1972 / fieldworker	Father part of third wave immigration / mother part of second wave	UKR ENG	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	AB: Vegreville and area
Korpesho, Mike	early 1950s	Winnipeg / Spruce Grove, AB	1972 / fieldworker (focus on community halls)	parents born in Canada	ENG	Ukrainian Catholic	No	none	large geographic zone from Thunder Bay to Edmonton
Lazarowich, Linda	1949	Hafford area / Winnipeg	1972 / fieldworker and administrative duties	all grandparents part of first wave immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	no formal experience	SK: Hafford area

Interviewee name	Year of birth	Hometown / Place of residence	Year of participation / role	Family background	Language at home	Religious affiliation (during SUCH)	SUMK member	Previous fieldwork experience	Fieldwork locations
Lozowchuk, Olenka	mid-1940s	Saskatoon / Regina	1971 / project manager	grandparents part of first wave immigration	UKR ENG	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	yes - trained music educator	n/a
Lozowchuk, Yars	1944	Hafford, SK / Regina	1971/ organizer	parents part of second wave immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	yes - trained sociologist	n/a
Luciuk, Gerry	mid-1940s	Porcupine Plain, SK / Regina	1971 /organizer	grandparents part of first wave immigration	UKR ENG	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	informal	n/a
Melnycky, Peter	1952	Winnipeg / Edmonton	1972 / fieldworker	parents both part of third wave immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Catholic	No	1971 - OFY summer project through Man and Nature Museum in Winnipeg	MB: Sadlo, Elma, Sandilands areas

Interviewee name	Year of birth	Hometown / Place of residence	Year of participation / role	Family background	Language at home	Religious affiliation (during SUCH)	SUMK member	Previous fieldwork experience	Fieldwork locations
Myall, Sylvia (Dmytriw)	1950	Preeceville, SK / Foam Lake, SK	1971 and 1972 / fieldworker	maternal grandparents and father were immigrants	UKR	attended both (both member of neither)	No	none	1971 - SK: Buchanan, Canora, Preeceville, Sturgis, Rama, Hyas, Danbury, Hazel Dell, Yorkton, Stenen, Saskatoon; 1972 - SK: Yorkton, Mikado, Kamsack, Wroxton areas
Noseworthy, Valia (Shewel)	1951	Winnipeg / Winnipeg	1972 / fieldworker	parents both part of third wave immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	MB: Gonor, Selkirk, Medika, Winnipeg, Sandilands, Zhoda, Tyndall, Pleasant Home, Elma, Garson areas
Poilievre, Zoria (Kyba)	1954	Canora,SK / Saskatoon	1972 / fieldworker	grandparents part of first wave immigration	UKR ENG	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	SK: Prince Albert, Wakaw, Cudworth, Tway, Melfort areas

Interviewee name	Year of birth	Hometown / Place of residence	Year of participation / role	Family background	Language at home	Religious affiliation (during SUCH)	SUMK member	Previous fieldwork experience	Fieldwork locations
Prebushewsky -Danyliuk, Janet	n/a	Saskatoon	current UMC director	Ukrainian	n/a	Ukrainian Orthodox	n/a	n/a	n/a
Senchuk, Walter and Vera	1940s	Windsor // Hafford / Winnipeg	W was rector of Mohyla Institute 1968-70	W - maternal grandparents part of first wave and father part of second wave immigration// V - father part of second wave and mother part of third wave immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	n/a	n/a
Shadursky, Raya	1951	Toronto / Toronto	1971 / fieldworker	parents both part of third wave immigration	UKR ENG	Ukrainian Orthodox	No	none	ON: GTA and Grimsby areas
van Doornan, Georgia (Herman)	early 1950s	Hafford, SK / Saskatoon	1971 and 1972 / fieldworker	grandparents part of first wave immigration	UKR ENG	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	SK: Hafford, North Battleford, Glaslyn, Blaine Lake areas
Zamulinski Brian	early 1950s	Shellbrook area / Saskatoon	1972 / fieldworker	father Ukrainian and mother English	ENG	none	No	none	SK: Melfort and Gronlid area

Interviewee name	Year of birth	Hometown / Place of residence	Year of participation / role	Family background	Language at home	Religious affiliation (during SUCH)	SUMK member	Previous fieldwork experience	Fieldwork locations
Zip, Martin	1940s	Yellow Creek, SK / Saskatoon	1971 / administrator and National SUMK President	grandparents part of first wave immigration	UKR	Ukrainian Orthodox	Yes	none	n/a